CURRENT PERSPECTIVES ON ASIAN WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP

A Cross-Cultural Analysis

Edited by
YONJOO CHO, RAJASHI GHOSH,
JUDY Y. SUN, AND GARY N. MCLEAN

CURRENT PERSPECTIVES ON
ASIAN WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP

Current Perspectives on Asian Women in Leadership

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Praise for *Current Perspectives on Asian Women in Leadership*

"Upcoming Asian women leaders, a potent force for the future, need to be taken seriously. Kudos to the editors who have done so, within an HRD framework, in this unique volume."

—Payal Kumar, Independent scholar, and Editor of two books on Indian women leadership

"The Editors are to be congratulated on their important new book covering gender and leadership across 10 Asian countries and regions for several reasons. They bring to bear their personal and professional experiences to make crucial contributions to both the less known and utilized Asian perspectives and to the convergence and divergence debate. It is a welcome counter to overly-dominant naïve Western views and approaches."

—Professor Chris Rowley, Visiting Fellow, Kellogg College, University of Oxford, UK and Professor Emeritus, Cass Business School, City, University of London, UK

"Appreciate the editors who care much about Asian Women. This book discovers the similarities of women leadership in Asia and delves into the uniqueness of women leadership in each country."

—Chiraprapha Tan Akaraborworn, Assistant to the President for Quality Development, NIDA (National Institute of Development Administration), Thailand

"The book is unique in its excellent coverage of women leadership in ten Asian countries and regions where women have been known to be treated with inequality and underutilization. The book offers a number of fascinating insights into the importance of cultural and socioeconomic elements in influencing existing and potential women leaders. The book is indispensable not only for Asian women, but also for international practitioners, leaders, researchers, and all who are interested in women in leadership."

—Tam Phuong, Doctoral Candidate, Texas A&M University, USA, and Former Associate Dean, Foreign Trade University, Vietnam

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Opening

Asian Women in Leadership:
An Introduction

Yonjoo Cho, Rajashi Ghosh, Judy Y. Sun and Gary N. McLean

While Asia has made enormous economic strides in the past few decades, the role of women has not gained sufficient attention. Gender inequality and underutilization of women talent are deeply rooted and widely spread in Asian cultures. The recent World Economic Forum's (2016) *Gender Gap Report* ranked China 99th, India 87th, Indonesia 88th, Japan 111st, Korea 116th, Malaysia 106th, Sri Lanka 100th, and Thailand 71st out of 144 countries in the combined evaluation of economic participation, educational

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attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment in terms of women's status compared with men counterparts. According to this report, Asia has improved its political empowerment performance since 2014 but ranks second from the bottom on the overall index and economic participation compared to other regions. Asia's gender gap indices are alarming given that the region is rapidly and continuously developing. Such a low status is reflective of the decrease in women's economic participation in Asia, as in India and Japan, though political empowerment has improved in the region; in Korea, there has been a near halving of women in ministerial positions in recent years.

ASIAN CONTEXT

Asia as a research context (Arvey, Dhanaraj, Javidan, & Zhang, 2015; Barkema, Chen, George, Luo, & Tsui, 2015; Chandra, 2012; Cho et al., 2015; Nam, Cho, & Lee, 2014; Raymo, Park, Xie, & Yeung, 2015) is significantly different, in many ways, from western countries where a majority of studies on women in leadership have been conducted (Ely & Rhode, 2010; Guest, 2002; Marvin & Grandy, 2012). Women's appointment to high-ranking leadership roles in Asia is extremely challenging because traditional culture (e.g., Confucianism) and religious beliefs (e.g., Buddhism) dictate the inferior status of women in their daily lives. Although women are a great reservoir of quality work, they have been an underutilized and underdeveloped human capital in Asia. In recent decades, women's participation in economic and political activities has resulted in promoting their social status and leadership in Asia, but some cultural traditions remain unchanged, especially in family structures and interactions, and some social norms. Women's roles as mothers and wives are still strongly upheld as the fundamental duty for women in many parts of Asia. As the meanings of work and family vary across cultures (Chandra, 2012; Eagly, 2015; Lee, Chang, & Kim, 2011; Shaffer, Joplin, & Hsu, 2011), therefore, there is an immediate need to consider cultural differences when researching women in leadership in Asia.

TEN ASIAN COUNTRIES AND REGIONS

Initially, we selected eight Asian countries and regions after having an innovative session on Asian women in top management at the 2014 Asia Chapter of the AHRD conference, Seoul, South Korea, where presentations were given

on eight Asian countries and regions (China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, and Thailand) (Cho et al., 2015). Indonesia and Myanmar were added later based on their rapid economic development and growing interest in the two countries. See Fig. 1 for a map of Asia; we also wanted to reflect countries and regions with different historical, religious, cultural, political, economic, and social backgrounds to provide a sampling of countries and regions with diversity reflecting these factors.

This book consists of 12 chapters including this opening chapter, followed by ten chapters with each covering an Asian country/region, and a closing chapter. Each chapter highlights its authors' perspectives on women in leadership. All chapters have a common ground to help readers understand the context of each country/region, covering the historical, political, economic, and cultural backgrounds. These contextual backgrounds help to explain the status of country/region-specific women leaders in the past, present, and future. For consistency in presentation, the ten country/region-specific chapters generally reveal common aspects:
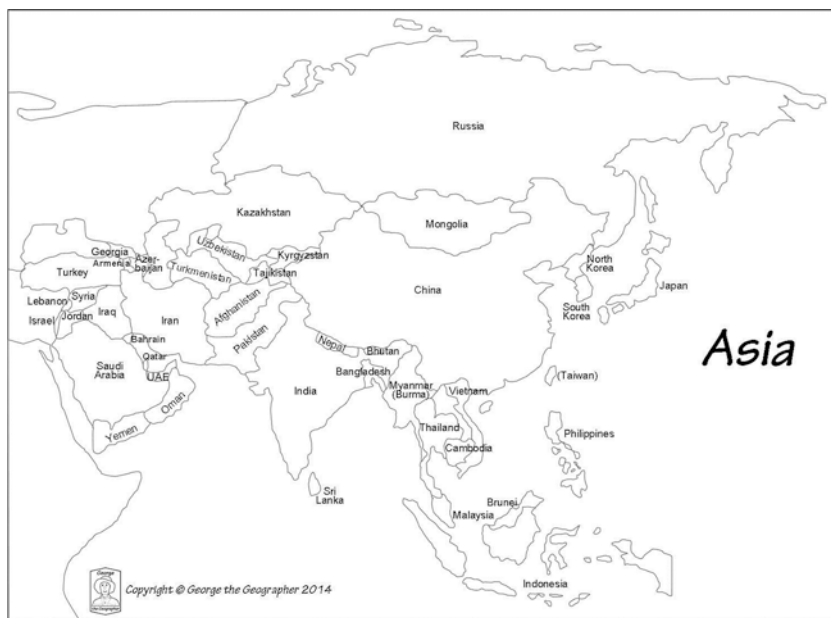
Fig. 1 Map of Asia (Used by permission)

- The historical, political, economic, and cultural backgrounds contextualizing women and women leaders
- Socially defined family roles, women's status, and expectations for women
- Organizational and institutional factors for women and women leaders in the workplace and work–family relationships
- General legislative support and educational opportunities for women
- Cases of outstanding women in leadership roles
- Discussion on future trends and research opportunities

In addition to this common ground, authors were given the freedom to approach these concepts from their own perspectives, leading to some differences in how each chapter was approached and presented. Despite difficulties that Asian women and women leaders face, outstanding examples have emerged in Asian countries and regions as models for women in the leadership pipeline. We also highlight possibilities for women leaders to bring about change in Asian countries and regions.

Chapter Outlines

In this book, we offer an overview of what it means to be Asian women leaders in ten socioeconomic and cultural contexts. Chapter 2 (China) introduces China's unique transitioning cultural, economic, social, and political contexts in which women's leadership roles and status are being shaped. Chapter 3 (India) presents a detailed discussion of how traditional beliefs about gender roles and modern notions of women's independence create a contesting space for Indian women leaders. Chapter 4 (Indonesia) elaborates on the cultural factors that direct the key roles of family in the empowerment or disempowerment of female identity as leaders in Indonesia. Chapter 5 (Japan) overviews the state of women's leadership development in Japan. Chapter 6 (South Korea) provides answers to a driving question (why has Korea's remarkable economic success failed to translate into women's improved status?) through discussion of challenges and opportunities Korean women leaders face. Chapter 7 (Malaysia) analyzes Malaysian women in leadership from historical, political, economic, and cultural perspectives. Chapter 8 (Myanmar) reviews how women in Myanmar find opportunities to perform in a leadership role, how they overcome significant barriers, and the strengths of women in rural areas. Chapter 9 (Sri Lanka) addresses institutional factors and women's personal

characteristics that become crucial in breaking barriers in women leadership development in Sri Lanka. Chapter 10 (Taiwan) addresses the factors allowing Taiwanese women to become leaders in spite of the barriers that they face. Chapter 11 (Thailand) addresses Thai women leaders' histories, aspirations, frustrations, and experiences, while also providing guidance for researchers interested in this topic in Thailand. The closing chapter, Chapter 12, provides an overview of convergence (similarities) and divergence (differences) of women in leadership in Asian countries and regions and ends with a vision for the future of women in leadership in Asia.

Target Audience

This book is for all of those wanting to develop a better understanding of Asian women in leadership and/or those who wish to conduct research on this topic. It exemplifies how to study social phenomena from a broad, multi-dimensional, international perspective. Key objectives of this book are to provide leadership practitioners and researchers with information on a wide account of Asian women in leadership; to inform current and future leadership practitioners and researchers about the need to modify their approach to research in Asian contexts by indigenizing such research, rather than relying on a western approach or perspective; to emphasize the importance of both convergence (commonalities) and divergence (differences) in studying women in leadership in Asia; and to serve as the basis for the development of future research agendas for international comparisons of women in leadership. This book may be adopted as a textbook by academic degree programs in human resource development (HRD), human resource management, management, leadership, Asian studies, gender and women's studies, political science, and international relations at undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral levels.

Who We Are

This book was co-edited by four HRD experts with extensive work experience in China (Judy Y. Sun), India (Rajashi Ghosh), Korea (Yonjoo Cho), and internationally (Gary N. McLean). We have published peer-reviewed articles and book chapters on HRD and gender issues across Asia and more broadly. Other contributors are researchers who have experience in and are familiar with literature on their country's women leaders' aspirations, frustrations, and successes.

Co-Editors

All co-editors worked in their respective countries before coming to the USA. When asked why we are here, our answers mainly have to do with an Asian culture that is not always favorable to women and women leaders. We have faced challenges and difficulties in the workplace where traditional culture and the gendered workplace co-exist. Our personal experiences in our career paths may contribute to helping the reader understand women and women leaders in Asia. In a form of autoethnography, we provide our own stories about the journey we have taken to become who we are.

Yonjoo Cho (South Korea). I grew up in Seoul, South Korea, in a family where my eldest brother was the hope for my parents who came from North Korea in 1946 when the Soviet Union had occupied after Korea's liberation from the Japanese invasion from 1910 to 1945. My parents have instilled their three children with an idea that we should work hard to excel in schools in order to fulfill their unmet dreams due to their migration to South Korea. I was expected to be a subservient daughter who should get married when the time came. In college, I was a leader in organizing workshops for gender equality. I felt as if I were a *woman warrior* (Kingston, 1976) attempting to raise a voice in the male-dominated society in the early 1980s when it was still in the hands of the military. After receiving a Ph.D. from the USA, I pursued my professional career in diverse organizations in Korea, including a large telecommunications company as an HRD professional, non-profit youth organization as secretary general, and business school as MBA Director. I was fully committed and wholeheartedly worked hard to make a difference, but I experienced the gendered workplace by being bypassed in the promotion process or being treated as a second-class citizen in the organization. After getting married in my 40s to a college friend who encouraged me to return to the USA instead of feeling frustrated in Korea, I returned to the USA to become a faculty member in higher education and began researching HRD based on my diverse work experiences. My husband's high expectation of me as a professional and his willingness to move wherever I go have been extremely instrumental for me to become an HRD scholar. After securing my tenure, I felt an urgency to revisit women's issues before it was too late, so I have resumed research on women leaders in Korea and Asia, a topic about

which I feel passionate because it resonates with my personal and professional journey as I become a woman leader. In the process of editing this book, I feel that I am not alone and that I should pay back what I have learned in my career paths for women in the leadership pipeline desperately wanting to find their own identities as leaders.

Rajashi Ghosh (India). I grew up as a single child, and my parents raised me to be an independent and strong woman. As my parents never believed in the gender stereotypes widely prevalent in the Indian society, my upbringing was somewhat of a rebellion against the age-old norms of gender roles. My father, especially, firmly resisted societal pressures of marrying me off early and encouraged me to pursue higher education abroad. Growing up, I was used to seeing my parents share household chores, including cooking and child rearing; I often perceived myself and my parents as social misfits in the traditional patriarchal society in India. While being a misfit did not make it easy for me to build social capital, fortunately, I made friends with some like-minded people during my postgraduate studies in business administration in Mumbai, India. My parents' upbringing and my circle of like-minded friends prepared me to pursue my dreams of higher education and an independent career. Prior to joining academia, I worked as an HRD practitioner in India; this work experience made me more familiar with the work–life challenges that working women have to experience in India. My work experience inspired me to pursue research on HRD; hence, I moved to the USA to complete my Ph.D.

While I pursued my doctoral studies and then my professorial job, I benefited immensely from my husband's support in attending to household needs, including raising my daughter. I remember how difficult it was to balance being a mother to a two-and-a-half-year-old child and attending to the demands of a tenure track academic job. Without a supportive husband who shared my apathy toward patriarchy and belief in gender equity, I would not have been able to pursue my dreams. I was fortunate to meet a person who could truly be my life partner, but my experience has taught me how significant it is for a woman's parents, friends, and husband to stand by her when she is trying to defy age-old social norms. This realization has given me a unique lens to understand the challenges that working women with leadership aspirations in India experience and how the field of HRD can systematically (i.e., drawing on multiple pillars of support at work and at home) help them to overcome these challenges.

Although my early research did not focus on gender as a central point of inquiry, I have always been interested in exploring gender dynamics at work. I am glad that this book series has given me the opportunity to examine gender issues and their impact on Asian women's leadership aspirations and success more closely. I feel very passionate about this topic, and I believe that my life experiences, both personal and professional, uniquely position me to edit the different narratives in this book about challenges and opportunities for women leaders in Asia and HRD's role in helping them achieve their leadership ambitions.

Judy Y. Sun (China). Being a daughter and the only child in my family, I grew up with undivided attention from my parents and grandparents. Like most Chinese families, my parents had high expectations for my academic achievement. But unlike other families, as the only child, I was not forced to do any house chores. Instead, I was supposed to use every available minute to study. This was partially because both of my parents had gone to college, and this, to some extent, guaranteed them better job opportunities and a better living standard when the country was still poor. As long as I can remember, my parents were always busy at their work and seldom at home. As a result, I went to a boarding school at age 12 and became very independent. I had always been the top student and president of student council from elementary school through college. Getting the highest score in an exam was a requirement; every point below the maximum score would bring punishment. "As a girl, you have to be self-reliant; that means you have to be capable enough to find a decent job to support yourself." I heard this so many times from my parents and grandparents in my school years. I had been so independent and academically capable that I did not really realize any gender differences until I entered the job market. Even though I was the highest-ranked graduate in my class, I lost my first job opportunity with an SOE (state-owned enterprise) just because I was a woman. In order to be more competitive in the job market and to find a job I liked more easily, I began study as an MBA student, which in turn opened my eyes and triggered my interest in management. I got married during my years working full time and studying part time. My husband was very supportive of my studying, and we decided not to have a baby before I graduated.

As a graduate from a top business school in China, I quickly identified my career interest and enjoyed my career as a professional, a human resource consultant. But I was confused when I heard people's complaints

when they faced challenges and obstacles in their career advancement, especially women. That triggered my interest in pursuing a Ph.D. in HRD in the USA. This decision was not appreciated by my family and friends. They did not understand why I wanted to go abroad and sacrifice family life and a decent job with good pay, just for a degree. I knew, however, that there was a calling for me to find solutions to help people manage and advance careers in different social contexts, such as for individual managers. I started my journey in academia in the USA at age 35, as a mom with a 5-year-old daughter. I had to quit my job as a director in a career development center at a top business school in China. Now, as a university business faculty member for years in the USA, my research interest is still focused on career and leadership development, and it is my dream to help people understand how Chinese women struggle in their career and family lives in order to be successful.

Gary N. McLean (Canada). As the sole man and non-Asian on the editing team, I bring different, yet just as passionate, perspectives to the series. Each of these characteristics needs explanation relating to my interest in this topic.

I spent the first 21 years of my life in Canada (with the exception of 1 year in the USA during college) as the older of two children, my sister being almost 4 years my junior. My father was initially a laborer in a warehouse but, over the years, was promoted to end his career as national director of warehousing. My mother was a nurse who worked outside of the home for as long as I can remember. My grandmother (on my father's side) became my primary caregiver. She was a strong, independent woman who did not work outside of the home. As my mother often worked the 3–11 p.m. shift, dad usually made dinner. Because both parents worked, my sister and I did much of the housework, including vacuuming, dusting, doing the dishes, yardwork, shoveling snow, the laundry, and hanging clothes out to dry – even in the cold Canadian winters. As there were no boys in the neighborhood, but many girls my age, I grew up with girls as my best friends. We would play girls' games (dolls, house, skipping rope, tossing balls up against the side of the house to accompanying songs and actions), and, in turn, they would play boys' games (football, war, cars, and trucks).

My dad had graduated from high school in Commerce, which, at the time, included shorthand and typing. So, I watched him use these skills and was fascinated. I decided that I wanted to teach those subjects. When

I went to university, I did a double major in secretarial studies and business administration. But no one had told me that secretarial work was for women, one other man. So, the first secretarial class I took consisted of 35 women and me. Spending 3 years in this environment was a wonderful education in gender studies, as well as in secretarial studies. There was one other student doing the same double major, and she had the same type of experience when she entered the business administration classes as the only woman. I worked full time while attending university full time. I started out as a secretary and bookkeeper, but I was quickly promoted to office manager. I soon figured out that this was because of my gender, not my qualifications. Even then, I knew this was not right.

I taught in a community college for 2 years, and all of my students were women. I decided to return to do a doctorate in business teacher education, which led, again, when I took a job at the University of Minnesota, to having almost all women students. As I transitioned into HRD, initially, most of my students were men, but, as the workplace changed, it was not long before I found myself, again, teaching classes consisting primarily of women. As I began to do my scholarly work, my first book was *Humanity as a Career: A Holistic Approach to Sex Equity* (McLean & Crawford, 1979), and I researched gender depictions in secretarial textbooks and sexual harassment (of both men and women). I have always believed that gender equity was good for both women and men!

My international interests began when I was eight. I was a wolf cub in the Boy Scouts program. To earn my hobby badge, I needed a hobby. My cub master offered me a stamp album full of stamps, and I began a lifelong love of philately. I was fascinated by the pictures, maps, and the stories they told, and I traveled the world through these little pieces of paper. I vowed that I would one day visit all of the countries on my stamps (an impossible task, of course). Further, my mother was very outgoing, and she would often bring international sojourners home with her from work to share a meal. She recognized that they were lonely, and I had wonderful conversations with them, fueling my international interests. I was active in international clubs throughout my higher education, serving as vice-president at Teachers College, Columbia University, during my master's degree (the president was from China), and serving as president during my doctoral work.

My first professional experience internationally occurred during the mid to late 1980s when I worked on a World Bank project in Bangladesh. Since then, I have worked in over 56 countries/regions, focusing mainly in Asia; I have worked in nine of the ten countries/regions

contained in this book, with Indonesia being the only exception. This interest in Asia was cemented when my wife and I added four Korean adoptees to our two biological children, to form a family of six kids, with only 5 years from oldest to youngest. Because of the flexibility I had as a professor at the University of Minnesota, my wife and I consciously committed to sharing housework and childcare, a commitment (at least to housework) that continues to today.

I love writing and editing. With my passion for gender equity and Asia, these interests have combined to provide me with this opportunity to work with so many scholars from across Asia and, especially, with these three friends with whom I have been given the opportunity to co-edit.

CONCLUSION

This book focuses on gender inequality and underutilization of women talent in Asia. Each of the ten countries and regions has unique characteristics, cultures, beliefs, and socioeconomic contexts that influence women's status in leadership roles. Readers will gain knowledge and understanding of the importance of developing of women leaders in Asia. As said, our discussion opens the possibility of seeing what has not been exposed from a dominant western perspective and provides lessons learned from a uniquely Asian perspective.

This book has critical implications for the development of women leaders in Asia, providing intriguing insights into developing the potential of women and women leaders in organizations set in rapidly developing Asian countries in which traditional cultural expectations and modernized values coexist. Lessons learned from an Asian perspective will provide valuable insights for the development of highly qualified women leaders and women in the leadership pipeline in Asian countries and regions.

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Research on Women in Leadership in 10 Countries and Regions

Women in Leadership in China: Past, Present, and Future

Judy Y. Sun and Jessica Li

The People's Republic of China (China or PRC), established in 1949, has transformed from a closed agricultural economy to a market-oriented socialist economy in the past 65 years. As the second largest economy in the world, China has become one of the most influential countries during the globalization process, not only because it is a global hub for manufacturing, but also because it is the world's fastest growing consumer market and importer (Cooke, 2006). With an above-average world record of labor force participation, Chinese women have long been held up as a model for women in Asia (Zeng, 2014). A famous saying since Chairman Mao's era (1949–1976) is, "women hold up half the sky." Chinese women play a critical role in the nation's economic development (Lee, 1995).

Despite increasing participation in various sectors, the representation of women in society at decision-making levels actually has been consistently low

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(Cheung & Halpern, 2010; Cooke, 2006, 2010). It has been widely argued that the improvement in gender equality in employment is mostly in quantity rather than quality, especially when measured against the proportion of women in management (Cooke, 2005; Lu & Zhao, 2002). For instance, there has been no woman among the nine members of China's top level of decision-making, the Politburo Standing Committee of the Communist Party since the establishment of the PRC; only 12% of ministerial positions in government are held by women in 2016, and there has been only one female head of state (Li Bin) in the past 50 years (The World Economic Forum, 2016). In business settings, only 18% of firms in China have women as top managers, and women were represented with only 10.7% of board members and 3.2% as CEOs of companies of all types (Credit Suisse Research Institute, 2014).

Through a comprehensive review of both English and Chinese literature, we examined Chinese women's leadership status in the unique Chinese transitioning cultural, economic, social, and political contexts. The review traces back through 2,200 years of history from which gender-role perceptions still influence Chinese women's career advancement and leadership development.

Women's Family Roles and Social Status in Traditional Chinese Culture

Gender inequality in China has been particularly problematic because of the well-known contradictory effects of gender stratification in two phases of the nation's history. One has to do with the 2,200-year-old Confucian attitudes and norms, established in 246 BCE, that supported a strong hierarchy, based on gender and age, that saw women as subordinate to men. The other concerns the efforts by the communist government since 1949 to challenge the tradition and improve the status of women (Bauer, Feng, Riley, & Zhao, 1992). We examine the influence of traditional cultural norms on women's contemporary status in this section and the influence of communism in the next section.

Throughout Chinese history, a woman's social status has been low, and China has been categorized as a gender-segregated society where women were discriminated against in accordance with the patriarchal value of the Chinese traditional culture (Jia, 2015). The Confucian doctrine systemized discrimination by making it the foundation of social relations that governs the Chinese society. This system emphasizes *wu lun* – five cardinal

relationships: emperor to subjects, father to son, husband to wife, elder to younger siblings, and older to younger friends. *Wu lun* basically set forth a hierarchy (paternalism) and group orientation (collectivism) and defined the social expectations of people's role. It aimed to maintain a stable and harmonious society (Ardichvili et al., 2010). According to these social norms, a woman's responsibility was limited to serving her husband and her parents-in-law, taking care of her household, and giving birth to healthy male children (Attane, 2013).

In traditional Chinese culture, women were inferior to men. For instance, there is a Confucianism value that has dominated people's attitudes and behaviors for over 2,000 years, collectively known as females' three obediences and four virtues. *Three obediences* meant that unmarried women had to be obedient to their fathers, married women to their husbands, or to their sons in case their husbands died (Jia, 2015). *Four virtues* were good appearance and manner, ability in housework, appropriate language, and self-control (Bell, 2010). All of these cultural values and norms are still influential and continuously constrain Chinese women's behaviors, especially in their career pursuits. It is not uncommon for women to give up career opportunities due to family needs. The proverb, "a woman without talents/literacy is virtuous" (Chen, 1937) is often heard when parents try to persuade their daughter to give up her career pursuits or desire for higher education. Being a good wife, a good daughter, and a good mother receives comparatively higher appreciation than being a good manager or a good leader.

With all of these social norms in place, women's individual rights and personal freedom are taken, and they are submissive to men throughout their entire lives. They have no right to pursue their interests and cannot make their own decisions, own property, or have economic power. The most degrading era for the social status of women in Chinese history originated in the Song Dynasty (960–1279 CE), when women's foot binding became a common cultural phenomenon, lasting almost a thousand years until the late Qing Dynasty (1622–1912 CE). Foot binding further limited the range of activities of women and promoted men's paternalistic control and authority over women.

Women's rights were also limited in educational opportunities, according to the traditional culture. From a child, girls were taught to be subservient to men in the house and to learn the virtues of being docile and obedient. The skills that women learned were limited to cooking,

sewing, knitting, cotton spinning, and housekeeping. Women's emancipation and right for education did not become a prominent issue until the late nineteenth century (Wolf, 1985).

Due to traditional values, even today women's burden of family responsibility consumes much of their energy and makes them less competitive in their careers. Because of the deep-rooted Confucianism, Chinese still think that women should not be above men, or a wife should not be more advanced than her husband in her career (Cooke, 2003). Women workers in China were disproportionately laid off or forced into early retirement when the radical downsizing program took place in the government sector in the mid-1990s and early 2000s (Liu, 2007). As the perception of women managers by men colleagues and subordinates is that women should be only homemakers and mothers, men do not accept them as supervisors. For instance, in a recent qualitative study on career development of managers, Sun (2014) recorded a female manager's account of a conversation with her husband when she wanted to make a career change to a more advanced position. She recalled what her husband had told her: "You are a woman working there without any pressure, so it is a good place for any women to stay until retirement" (Sun, 2014, p. 142). Obviously, her husband did not think it was necessary or important for her to take on more work responsibilities and more pressure to pursue her own career as a woman and a wife.

THE RISE OF FEMINISM AND COMMUNISM

The birth of the People's Republic of China also marked the true transformation that took place in the lives of Chinese women. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) saw protecting women's employment rights and interests as an essential measure for realizing gender equality, at least in principle. In order to promote women's participation in employment, the state intervened through legislative, administrative, economic, media, and educational mechanisms. Significant investment was made in childcare facilities to relieve this burden on working mothers. This intervention has provided considerable advances in pay and social equality for women workers (Cooke, 2010). The real improvement in the social status of women was evident in the following passage from the basic law implemented in 1950:

> The People's Republic of China shall abolish the feudal system that holds women in bondage. Women shall enjoy equal rights with men in political,

economic, cultural, educational, and social life. Freedom of marriage for men and women shall be put into effect (Article 6). (Li, 2000, p. 353)

With these statements, the Communist government made a firm commitment to gender equality.

The actual outcome of the rise of feminism in China in the past six decades has received mixed reviews. The nascent feminist policies implemented by the CCP have made certain that Chinese women could no longer be forced to stay in the home. Instead, they could enjoy the same educational opportunities as men and have marriage equality. However, the traditional value of the authority of father and husband within the family remained intact, thus not releasing women from household responsibilities. In addition, promoting women's participation in the labor force was mostly to serve the interests of the CCP for several decades, mobilize women to join in agricultural production, and support the infamous Great Lead Forward, which was a national movement in the 1950s promoted by the CPP to mobilize the entire population for native production of iron and steel with a goal of surpassing the UK and the USA in 15 years (Johnson, 1983). During that time, the emancipation of women was largely measured by numbers, such as how many were in the workforce, and how many were enrolled in political organizations, but rarely were women's viewpoints incorporated into policies and decision-making processes (Johnson, 1983). Thereafter, the political turmoil of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) and later the rapid economic development of the 1990s left the emancipation of women in a secondary place at best, if not forgotten entirely.

The situation changed in 1995 when the Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing. The meeting not only legitimized and increased gender-related research in China but also put China in the world stage in terms of women's rights. China again affirmed the gender equality principle and admitted that the gender gap remained as a significant problem that needed to be addressed to improve the situation (Attane, 2013). To correct this situation, the CCP has initiated a series of programs for the development of Chinese women (Attane, 2013). The first period (1995–2000) focused on programs that promoted equality between spouses and deterred domestic violence and women trafficking, while encouraging political participation and representation in government bodies. The second period (2001–2010) aimed at protecting women's rights and interests, including education, equal access to

employment, economic resources, and health care. The newest and third program started in 2011 and targeted persistent discrimination against women in the development of a market economy and international competition (Attane, 2013).

Recent success in economic development and globalization has brought western influence and transformed the concept of feminism in China. Previously, emancipation of women was always guided by governmental and CCP policies and was never initiated by grassroots activists. The All-China Women's Federation (ACWF, 2011), a patron group led by the CCP government that champions women's causes, has mainly played a welfare and supportive role to help women regain employment, instead of campaigning against their lay-offs and gender inequality in employment, such as gender pay gaps and discrimination in recruitment and promotion. Ineffective policies in representing the interests of women have prompted Chinese feminists to start organizing and voicing their ideals. For instance, a group of Chinese feminist protesters was detained for staging a protest prior to International Women's Day in 2015 but was subsequently released due to public outcry (Hu, 2016).

Women's Educational and Working Opportunities

National policies and social movements have changed the structure and size of Chinese families, as well as their life style, and, in turn, changed women's lives. This section will discuss how these critical movements have influenced women's educational and working opportunities.

The Impact of the One-Child Policy

The more than three decades of the one-child policy has a dual impact (1980–2016). On the one hand, it has caused a severe imbalance of gender, especially in the rural population. Influenced by the traditional belief of *Zhong Nan Qing Nu* (*daughters are inferior to sons*), families used to keep trying for more children until they finally got a boy. Due to the one-child policy, a family can only get one child no matter if it is a boy or a girl. Unexpectedly, it caused many abortions and infanticide of girl babies and induced high ratios of males to females (Ebenstein, 2010). On the other hand, the policy ushered in an age of families without boys, especially in urban areas. As a result, these girls, and later women, have more educational and career opportunities (Matthews, 2016). According to Liu (2016),

women from the one-child generation had higher education participation in contemporary China. Among more than 1,000 women undergraduates in the eastern provinces of Anhui and Zhejiang, singleton women students did substantially better than those with siblings. They performed far better on the university entrance test and were much better represented in elite universities (Liu, 2016). Because of the one-child policy, these girls did not have to compete with brothers for resources and attention and so were able to blaze a trail through China's universities (Matthews, 2016). A woman who was seen as successful from the one-child policy generation shared her feelings in an interview: "My parents treated me as if I were a boy" (Liu, 2016, p. 28).

Urban versus Rural Areas

The representation of women in higher education has steadily increased in the past six decades. For example, over half (50.7%) of enrolled students in post-secondary education are women (The World Bank, 2016). Most Chinese women who grow up in urban areas were educated at similar levels to men, and 72% were employed full-time at the time of publication of Cooke's (2005) article. In contrast, women who grew up in rural areas did not enjoy equal opportunities, in either education or the labor market. A national survey of China's rural labor market found that educational attainment in rural China was still low. While the typical sample rural resident between the ages of 16 and 60 attended school 6.6 years for men, it was only 3.6 years for women (Zhang, Huang, & Rozelle, 2002). Women's participation in the job market is even lower; most have to move to urban areas to find a job (Fincher, 2014).

Urbanization

With unprecedented economic development in China, a parallel development has been the increasing number of rural migrant workers moving to urban areas since the late 1980s (Cooke, 2005; Fincher, 2014). As a result of accelerated urbanization, China's urban population has overtaken the population in rural areas since 2011 and reached 54.77% in 2015 (National Bureau of Statistics in China, 2015). Several millions of rural migrant workers are transforming both rural and urban landscapes, especially men workers who are employed in construction sites and in manufacturing plants. Women, in the meantime, are staying in the home

in villages supporting the family and conducting farm work that used to be shared by husbands and wives (Xu, 2016).

As mentioned above, the preference of having a son has been a traditional mindset for thousands of years in China, which not only causes a severe imbalance of gender, especially in the rural population, but also major societal problems. Coupled with mobility from rural to urban areas in China, most young men have left their home and have gone to big cities for more opportunities and better income. Women are left in the countryside as *liushou nvshi*, meaning *stay at home ladies*. They are taking on a heavy workload, including farm work, feeding animals, and taking care of the elderly and children (Xu, 2016). Given that women are the majority in the workforce in rural areas, and their low educational level and lack of skills have been the bottleneck to developing rural areas, the Chinese government has promoted a new policy of *building a new socialist countryside*, focused on improving the skill sets of women in rural areas (Jacka, 1997; Xu, 2016).

The Impact of Marital Status on Employment

Unlike Korea and Japan, Chinese women have constantly high participation in the workforce. Most still have a full-time job after marriage and do not leave their job even during the neonatal and toddler years. Of mothers between 25 and 34 years of age with children under the age of 6, 72% remain employed (ACWF, 2011). While working the same long working hours as men, women still have to take care of family chores every day. China is known for long working hours in almost all industries, which makes it challenging for women to take care of family and pursue career advancement at the same time. If men are needed by both family and work, they usually choose work. Women, however, are supposed to take care of family as their first priority. In turn, this makes women less accountable at work and less likely to be promoted to a managerial position.

In addition, as one quarter of the population live in a household containing three generations, wives are supposed to play several family roles and obligations at the same time, including being a child of surviving parents with responsibility for them and a parent (Pilkauskas, 2012). The three-generation family household was an old custom in China in which married couples lived together with their parents and shared responsibilities for raising children and providing support to the elderly. It is still quite influential, although fluctuations in family structure and size have been induced by

variations in age distribution following the one-child policy. It is especially popular in rural areas where a social security system has not been in place yet. It is not only a custom but also a necessity for young couples to take care of their children and the elderly. Even if the couple does not live together with their parents, the care for elderly parents is still their responsibility according to the Elderly Rights and Security Law (Cook & Dong, 2011).

Fortunately, most urban areas in China have a good network of childcare provision that can be sourced from employers, local communities, family networks, or private paid assistance. This provides a context within which married women with young children are unlikely to find themselves confronted with the dual burden of employment and family life to the same extent as women in other countries (Cooke, 2005). Nevertheless, overall heavy responsibilities of housework and many family roles keep working wives extremely busy and make it difficult for them to consider career advancement opportunities such as promotions and relocation assignments (Zhang, 2012).

Due to the influence of western values and economic development, women are marrying later, with the average age of first marriage for women being 25 years old in 2015, compared to 23 years old in 2011 (The World Economic Forum, 2016). This is coupled with another interesting phenomenon – many highly educated and high-income women remain single. Almost 50% of highly educated women (with post-secondary education) are unmarried, 10.1% higher than unmarried and highly educated men (National Bureau of Statistics in China, 2015). This is partially due to the traditional belief that men should be more educated than their wives. An increasing number of highly talented single women is facing serious work–life balance issues with little time for a personal life and much social pressure to get married. They are called *Sheng nu*, or *leftover women*, conveying disapproval and dissonance with social expectations (Gaetano, 2014; Sargeson, 2014). This group of women has long been a topic of concern in Chinese society that prioritizes marriage and motherhood for women. As a result, women are not motivated to pursue higher education or job positions due to social pressure and difficulty in placing themselves in the marriage market (Fincher, 2014; Graham, 2015).

WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN GOVERNMENT

The achievement of a high rate of woman employment can be credited to the efforts of the CCP government. Little attention, however, has been given to improving the quality of employment prospects of

women by listening to their needs and providing developmental opportunities. Many women are stuck in clerical and lower level manual labor due both to barriers against career progression and limited promotional opportunities. Cooke (2010) found that women are severely discriminated against in their applications for professional and managerial positions in government sectors, even worse than in the private sector.

These phenomena have resulted in policies aimed at increasing the participation of women in government leadership positions in the past decade. For example, a quota system was implemented in some governmental departments that required a certain number of women to be placed in leadership positions. By the end of 2010, 86.2% of government departments at the county level offered leadership positions to women, and 87.1% of provincial governments had at least one female deputy governor (Zeng, 2014). However, the overall participation of women in the current political body and high-level government entities remains a disappointment to many Chinese feminists (Bell, 2010). At the three highest levels of the Chinese governing body, the current National Congress consist of only 23% women members, the Central Committee has just 6% women members, and the highest decision-making body, the Politburo Standing Committee, has yet to have a women member for more than 50 years of its existence. At the provincial level or ministry level, women are generally serving as deputy provincial party secretaries, vice-governors, or vice-ministers, with only two women governors. Among the minsters, only two are women; one is Wu Aiying, the Minister of Justice, and the other is Wang Xia, the Minister of the National Health and Family Planning Commission (Li, 2016).

It is hoped that the number of women participating in leadership might increase as the number of highly educated women increases in China. The percentage of women university students has grown significantly over the past 50 years, from close to 0 to 53.1%, and 49.7% of students currently pursuing postgraduate degrees are women (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, 2016). As China opens up recruitment for government positions through examinations, an increasing number of educated women will be attracted to participate in the competition. Therefore, the chance of women being selected will also likely increase. Overcoming male domination in government leadership positions, however, will remain a problem in China for the foreseeable future (Li, 2016).

Women Leaders in the Corporate Sector

It has been difficult to get accurate statistics for women participation in corporate leadership positions in China, and those that are available show vastly different results. A report by Grant Thornton's International Business Report (GTIBR) (2013) stated that 51% of senior management positions in Chinese companies are held by women, while at the same time the world average is 24%. Chinese women occupied 19% of CEO positions in 2013, double the world average (GTIBR, 2013). In a report by Shi (2012), women were reported to lead 15% of the 802 companies listed in the Shanghai Stock Exchange. Another statistic from Catalyst (2016), a nonprofit organization that champions women's initiatives, had Chinese women's participation in top management positions at 18% in 2015. Compared to women in top political offices, the corporate sector presents a more encouraging picture of women's participation in leadership compared with world averages.

Women's participation in top management positions is on the rise and is considerably more visible in private companies when compared with state-owned enterprises. Companies are also more likely to promote a woman to CEO when there is at least one woman director on the company's board (Lam, McGuinness, & Vieito, 2013). Given the influence of the one-child policy on recent generations, there has been a large number of women CEOs generated from private companies and inherited family businesses founded by their parents (Zhang, 2012). Hence, the growth of the private sector has been the driving force for the increase in women in leadership in the corporate sector.

The most significant and enduring challenge facing women leaders in the corporate sector is gender discrimination. Even though the government has implemented laws and policies to ensure equal employment, apparent gender discrimination still exists in government policies. For example, men and women have different retirement ages. As per this policy, women have to retire 5 years earlier than men. It truncates their career advancement opportunities and prevents them from reaching higher level positions (Bowen et al., 2007). In addition, there is a persistent earning gap between men and women counterparts, and recent studies have found that the gap grew larger when state ownership increased (Cooke, 2003; Lam et al., 2013).

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Chinese women have made remarkable progress in both public and private realms in the past six decades but still face challenges and obstacles on their way to high-ranking leadership roles. A number of barriers were found in relation to deeply embedded Chinese social conventions and norms in which women are widely expected to play a supporting role to men (Cooke, 2003, 2005). Although a series of equal opportunity legislation has been introduced by the government, the fairness of these regulations and the effectiveness of their implementation are highly debatable (Cooke, 2005).

Specifically, education and working experiences are two major avenues for women to take in order to improve their opportunities for appointment to leadership positions. While the educational level of women has been closer to that of men, the overall education level of employed women and length of tenure are generally lower in the workforce (Jia, 2015).That means women are less likely to have the required managerial skills or experience to compete equally for leadership positions. Due to social expectations, women are less likely to make an education or career-related decision purely based on their own interests, while families and society place more emphasis on a woman's roles as a mother and a homemaker. Even in cases where women have similar levels of education to men counterparts, childbirth and family responsibilities make it difficult for them to gain relevant and equivalent work experiences.

Because China has enacted a one-child policy for the last 36 years, women in younger generations, as the single child in the family, have been able to overcome the effect of the traditional customs of *Zhong Nan Qing Nu* (*daughters are inferior to sons*). Therefore, they have been motivated to participate in higher education and receive better working opportunities, including the possibility of inheriting family businesses as successors. With the end of the one-child policy in October, 2015, however, will Chinese patrilineal culture reassert itself so that sisters lose out to brothers again in the fight for resources and education opportunities? Would parents who take advantage of the policy and have a boy revert to the old mindset of *Zhong Nan Qing Nu*? China has witnessed a resurgence of patriarchal Confucian tradition in recent years (Sargeson, 2014), and that may again create more challenges and obstacles for women to pursue leadership roles.

Actions to improve women's status have so far mainly come from government policies in which a minimum ratio is set for women

politicians and women leaders in government organizations and in political congresses. But we would like to echo Cooke's (2010) argument that these policies can be used only to guarantee the minimum number of women present in these positions, rather than an effective approach to help women in other sectors to advance their careers. Favorable treatment as a token policy can serves only to damage the image of women as a whole and undermine their performance in the long term because they are seen to be in a position more as a woman instead of as a competent person (Cooke, 2005). Furthermore, women may not be encouraged to pursue leadership roles in sectors where such policies do not exist. The real barriers to women's career advancement have not been removed.

While fair legislation from the state level and effective human resource management policies from the organizational level are needed to create a level playing field for women to compete with men, changes are also needed from the public and from the grassroots of society. Social media and other public voices need to change their tone and should not evaluate a woman leader just from the traditional cultural perspective. More grassroots women organizations and activists are needed to protect women's rights in both rural and urban areas. The society needs to be educated to look at women leaders in the same way as their men counterparts. It is time for the longstanding social expectation of women to be replaced by a new attitude; that is, valuing women's efforts in their career pursuits and self-representation in all aspects of life. Then, a real era of women *holding up half the sky* will come.

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Current State of Women Leaders in India: Challenges and Opportunities

Rajashi Ghosh and Rajeshwari Narendran

While India has made enormous economic strides in the past few decades with the most recent growth of 7.4% in its gross domestic product in the third quarter of 2016 (Nayak & Sahu, 2016), the condition of women has not improved significantly. Even though India is called a rising economic powerhouse in the global market (Budhwar & Varma, 2011; Rao & Varghese, 2009), women experience myriad challenges in pursuing leadership opportunities and performing in leadership positions.

The World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index ranks India at 108 among 145 countries (World Economic Forum, 2015). Only about 36% of women are in the Indian workforce, of which only 3% to 6% occupy senior official positions (Catalyst, 2013). Most importantly, India has the "worst leaking pipeline for junior- to middle-level positions for women: 28.71% of those at the junior level, 14.9% at the middle level and 32% at

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the senior level at the workplaces" (Chawla, Chawla, Sharma, & Sharma, 2016, p. 184). Due to this leaking pipeline, 26% of women compared to only 9% of men in India report a lack of role models who can inspire them to achieve and excel in leadership positions (Bagati & Carter, 2010). Such statistics are reflective of the challenges facing women leaders in India.

Women's appointment to high-ranking leadership roles in India is challenging because traditional cultural values (e.g., patriarchy) dictate the inferior status of women, especially in family structures and inter-actions (Haq, 2013). Their persistence over several decades following India's independence in 1947 and economic liberalization in 1991 indicates how deep-rooted these gender-role perceptions are in Indian society. Given that such cultural values are at the core of gender bias and discrimination in Indian workplaces and society, there is an urgent need to consider cultural influences more significantly when researching women in leadership in India.

The objective of this chapter is to review literature that discusses the roots of cultural stereotypes about gender roles and the evolution of these stereo-types in the context of political and economic changes in India. We explain how gender stereotypes influence the implementation of policies and legisla-tion, impact the education to workforce pipeline, and bias workplace practices. We discuss how the persisting cultural stereotypes expect Indian women to uphold the values of both tradition and modernity, thereby posing significant challenges for women who aspire to overcome the socio-cultural barriers and carve out their own independent identities as leaders. We add examples of some exceptional Indian women who are navigating challenges posed by gender stereotypes to emerge successful as leaders in different sectors in India.

TRACING THE ROOTS OF GENDER ROLES IN INDIAN SOCIETY

Gender inequality is often called a structural phenomenon where the cultural institutions such as a rigid caste structure and cultural norms dictate the allocation of resources and opportunities between men and women (Malhotra & Schuler, 2005; Pande & Astone, 2007). As Hinduism is the major religion in India, it is helpful to discuss briefly how the organizing principles of the caste structure instituted by Hinduism created the need for women's subordination. The fundamental principle of the caste structure was to preserve resources, such as land, wealth, and opportunities, within a closed structure, making them acces-sible to the upper castes (e.g., Brahmanas) who were believed to be

superior than those belonging to the lower castes (e.g., Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras, Dalits) (Chakravarti, 1993).

With this idea of superiority of the upper castes came the need to preserve the purity of castes. As women were the points of entrance into a certain caste, free movement of upper caste women was institutionally constrained to avoid mixing of the upper and lower castes. Subordination of women was necessary for the survival of the social and moral order of the Hindu society, and this was secured by means such as "ideology, economic dependency on the male head of the family, class privileges and veneration bestowed upon conforming and dependent women of the upper classes, and finally the use of force" (Chakravarti, 1993, p. 580). Ideological control through the *pativrata* concept (i.e., wifely fidelity as a significant expression of self) was the most impactful as this ideology naturalized women's subordination in society. Through the promotion of this patriarchal ideology, women were indoctrinated not only to accept the state of subordination as their condition, but also embrace their subordinate status to their husbands (and, in turn, to men) as a mark of distinction (Chakravarti, 1993). The virtues of loyalty and devotion were propagated through rituals that women were socialized to practice (i.e., women fasting for their husband's health or performing ceremonies to offer respect to their male family members) and through righteous women characters in Indian mythology, such as Sita and Savitri, who epitomized wifely fidelity through sacrificing personal desires and freedom. The sacrifice of personal desires was manifested through restricting free movement of women in public and encouraging devotion to the private sphere of family life. This restriction led to status-appropriate work in which women of upper castes were subjugated to work within strict boundaries to protect their family's status. So, "the more secluded the woman, the higher her household's status or prestige" (Chen, 1995, p. 46).

Interestingly, this association of women's honor with the private sphere was further fueled by the nationalist struggle of India in the nineteenth century. While the nationalists acknowledged the superiority of western civilization in the material sphere, they claimed that the east was far superior to the west in regard to the spiritual sphere. This superiority of the spiritual sphere became significant for women with "the material/spiritual...dichotomy...between the outer and the inner" (Chatterjee, 1989, p. 624). The material (outer) was superficial, and one was forced to accept it. As men were the breadwinners

and responsible for supporting families, their dress, religious, and food habits (e.g., drinking, smoking, lack of religious devotion) due to exposure to the outer realm were considered a necessary evil. However, women compensated for this loss by their natural association with the private/inner sphere as the custodians of spiritual purity. Similar to the ideological control of the *pativrata*, women were socialized not only to accept, but also feel proud of their status as the defenders of India's spiritual distinctiveness. As home was considered to be the primary site for spirituality (a mark of national culture), women were given the responsibility of nurturing their homes through selflessly serving their husbands and children. This outer/inner distinction helped to organize norms for appropriate conduct of women and led to the creation of social roles for the genders.

IMPACT OF GENDER ROLES ON DEVELOPING WOMEN LEADERSHIP IN INDIA

This section briefly describes how gender stereotypes continue to influence aspects that are critical to developing and sustaining women leaders in India: policies and legislation for protecting women's rights, education for women, tradition–modernity dualism for the emerging Indian woman, and the gendered nature of workplace practices impacting Indian working women.

Policies and Legislation for Protecting Women's Rights

Policies and legislation are critical to creating a safe and conducive work environment for women to pursue and excel in leadership roles in community, government, non-profits, and corporate organizations. India adopted its comprehensive Constitution in 1950. Early, notable legislation included the Maternity Benefits Act of 1961, the Factories Act of 1948, and the Equal Remuneration Act of 1976. Other laws aimed at improving women's condition were the Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986; the Commission of Sati (the ritual of burning widows on husbands' funeral pyre) Prevention Act, 1987; the National Commission for Women Act, 1990; the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts, 1993, ensuring reservation of one-third of elected seats in panchayats (village governance structures) for

women from lower castes; the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005; and the Sexual Harassment of Women at the Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition, and Redressal) Act, 2013. Further, the Government of India declared 2001 as the Year of Women's Empowerment (Swashakti) and passed the National Policy for the Empowerment of Women with the goal of bringing about the advancement, development, and empowerment of women (Ahamad, Sinha, & Shastri, 2016). While passing these legislative acts gives the impression that the Indian government is committed to fighting discrimination against women, thereby paving the path for women leaders, a better understanding shows how some of these laws are subject to age-old prejudices and gender stereotypes prevalent in Indian society.

For instance, although there are laws to prevent violence against women,

> in every incident of violence against women, the attempt is made to underplay the crime itself by focusing on the identity/position of the perpetrator, as well as the victim, in order to mobilise support on the basis of defined parameters of polarisation in the specific context. These can be caste, community, regional or even politico-ideological. (Agnihotri & Mazumdar, 1995, p. 1872)

Thus, even if the laws exist on paper, the implementation of these laws are subject to societal bigotry that considers certain groups of women (e.g., lower castes, women in rural regions or women in politically contested regions, such as Kashmir or Nagaland) as less worthy of the benefits accruing from these laws.

Similarly, constitutional privileges of gender equality have not been realized because, initially, the five-year plans rolled out by the planning commission of the Indian government fell short by not including women as a direct target group. Given Indian society's inclination to think of women's identity as primarily community bound, women's issues were mostly mentioned indirectly through a thrust on family or household concerns until women's organizations issued a joint statement demanding

> explicit mention of women as a target group, since the invisibility of women to planners and administrators was rooted in the tendency to view women only through the screen of families and households and not as individuals in

their own right. (All India Women Conference, 1980 as cited in Khullar, 2005, p. 69)

This resulted in the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1980–85) including a chapter on Women and Development:

> Acknowledging the government's own failure to achieve gender equality, the Plan stated explicitly that without economic independence, equal access to education, skill-training, and family planning services, the constitutional guarantee of equality will remain a myth. (Sixth Five-Year Plan 1980–85, Chapter 27) (Agnihotri & Mazumdar, 1995, p. 1874)

This further led to a direct focus on women in the subsequent five-year plans that allocated funds to women-focused programs and focused on inclusive growth of women through provision of special benefits and job quotas. The current 12th Five-Year Plan (2012–17) notes gender inequality as a key issue and specifically refers to the need for inclusion of all *backward* groups (e.g., lower castes) (Government of India Planning Commission, 2012; Twelfth Five-Year Plan, 2012). This is remarkable progress given how integral the caste structure in Indian society is in understanding gender issues.

Although this marked shift in the approach to women's issues is commendable, there are myriad challenges when it comes to the implementation of these plans, policies, and legislation. Gender stereotypes and prejudices are pervasive, especially in rural India, and it would take a concerted and systematic effort to uproot them and empower women to become leaders from the grassroots level. In doing so, attention needs to be given to the plight of women working in the informal or unorganized sector that includes all "operating units whose activities are not regulated under any Statutory Act or legal provision and/or those which do not maintain any regular accounts" (Kulshreshtha, 2011, p. 125). Given that the unorganized sector is beyond the reach of legislation, and 94% of the women workforce in India is in the unorganized sector (Jose, 2007), the government needs to think creatively to address the barriers facing women and women leaders working in unregistered enterprises in both urban and rural India.

Women's organizations at the grassroots level, such as the Self-employed Women's Association (SEWA), can help the Indian government attend to the needs of women working in unorganized sectors.

SEWA is a great example of women's leadership in India. Founded in 1972 by Dr. Ella Bhatt, SEWA is a trade union of women who are engaged in physical labor or small business work and do not receive regular salaries or welfare benefits. Women in the unorganized sector have achieved this tremendous feat by organizing together to form cooperative structures, such as the SEWA cooperative bank and the SEWA Academy that has helped them access credit and acquire education and skills. At the helm of this initiative is Dr. Bhatt's daughter-in-law, Reema Nanavati, who has taken SEWA to new heights. On being elected the General Secretary in 1999, she enlarged SEWA's network by forming self-help groups and cooperatives across the state, bridging the gap between skills and accessibility to raw materials and markets. Dealing with both market and government forces, Reema has tried to influence markets in ways that also benefit women at the bottom of the growing economy (R. Nanavati, Personal communication, 08-14-2016).

Education for Women

Women's education should be directly associated with workforce participation and, hence, women's ascent to leadership positions in workplaces. However, studies examining women's education and employment trends in India indicate that employment rates for educated women tend to be low in affluent economic strata (Das & Desai, 2003; Jose, 2007). Economically well-off families adopt patriarchal values about gender roles, and "when economic condition of the household rises, there is a tendency for women to withdraw from the workforce and practice seclusion" (Jose, 2007, p. 12). This has created a Catch 22 (a situation from which there is no escape). Women from economically affluent families who have the resources to be educated may not take advantage of their education to gain employment and develop their leadership skills due to social constraints. And women who lack resources needed to get a good education have no choice but to engage in low-paid jobs that lack regulation and do not empower them to take on leadership roles. This devaluing of education raises questions about the perceived goal of education for women in India. Why, then, are women being educated? For what purpose?

As noted by Thapan (2001), education for women in India is not necessarily for their individual empowerment but for "the purposes of having educated and aware mothers and wives who are harbingers of social

and cultural development" (p. 360). Moreover, education is perceived to be a tool for instilling discipline and control over India's daughters and for preparing them to serve their families (Rew, Gangoli, & Gill, 2013; Vijaykumar, 2013). Women's education is also considered to be a safety net that provides a contingency plan in case of a daughter's failed marriage or widowhood and a form of capital for women that helps them attract educated grooms who can earn high salaries (Das & Desai, 2003; Ganguly-Scrase, 2003; Klasen & Peiters, 2015). Thus, education is largely perceived as a tool to perpetuate social norms that govern gender roles and confine women to effective housekeeping instead of preparing them to enter the workforce and aspire for leadership positions at work.

However, the intensity of the social norms dictating gender roles varies across regions in India (Agarwal, 1994; Dyson & Moore, 1983), and, with changing times, the purpose of education for women is being reframed for independence and empowerment (Nandi & Joshi, 2015).

> In the past two decades, women's participation in primary, middle and secondary level has increased considerably. The District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) of the Central Government has reduced dropout rates to less than 10 percent and reduced gender gaps to less than 5 percent. (Kumar & Sangeeta, 2013, p. 167)

Plans to expand the Women's Vocational Training Programme are underway to help women develop skills for seeking employment or building their self-employment potential (Ahamad et al., 2016). Moreover, lately, women political leaders have taken an active interest in advocating for education as an essential tool for women's economic independence and intellectual enlightenment (Beaman, Daflo, Pande, & Topalova, 2012), thus leading the way as role models for inspiring women leaders.

One example of such a leader is the youth icon, Kavita Joshi Sarpanch (i.e., political leader) of Shobhagpura Panchayat in Rajasthan, India. Disturbed by corruption, Kavita courageously stood up and fought against established leaders when there was an opportunity created through a reserved seat in the general category for women (K. Joshi, Personal communication, 09-03-2016). Kavita has forged partnerships with the Mohan Lal Sukhadia University in Rajasthan to improve sewage and sanitary conditions in her village. Her next primary focus is making school education compulsory for girls. She also plans to work on tribal area women empowerment through providing education that is lagging behind due to

the reluctance of villagers to send girls to school. She plans to change mindsets through camps and individual conversations with each tribal woman.

Tradition–Modernity Dualism for the Changing Indian Woman

Although working women are inhabiting the public sphere and even taking on leadership roles, they often continue to subscribe to traditional notions of gender roles (Lau, 2006; Munn & Chaudhuri, 2015). This creates an interesting dilemma for Indian women. On one hand, they aspire to good education and utilize their skills to make a difference through their leadership roles, while, on the other hand, most Indian women want to uphold their traditional identities of being the primary caregiver as a wife or mother. This constant balancing of tradition and modernity can be exhausting, but emerging Indian women have embraced this dualism as a mark of honor and distinction. This is an eerie reminder of how ideological control of tradition over Indian women has morphed over the years but continues to have a steady grip. As articulated by Thapan (2001),

> In much the same way as Indian womanhood has been characterized as an ambivalent state, wherein women are both revered and oppressed, worshipped and molested, free to express themselves in different domains and yet voiceless, the educationally advantaged young woman also finds herself in an ambivalent state. She is simultaneously a part of tradition, ritual, and customary practices, and yet she experiences the more contemporary world. (p. 361)

This tradition–modernity dualism is well reflected in the experience of Nisha Sharma who became famous in 2003 by speaking out against the practice of dowry (i.e., bride's family being obliged to pay the groom's family a lump sum for marriage) (Radhakrishnan, 2009). Her courage and conviction indicate the potential that educated Indian women have for leading in the fight against age-old traditions that are against women. Nisha's announcement about her plan to continue her studies further underscored the value of education for such progressive change in Indian society. However, this reflection of modernity was quickly balanced by Nisha's subsequent choice of agreeing to an arranged marriage (i.e., marriage to a groom chosen by parents)

and life as a homemaker. By choosing marriage over higher education and an independent career, Nisha paid her dues to the traditional values that condition women to prioritize family, and yet she exhibited modern values in protesting against the regressive social practice of dowry.

This dualism is also seen in political women leaders (such as Uma Bharathi) who symbolize the notion of a liberated woman capable of running for political office and, at the same time, upholding the belief of honorable women aware of the boundaries of sacred femininity prescribed by her religion and nation (Basu, 1995) or in the young women working in business-process outsourcing (BPO) centers in India who draw from both the individualistic ideology of self-improvement in India's liberalized information technology (IT) industry and the traditional virtues of domesticity and dedication to family well-being (Vijaykumar, 2013). Another notable example of this dualism can be seen among the beauty queens who have led the path proudly to represent India in international beauty contests following liberalization of India's economy. On one hand, these women (e.g., Sushmita Sen and Aishwarya Rai winning the Miss Universe and Miss World accolades in 1994, among others) excelled in displaying the corporeality of the western notion of physical beauty in swimsuits and, on the other hand, embodied the Indian ethos and virtues of spirituality and love for family (Parameswaran, 2004). Following their victories, Indian media outlets proudly reported their generosity in committing to helping their families with the award money.

What's noteworthy here is the constant push to uphold family as of central importance. While this premium value attributed to the family might appear to be innocent, a closer look indicates that privileging women's association with family resulted in family being critical symbolic capital for women's respectability in all contexts (Mankekar, 1999; Radhakrishnan, 2009). In other words, Indian women not subscribing to the traditional expectation of having close ties with family (especially unmarried women) are likely to be regarded as social outcasts and rebel against Indian society.

This premium value placed on family has huge implications for aspiring women leaders, as this need for respectable Indian women to have a familial identity (i.e., someone's wife, mother, daughter, sister) places tremendous pressure on them to sustain a domestic life alongside attending to the pressures of a leadership role in professional work contexts. Although there is nothing amiss in valuing family, regarding it to be

indispensable for women to earn respect is objectionable. Doing so not only forces women to maintain a familial identity at all costs (i.e., even though they might experience abuse by family members) but also discriminates against working women who might not have strong family ties. Unfortunately, even if times are changing with more women aspiring to careers as leaders, this tension of tradition–modernity dualism continues to create a contested space for women. In these changing times, "women consistently choose to be career oriented, but rarely at the expense of a family life, which is almost always privileged over the stimulation or even the salary a woman may receive in her job" (RadhaKrishnan, 2009, p. 202). Furthermore, for those women who aspire to have equally significant presence in both family and workplace, the tradition–modernity dualism creates high stress as they bear a dual burden of working double shifts at work and at home (Gupta & Sharma, 2003; Kalliath, Kalliath, & Singh, 2011; Munn & Chaudhuri, 2015).

Gendered Nature of Workplace Practices

Workplace practices and policies are not created in a vacuum. These practices reflect gender norms in society, and, hence, the premium value attributed to women's association with family has influenced workplace cultures and practices. For instance, IT organizations, that are increasingly employing women in India, subscribe to the notion of respectable Indian femininity that forces women to balance tradition and modernity. "The value placed upon respectable femininity in the IT workplace may serve to neutralize, justify, and even valorize 'not so ambitious' women by diverting attention away from the glass ceiling" (Radhakrishnan, 2009, p. 208).

Most notably, marriage and family ties are favored by organizations as markers of reliability. In the words of one human resource manager, "Women are much more reliable. If they come back after marriage or after having a kid, they will be the most loyal employees you can ever have. You can count on them" (Radhakrishnan, 2009, p. 208). In other words, if a woman is married and bears children, family-friendly policies can help the woman take the time needed to care for her growing family and, in turn, ensure her long-term commitment to the organization. Given the highly competitive and lucrative market where recruitment and retention of talent is a challenge, married women are a safe choice for organizations that want to build a loyal workforce. So, "management practices, especially in Indian corporations, seem to offer systematic 'concessions' for

women, which vary according to their marital status and familial restriction" (Radhakrishnan, 2009, p. 208).

For example, Procter & Gamble, India, has created a maternity tool kit, a nine-month program that teaches managers to oversee the careers of new mothers once they return to work, and Infosys offers its women employees sabbaticals, extended maternity leaves, and enhanced training when they come back to the office. It also tracks women after they return to ensure that they have not been back-benched (Agarwal, Narayanan, & Agarwal, 2012). The irony is that, even though these policies are commendable for supporting working Indian women who want to balance work and family and also aspire to leadership positions, the non-availability of similar concessions for work–life balance of unmarried women who have potential to seek leadership positions is a stark reminder that Indian society and, in turn, Indian organizations privilege women with families. This bias toward women with families is well articulated in the words of Malini, an IT professional interviewed by Radhakrishnan (2009), who believed that her organization's culture valued the notion of respectable Indian femininity:

> They don't like it when a woman is in their face. They expect you to be a little womanly . . . if they notice that you have a husband or a family. . . . it gets well with the south Indian middle class ethos . . . I've never seen anyone [in this firm] who does not fit that. (Radhakrishnan, 2009, p. 209)

To understand the treatment of women employees in India better, it would help to refer to the approaches articulated by Mehra (2002). One approach expects women to adopt a masculine working style to fit into the male-dominated workplace; another approach expects women to be capable of doing the same work as their male counterparts but to have different needs, thus requiring workplaces to accommodate those needs; still another expects organizations to recognize the unique leadership and work strengths that women bring to the workplace. Workplace policies and practices in India are mostly influenced by the approach that recognizes that women are equally capable but have different needs because of family obligations (Budhwar, Saini, & Bhatnagar, 2005). Hence, family-friendly practices, such as flexible working schedules, maternity leaves, daycare centers, and telecommuting, are increasingly being offered by organizations.

While supporting women's family-related needs is absolutely necessary in a society where women's familial identity is given priority, a simultaneous emphasis on recognizing women's unique leadership strengths, that is, the third approach noted by Mehra (2002), can go a long way in developing women leaders in Indian organizations through provision of training on leadership, decision making, and confidence building, which seems to be currently lacking (Kaushik, Sharma, & Kaushik, 2014). Moreover, current workplace practices discourage women from taking on challenging assignments due to paternalistic attitudes that perpetuate gender stereotypes of women being fragile and lacking strength (Chawla et al., 2016; Kaushik et al., 2014). This has resulted in high levels of gender segregation with women primarily occupying subordinate positions with fewer women in traditional male-dominated industries, such as manufacturing and engineering (Chawla et al., 2016). For instance, among the 11% of Indian companies led by women, half are in the financial sector (EMA Partners International, 2011). While the ascent of Indian women to the apex of service sector companies, such as banking (e.g., Arundhati Bhattacharya, the first women chairperson of India's largest bank, State Bank of India), is encouraging and reflects the progressive trend of workplace practices that challenge gender inequality in some sectors, similar trends need to be fostered in other sectors to support a well-rounded strategy of developing women leaders.

Implications and Conclusion

Franklin D. Roosevelt rightly said that we have always held to the hope, the belief, the conviction that there is a better life, a better world, beyond the horizon. We can see through the literature and studies that there have been many social, cultural, political, and economic reasons to keep alive the hope of a slow but steady transformation in the emancipation of women in India. While the government is showing its commitment to the cause by bringing structural changes through legislation, there is equal commitment shown by non-government organizations and many women leaders to rise to the cause with more zeal and enthusiasm. A circular dated 17th April 2014, from the Securities and Exchange Board of India, made it mandatory for all listed companies to appoint at least one woman director to their board of directors by 31 March 2015, in alignment with the requirement of Section 149 of the Companies Act, 2013. This has paved the way for the participation of women leaders constructively in

corporations as never before. Schemes announced by the prime minister, such as the Mudra Yojana (a bank loan scheme for non-corporate small and micro businesses) on 14 March 2015 and Start-up India (to support new ventures by Indian youth) declared on 16 January 2016, have created hope equally in men and women to lead the way in creating jobs as entrepreneurs. As an example, young women leaders like Pavithra, at the age of 22, decided to start a new venture, Vindhya, a BPO unit that is India's first and only for-profit organization whose workforce comprises people with disabilities, socially disadvantaged women from the poorest strata of society, and those diagnosed with autism.

As the number of girl children increases in the list of merit holders in public and competitive examinations, we can envision future research and practices in India on the following topics: workforce diversity and gender sensitivity, pre- and post-maternity career prospects for women, social acceptance of career women irrespective of their familial ties, career aspiration vis-à-vis changing social paradigms (i.e., no marriage, live in relationships, divorce, no motherhood and changing childrearing practices with professionally qualified working women, and changing family structures), inclusivity and women-centric HR policies, work engagement studies based on gender and roles, pro-women government schemes and their impact on women empowerment, and women's presence in unconventional leadership roles in male-dominated industries. Perhaps the time is not long off when we will see the development of women leaders in sectors that are forging ahead to break age-old cultural barriers and the glass ceiling.

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Women Leaders in Indonesia: Current Picture and Strategies for Empowerment

Corina D. Riantoputra and Eka Gatari

Women empowerment and equal access to opportunities have long been among the issues that need to be understood, followed by urgent action in Indonesia. Despite efforts to provide men and women with equal opportunities, of all 146 countries indexed in the *Gender Gap Report* by the World Economic Forum (2015), only a few have achieved gender equality, including the opportunity to become a leader. As explained by Cho et al., (2015), the reasons behind inequality are complex, involving traditional values that define a country or a culture in terms of who the people are and how they treat each other. These values are the forces that powerfully shape the way of thinking and behaving (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). Riantoputra et al., (2013) advanced the discussion by demonstrating that the way of thinking of women leaders is also shaped by the interplay of culture and situational contexts. The complex interweave of these factors needs to be described and understood in order to achieve women's empowerment. This chapter discusses how some of these factors influence women leaders in Indonesia, a unique country with multicultural values and contextual aspects that limit or liberate women leaders.

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In this chapter, we elaborate on the cultural factors that direct the key role of family in the empowerment or disempowerment of women as leaders in Indonesia. Second, we demonstrate the important role of family in the development of women's leadership in Indonesia before its independence, the role of the New Order regime in Indonesia in limiting the role of women only to their obligation as wives and mothers, and the growing importance of education and leadership experience for women leaders today. Third, we illustrate the current state of women in leadership positions in Indonesia – both disheartening pictures and encouraging ones. Then, we outline some strategies for empowerment and offer some future research agendas. Finally, we wrap up the discussion by providing a metaphor of women's leadership development in Indonesia.

Cultural Factors Influencing the Development of Women Leaders in Indonesia

Being an archipelago state that consists of more than 16,000 islands and more than 600 cluster tribes (Badan Pusat Statistik, n.d.), Indonesia is full of different values and practices. Fortunately, the ethnic fractionalized index (EFI) and the ethnic polarized index (EPOI) are 0.81 and 0.50, respectively (Badan Pusat Statistik, n.d.). The EFI measures "the probability two randomly selected individuals in a region are not of the same ethnic group" (Arifin, Ananta, Utami, Handayani, & Pramono, 2015, p. 232). Thus, EFI of 0.81 in Indonesia indicates that, most likely (81% probability), two randomly selected people in Indonesia come from different ethnic groups, suggesting that Indonesia is a heterogeneous country. EPOI, on the other hand, indicates the extent to which "individuals identify with their own ethnic groups, aggravating the 'difference' between one ethnic group and the other" (Arifin et al., 2015, p. 238). Because Indonesia's EPOI is just 0.5, in terms of ethnicities, Indonesians do not see themselves as completely different from one another. In other words, Indonesia is not polarized. There is a common thread of values and behaviors among Indonesian people even though they come from hundreds of tribes that are spread across thousands of islands.

In general, Indonesian culture is collectivist (Hofstede et al., 2010), which values the goals and harmony of a community (or a family) over the needs of an individual. In a way, this cultural tendency encourages

people to think beyond themselves and, thus, to serve their community better. However, Ingelhart and Welzel (2005), over decades of research in Indonesia, have clarified that, although Indonesians have the potential to value their contributions to their community, they tend to prioritize only their family. Ingelhart and Welzel (2005) referred to Indonesian culture as traditional, where family plays a key role such that the goal of Indonesian children is to make their parents happy, while parents are expected to prioritize their children's well-being even at the cost of their own. In a culture like this, family is the reason for their being and the core of their identity. This tendency can be seen in Indonesians' daily activities. Some Indonesians practice "teknonymy," which is calling a parent "the mother/father/grandparent of the first-born-child/grandchild" (Robinson, 2009, p. 15). For example, after I gave birth to my first child, a few people stopped calling me Corina and instead call me the mother of Cara (the name of my first child). The tendency is even more obvious in Batak (an ethnic group in north Sumatra) culture. In their culture, once a person has a child, it is taboo to call the parents by their first name. It is expected to refer to them only as the parents of X (their first child, particularly their first son) or by their family name. Thus, for Indonesians (women and men), their family is the base of their identity, their priority, and the determinant of their accepted roles in the community.

Interestingly, for the majority of Indonesians, family relationships are characterized as bilineal, which means that both paternal and maternal lines are acknowledged as important sources of their being (Robinson, 2009). This kind of social relationship opens up space for both men and women to have equal importance in structuring individual experiences and enabling agency for their children. Further, many Indonesians practice matrilocality, which is living with their wife's family at least for the first few years following marriage (Robinson, 2009). This practice is also prevalent in paternalistic cultures, such as Acehnese (in the north of North Sumatra). Thus, even in the patrilineal lines, their wife's family is a strong source of emotional and psychological wellbeing, suggesting de facto acknowledgment of women's agency and their potential to be leaders.

Indonesia is also a high power distance culture (Hofstede et al., 2010), where people tend to accept that power is spread unequally: older people have more power than younger ones; people with position have more power than those without position; people with educational degrees

have more power than less educated ones. This culture tends to value obedience by those less powerful (e.g., children) more than their independence and assertiveness (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Robinson (2009) argued that social relationships in Indonesia previously were defined only in terms of generational differences, such as parents versus children and seniors versus juniors, but now is also defined in terms of gender. The high power distance between men and women, according to Robinson (2009), occurs because of state intervention during Soeharto's era (see elaboration in the next section). Therefore, today, high power distance culture also shapes non-egalitarian gender roles and limits women's agency. In some rural parts of Indonesia, for example, it is common for families to choose to educate their sons rather than their daughters, because sons are expected to have leadership roles, while their primary expectation for daughters, in some areas of Indonesia, is still to get married and raise their children.

Historical Account of Women's Leadership in Indonesia

Before Dutch colonization of Indonesia, there were only scattered examples of women in leadership positions, and those who rose to that challenge were those who gained access to leadership through family ties. History notes Ratu Maharani Shima (611–695 CE), the Queen of the Kalingga Kingdom, as a leader who was famous for her honesty, and Tribhuwana Tunggadewi (1325–1351 CE) as one of the leaders of the Majapahit Kingdom, which was the most powerful kingdom in Indonesia's history before Dutch colonization (Munandar, 2009). During the struggle for Indonesian independence, women emerged as leaders. The Indonesian Directorate of Heroism, Pioneer, and Solidarity (2010) lists 12 women (8.16%) as national heroes, recognizing, however, that such lists are typically compiled by men. Historical records demonstrate that those who became leaders were, again, women with access through family ties. For example, both Cut Nyak Dien (1848–1908 CE) and Martha Christina Tiahahu (1800–1818 CE) were highly influenced by their fathers (Ibrahim, 1996; Zacharias, 2012) who were respected leaders and war heroes in their municipalities.

Both Cut Nyak Dien and Martha Christina Tiahahu developed their identity as leaders and gained access to leadership through their interaction with their fathers. Kartini (1879–1904 CE), on the other hand,

became an influential leader through education. Kartini dreamt of equal access to education for women (Robinson, 2009); this was expressed through her letters to her friend, Rosita Abendanon-Mandri, the wife of J. H. Abendanon, the Minister of Education and Industry at the time. Kartini's letters demonstrated her life as a curious woman who longed to be independent and modern but was caged by traditional values. Although Kartini fought for equal access to education, she struggled to live according to her own views and could not continue her education because her father did not allow her to do so (Taylor, 1989). Kartini, who fought against child marriage and polygamy, was powerless to prevent herself and her sister (Kardinah) who were given in marriage to men who were polygamous (Taylor, 1989).

After Indonesia's independence, there were changes that made Indonesia less egalitarian. First, there was a slight change in the use of its national language. Before independence, Indonesia's elite politicians chose the Melayu language to be Indonesia's national language (Bahasa Indonesia), although the majority of them were Javanese and Sundanese. Bahasa Indonesia was chosen because of its egalitarian nature compared to Javanese and Sundanese languages. Javanese and Sundanese languages use different words for different classes of people. For example, the word *eat* in English can be used for parents (e.g., My mom eats), for friends (e.g., My friends eat), and for drivers (My driver eats). Sundanese language, however, uses different words for these groups of people (*tuang/neda/dahar*), and each word reflects and emphasizes the extent to which that group of people should be respected. Bahasa Indonesia, on the other hand, is egalitarian. That is, it uses only one word (i.e., *makan*) for every group of people. Further, during the struggle for independence, men called each other *bung* (meaning *dude*), which reflected mate-ship. However, after independence, people referred to their older fellow worker as *bapak* (father) or *mas* (big brother), forcing generational distance and a paternalistic atmosphere. Before independence, when two Indonesians met, they would shake hands, indicating equal importance. Today, however, many Indonesians feel the need for younger people to show respect by kissing the hand of older ones. This atmosphere leads to gender role non-egalitarianism as well. Many wives call their husbands *mas/abang* (big brother) irrespective of who is older. The slightly different uses of language and gestures, including how a wife should call/talk to her husband, have changed Indonesia to be less egalitarian.

Second, during Soeharto's era (the New Order regime, 1967–1998 CE), non-egalitarian gender roles were specifically strengthened. This effort occurred through a new way to refer to women, from *perempuan* to *wanita*. *Perempuan* originated from *empu*, meaning someone with competence, while wanita, short for *wani-ditata*, refers to someone with the willingness (*wani*) to submit (*ditata*) (Budiman, 2002), arguably for the greater good of her family. Non-egalitarian gender roles were also strongly encouraged through the establishment of Dharma Wanita, an organization for all wives of civil servants (Suryakusuma, 2002). Membership was compulsory, and each member was expected to promote her husband's career. This organization was not based on competence or merit (Budiman, 2002; Robinson, 2009). Instead, every woman's position depended on the level of her husband's position. Thus, an intelligent and competent woman may have had a lower position than less-competent woman simply because of her husband's comparatively lower position. These practices limit how Indonesian women view their roles, status, and competence, leading to disempowerment. As Welzel (2013) stated, "When universal freedom has little utility, low value and no effective guarantee, a society is trapped in a cycle of disempowerment" (p. xxiv). To confirm how women perceive their importance, Mangunsong (2009) conducted a survey of 216 women leaders from four major ethnicities with different family lines in Indonesia: Javanese (a bilineal family line), Minangkabau (a matrilineal family line), and Batak and Balinese people (patrilineal family lines). Her research demonstrated that women leaders from all tribes, irrespective of their family lines, view their primary roles as to support their husbands and to be the mother of their children. Her research verified that, for many Indonesian women, their significance depends on their family.

Non-egalitarian gender roles put a lot of strain on women as they grow and function as leaders in communities. Riantoputra et al., (2013) conducted an empirical study of 303 women leaders in three provinces in Indonesia. Using case-scenario questionnaires that represented hypothetical but realistic cases, they examined women leaders' perceptions of whether they were able to manage key challenges of their organizations. The research showed that women leaders tended to have confidence in their leadership and perceived that they were able to manage their challenges if they have been brought up in a society that treats women and men equally. In other words, gender role egalitarianism is essential for the development of women as competent and confident leaders.

CURRENT STATE OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN INDONESIA

Soeharto's era ended in 1998 CE, and, since then, many aspects of Indonesian society have been transformed. The *Global Gender Gap Report 2015* confirms the progress of women leaders in Indonesia. In 2015, Indonesia moved up five ranks from 97th to 92nd of 142 countries due to the doubled number of women in ministerial positions (World Economic Forum, 2015). Women's participation as legislators, senior officials, and managers slightly improved from 27% in 2014 (World Economic Forum, 2014) to 30% in 2015 (World Economic Forum, 2015). Interestingly, Grant Thornton's research showed that 36% of senior managers in Indonesia are women (Priherdityo, 2016). Thus, by numbers, Indonesia is the country with the sixth largest number of women in a senior manager position in the world (Priherdityo, 2016).

According to Grant Thornton's report, many women rise as leaders because of their willingness to make a difference (47%) and to influence others (32%) (Priherdityo, 2016). Many women in urban Indonesia have internalized their identity as leaders, suggesting their ability to construct a positive identity as leaders. To verify this, Riantoputra, Bastaman, and Duarsa (2016) conducted research on 315 men and women leaders in two large cities in Indonesia (Jakarta and Bali). They found that positive identity as a leader, defined as a person's evaluation and her/his perception of others' judgment about their role as leaders, is positively related to traits (extraversion and conscientiousness), but not to gender. This research suggested that, at least in large cities in Indonesia, men and women are equally able to construct a positive identity as leaders because leader identity requires the integration of each person's personal and social identity (Chrobot-Mason, Ruderman, & Nishii, 2013). Riantoputra et al., (2016) suggested that in large cities in Indonesia, women are able to manage their multiple identities as a person, a part of their family, and a leader of their community or organization.

Indeed, there has been a major improvement of women's participation in leadership positions in Indonesia, especially in big cities. Indonesia's score for overall gender equality in 2015 was 0.681 with 1 being perfect gender equality, with improvement in all sub-indices (World Economic Forum, 2015). Women have achieved leadership status as CEOs of cosmetic companies (e.g., Martha Tilaar, the founder of PT Martine Berto and Nurhayati Subakat, the CEO of PT Paragon Technology and

Innovation), as well as CEOs of male-dominated companies, such as tele-communication companies (e.g., Dian Siswarini, the CEO of XL-Axiata) and transportation companies (e.g., Noni Sri Ayati Purnomo, the CEO of Blue Bird Group). At the governmental level, Megawati Soekarnoputri, Indonesia's president 2001–2004, proved that a woman can reach the position of the country's president. The achievements of these women leaders demonstrate that women in Indonesia are able to reach leadership positions in both male and women-dominated industries.

Although there are indications of improvements, there is still major work to be done. The Asian Development Bank reported that in 2014 women's wages in Indonesia were 30.8% lower than men's, with urban areas having a wider wage gap than rural areas (31.5% and 29.9%, respectively), and that gender discrimination was the key component of the wage gap compared to socioeconomic characteristics, especially in rural areas (Taniguchi & Tuwo, 2014). In urban areas, despite the pressure of non-egalitarian gender roles, some women in Indonesia are able to develop a positive identity as leaders and perform well. It seems that support from their families plays a crucial part for some women to develop as leaders and for others to gain access to leadership positions. However, more work needs to be done for gender equality, especially in rural areas.

STRATEGIES FOR EMPOWERMENT

Several strategies that could be undertaken have been discussed by many scholars. For example, many have highlighted the importance of educating men to accept dual roles in their family and thus share domestic chores with their wives (Greenstein, 2009; Oshio, Nozaki, & Kobayashi, 2013). This section, however, focuses on empowerment strategies that are related to the development of identity as a leader at the family, as well as organizational levels.

As previous empirical work in family dynamics has demonstrated (Hargrove, Creagh, & Burgess, 2002; Shin & Kelly, 2013), family relations and family-supported goals are substantial in the development of vocational identity. In the Indonesian context, as demonstrated in this chapter, the role of the father is to empower the construction of women's identity as leaders. Many women leaders in Indonesia, such as Cut Nyak Dien, Martha Christina Tiahahu, and Megawati Soekarnoputri, have embraced their role as leader with the encouragement of their fathers. Kartini, on the other hand, had to let go of her dream for education

because of her father. Therefore, fathers, as the generally accepted leaders of families in Indonesia, play a key role in shaping the extent to which women accept their identity as leader. It is extremely difficult for women to imagine that they are capable of leading if their family (especially their fathers as decision makers) limit their opportunities to obtain equal education and experience in leadership. Thus, we propose that educating fathers to take part in the development of positive identity as leaders for their daughters may be powerful in fostering gender equality.

A national movement to educate and motivate fathers to see the potential of their daughters is very important. With the goal to overcome identity blindness (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2013), good role models (i.e., respected men who have high leadership positions in their community and who believe in their daughters) are essential in this national movement. Fathers need to be educated to be open-minded and to accept that their daughters may have leadership characteristics, even though these characteristics may differ from the typical leaders of their culture. It will be easier for women to integrate their multiple roles as a person, a part of their family, and a leader when their fathers are able to accept and embrace women to have multiple identities. Because of the wider gender gap in rural areas (Taniguchi & Tuwo, 2014), the movement should target rural Indonesia in particular. Tribal leaders and government officers, as respected leaders, especially in rural areas, need to be at the front of this national movement.

Second, strategies to empower women leaders should take part in organizations. Although, currently, Indonesian organizations have acknowledged the positive impact of women leaders, which is evident by the number of women leaders at senior manager positions in Indonesia (Priherdityo, 2016), women are still paid lower than men. To foster gender equality further, we argue that organizations need to be encouraged to define themselves as diverse organizations. Organizational identity reflects the characteristics of an organization that are central, distinct from other organizations, and relatively stable (Albert & Whetten, 1985). It plays a powerful role in directing the activation of certain concepts in their members' minds (Riantoputra, 2010). Thus, organizations that define themselves as diverse may encourage their members to think, discuss, and learn more about diversity, including the potential for their women members to rise as leaders. By doing so, members of that organization may improve their awareness of the issues, get a better understanding, and

become more ready to accept women as leaders. Thus, organizations may play a role in progressive change.

Organizations that define their organizational identity as diverse organizations need to formulate policies and practices that reflect their organizational identity. An example of a human resource policy/practice that is essential for the development of women leaders in Indonesia is to provide women with mentoring opportunities and leadership experiences. Mentoring plays a substantial role; mentors may function as role models and sparring partners for women leaders, such that they can perceive themselves as capable and thus more willing to take on challenges and gain experiences as leaders. Further, mentors may share tips to manage challenges and thus assist women leaders in performing, as experienced by Dian Siswarini when she climbed the ladder to become a CEO (Siswarini, n.d.). History has shown the importance of having friends and mentors to share concerns about managing women's multiple roles. For example, Kartini had several hats to wear, including a modern woman being equal to men with a dream for further education and a man's subordinate who should be obedient to her family's expectations. To manage her inner conflict, Kartini gained support from her friend (i.e., Rosita Abendanon-Mandri) and her sisters who were her partners in her struggle for equal access to education (Coté, 2008). Having mentors and relationships with other women who face similar challenges are substantial for the growth of women leaders. Mentors may serve as inspiration, idea generators, and sources of encouragement for women leaders to manage their multiple identities, just like Kartini's sisters and friends.

More than mentoring, organizations need to actively provide women with leadership experiences. Through experience, qualified women may receive affirmation of their capabilities as leaders (Dutton, Roberts, & Bednar, 2010) and thus become more able to construct positive identity as leaders. Without experience, women may not be aware of their capabilities. Susi Pudjiastuti, who has been Indonesia's Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries from 2015 onward, showed that she, as a high school dropout, perfected her leadership identity and competence through experience. Susi has proven that she is one of the best performing ministers in the cabinet. Experience and opportunities to prove themselves are essential in grooming women leaders. Although Susi Pujiastuti's experience is impressive in that she did it all by herself, organizations should not play a passive part in perfecting women's leadership abilities. Instead, organizations should encourage sponsorship, that is, an activity that goes beyond giving advice. Sponsors need to take active roles in

making sure that the protégé gets better leadership experiences and more positive publicity (Ibarra, Carter, & Silva, 2010). By defining their organizational identity as diverse, members of that organizations may be more willing to do mentoring and sponsorship to provide women with advice and leadership experiences to sharpen these women's leadership characteristics.

Proposed Research Agenda

To enable the first empowerment strategy, future research needs to investigate and map how different tribes respond differently to the suggestions that fathers need to be the change agents for young girls to develop positive identities as leaders. Understanding this aspect will assist any intervention strategy in this area. Future research may also explore whether the opportunity to be a leader is also influenced by the type of position: traditional vs. nontraditional. For traditional positions, such as a Sultan, anecdotal evidence suggests that people still have difficulty in accepting women in leadership. This tendency is demonstrated in the difficulties of people in Jogjakarta to accept a woman as the Sultanah (i.e., queen) but not as a legislator (Dewan Pertimbangan Daerah, 2014). As a former capital city of Indonesia, Jogjakarta has the right to appoint a Sultan as their governor, which, traditionally, is the first son or male with noble lineage to the existing Sultan. The current Sultan (Sultan Hamengkubuwono X) does not have a son, but, unlike his predecessors, he chose not to have a second wife (and conduct polygamy) to ensure that he have an heir suited to be a Sultan (a son). Instead, he changed his first daughter's noble title and appointed her to sit in the *watu gilang* chair, both of which are traditional rites for a crown prince (Rudiana, 2015). Until now, the people of Jogjakarta have shown strong dissent against this controversial act (Wicaksono, 2015), and only time will tell whether there will be a Sultanah in Jogjakarta. It seems that, for Javanese in Jogjakarta, traditional values and practices are preferred, especially for a traditional position, such as a Sultan. Future research may delineate the extent to which Indonesians are ready to accept women as leaders and how to encourage fathers to take active roles as sponsors for their daughters to develop as leaders.

Further, a better understanding of potentially different ways to establish organizational-level strategies in men- versus women-dominated industries is needed. Future research may want to investigate, for example, different

symbols that are used and how these symbols may have different meanings in different organizational contexts (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Further, organizations need to pay attention to the potential of women leaders experiencing identity conflict (Karelaia & Guillén, 2014) in organizational contexts in Indonesia and effective ways to manage cognitive dissonance and multiple identities.

CONCLUSION

The development of women leaders in Indonesia is similar to the growth of a tree. Like a tree that is expected to grow its branches to cover and provide shade for others, women leaders will influence and bring betterment to their societies, as well as their families. However, for them to grow, their roots need to absorb nutrients, and sunlight is needed to enable photosynthesis. For women leaders, their roots are their (positive) identity as leaders. The roots need to expand, grow, and absorb nutrients. Sometimes these roots are blocked by hard rocks (e.g., non-egalitarian gender roles and non-egalitarian government policies) or challenging situations (expectations to focus only on family). Other times, these roots reach good soil, full of good ingredients for the tree to grow. This soil takes the form of bilineal family lines, egalitarian culture, and supportive families, especially fathers who believe in educating their daughters and have visions for their daughters as leaders as well as husbands who view their wives as equal counterparts. Therefore, educating men, especially fathers and husbands, is essential in changing gender inequality in Indonesia, and in providing suitable situations for women leaders to grow. Empowerment strategies, such as education, leadership assignments, and mentoring, are similar to providing sunlight for the leaves to produce food needed for the tree to grow. Indonesia needs to create more initiatives to nurture the soil and provide the sunlight for every women leader to flourish as leaders, alongside their male counterparts.

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Women's Leadership in Japan

Yoshie Tomozumi Nakamura and Mayuko Horimoto

Though Japan made rapid economic leaps forward in the 1970s and 1980s, its productivity growth has steadily eroded in almost every sector since then (Desvaux et al., 2015). Despite its economic growth over the past decades, gender equality in the labor market has not made much progress. According to the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare (MHLW) (2016), women over age 15 represent 49.2% of the Japanese workforce, yet the number of women in management positions is still low, reaching only 8.3%, with only 6.0% of general managers are women nationwide in 2014. Considering that Japan faces a rapidly aging society with a shrinking working-age population, the government announced that it would increase the percentage of women in management to 30% by 2020 by implementing and supporting the actions for promoting female participation (The Office of Prime Minister, 2014), but the situation is not promising.

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In this chapter, we discuss the current status of women in leadership in the Japanese workforce and investigate whether women's leadership roles and social environments in Japan have changed, based on identified literature. The literature review included a computerized search of accessible and available materials and a manual search of existing literature through Google Scholar, Proquest, and JSTOR in English, and Google Scholar Japan and Content in the National Institute of Informatics in Japanese. The cases about developing women leaders were obtained from either the Japanese government or the National Women's Education Center (NWEC) website resources. This chapter sheds light on challenges and opportunities in developing Japanese women leaders and concludes with implications for future research and practice.

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

There has been growing attention to the state of women's leadership in the labor market among Japanese scholars and practitioners since the Gender Equality and Employment Law was enacted in 1986 (Hadano, 2008). There has been gradual progress in terms of women's participation in the labor market for the last three decades, yet we still face a significant challenge in developing women leaders. According to the Global Gender Gap Report released by the World Economic Forum (2015), Japan ranked 82nd in the world based on women's involvement in the workforce, yet it ranked 116th based on women's participation in management or leadership positions. A crucial factor is that the percentage of working women drops in the years of childbirth and child-rearing in their thirties and forties, with the average age of marriage for women of 29.4 (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2016a). Japanese women's labor force participation is referred to as an M curve, which shows a pattern of discontinuous women employment (Cooke, 2010; Mun & Brinton, 2015).

Many women leave their jobs to raise their children because the traditional view is deeply rooted in Japan that men are expected to work while women are responsible for housework and child-rearing (Cho et al., 2015). This phenomenon can be explained in *ryosaikenbo* (the ideology of good wife, wise mother) (Welsh, Memili, Kaciak, & Ochi, 2014). Social norms indicate that men who take time off for childcare are seen as not caring enough about their job, and women who work outside the home are seen as not caring enough about their children (Kano, 2015). These norms make it difficult for mothers to continue working and pursuing their career in Japanese

society. The gender role has its roots in the Tokugawa government-led education in the Edo period between 1603 and 1868 CE when women were asked to learn from their mothers how to do housework, including sewing, cleaning, and cooking (Makino, 2014). In the Meiji period between 1868 and 1915 CE, girls-specific classes, such as sewing and cooking, were introduced in the Japanese education system, which heavily influenced gender roles in Japanese society.

Barriers and Challenges

Many factors contribute to barriers and challenges to women's leadership development. Three main areas were identified through the literature in Japan, including government politics, organizational factors, and women's motivation for career advancement.

Government Policies

Since the Law on Securing Equal Opportunity and Treatment between Men and Women in Employment was passed in 1985, measures have been enacted to support working women, including the one-year childcare leave system enacted in 1992, the Next Generation Education and Support Promotion Act in 2005, and the Work–Life Balance Charter in 2007 (MHLW, 2016). These government measures focused on mitigating women's burdens of handling both work and childcare. Since 2000, there has been reform in how both women and men work, such as reforming the system that promotes balancing work and life in Japan focused on the long working hours, averaging 1,741 hours per year (The Japan Institute for Labor Policy and Training, 2016). The idea is that people can spend more time with family or simply have more time outside of work if they work less, considering the long working hours. Therefore, the government focused on implementing the shortening of working hours, encouraging to take annual paid leave, and creating of a workplace environment for balancing work and life, whereby people can feel comfortable with such benefits without damaging their career.

However, although they aimed at reducing the long working hours so people can spend more time for their private life, including time with family, the main duties of housework and childcare continue to fall on women (Usui, Rose, & Kageyama, 2003). Changing men's company-centered lives is a significant challenge. There is a significant difference

between how much time men and women spend per day on housework. While men spend only 42 minutes a day on average on housework (including childcare), women spend 3 hours and 35 minutes (Statistics Bureau, 2016). Additionally, with the increase in dual-career couples, there has been an increase in serious problems concerning childcare, such as a lack of sufficient daycare centers and caregivers. As a result, women continue to face the challenge of pursuing their career while they are also expected to take care of child-rearing due to the cultural stereotypes of "women at home, men at work" (Kobayashi, 2009, p. 3).

In 2013, the government announced that it would aim at increasing women in management to 30% by 2020. Prime Minister Abe's administration is aggressively pushing measures to promote women's participation in the managerial workforce (The Office of the Prime Minister, 2014). In part, this is in response to the reduction in the size of the workforce resulting from the declining birth rate, which has become a major topic of discussion in Japan. Although the proportion of women in management positions is expected to rise in the long term, the anticipated level is still low compared with other countries (MHLW, 2015a). More than half of working women 35 years or older are non-regular workers who are categorized as *haken* (contracted workers) or *part* (part-time workers) (MHLW, 2015a). Considering that the age at which people move into management is generally over 35, the high percentage of non-regular women workers in their mid-thirties or older indicates that increasing the number of women in managerial positions is a challenge. There remains a large gap between the aims of the Law and its associated efforts and the reality faced by women in the labor market.

Organizational Factors

Organization-wide systems heavily impact women's access to leadership positions (Usui, Rose, & Kageyama, 2003). First, many Japanese workplaces have a formalized two-track system that largely segregates men and women at the point of hire. This system was adopted after the Equal Employment Opportunity Law in 1985 that made it illegal for employers to label jobs as gender based. The system comprises *sogoshoku* (a promotion track) and *ippanshoku* (a non-promotion track) (Wakisaka, 2011). As only 12% of women were promotion-track new hires in 2010 (Steinberg & Nakane, 2012), the system limits opportunities for women to advance their career (Kanai, 2013; Kobayashi, 2009). This system does not violate

the law as men and women can both select either track, though, in reality, no men select the non-promotion track.

Second, Japanese companies have a *nenko* (seniority) system that rewards employees based on long service and hard work principles that apply only to regular male workers (Nakata & Takehiro, 2002). The system of seniority-based earnings and promotion leads to a widening gender wage gap. Employers in Japan have traditionally suppressed women's wages and provided men with relatively high wages in order for them to support their family (Cooke, 2010; Nemoto, 2013). Regular employees who have career breaks due to childbirth, part-time work, and contracted status of women are the major reasons attributed to the gender wage gap. In addition, mid-career hiring is not common in Japan, though it is gradually increasing. Mid-career hiring still makes up a much smaller percentage of hires than recruitment of new graduates. Such a situation makes it difficult for women to re-enter the labor force in their thirties after taking childcare leave from their companies (Mun & Brinton, 2015). Thus, the *nenko* system, along with difficulties of mid-career hiring, makes it challenging for women to be successful in pursuing leadership positions, especially after taking a career break.

Third, organizational culture and climate are important factors that impact women's leadership development. As described, the Japanese government has mandated a generous parental leave policy adopted by nearly all large firms. However, nearly 60% of Japanese women choose not to utilize parental leave and exit the labor force when they have their first child (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, 2011). Japanese companies are largely characterized by long work hours, as described earlier, and have an expectation that employees demonstrate commitment to their work over family responsibilities (Mun & Briton, 2015). Such workplace norms create an organizational culture that discourages women from utilizing parental leave. This makes it difficult for them to take care of their family as they have pressure to prove themselves as committed to their work (Takahashi, Kamano, Matsuda, Onode, & Yoshizumi, 2014). Even when firms have generous leave policies, women may not consider using them if the organizational message is that using the policies will damage their career. The ambivalence or lack of management support for women creates a discouraging work environment (Yasuda, 2013).

Women's Motivation

There are three types of "compromise behaviors" from which women have to choose, in the course of developing their professional careers (Kanda, Hirano, Kimura, & Kiyohara, 1990, p. 22). Women in the first type actively take on traditional women's roles, such as housework and childcare. They basically discontinue their professional career or pursue a non-promotion track. In fact, about half of women in the promotion track resign because of the challenges they face in a male-dominated business environment. Women are pressured to retire early from a work culture of "women at home, men at work" (Kobayashi, 2009, p. 3). The social norms around gender roles create barriers that may cause women to face dilemmas, fears, and anxieties in pursuing their professional career. Many single women in the career track showed concern about their future and had difficulty imagining how they could pursue their career after marriage and children (Japan Institute for Women's Empowerment & Diversity Management, 2015; Nagase & Yamaya, 2011). In the second type, women take on men's behavior patterns. They value focusing on work and spending less time engaging in household duties and child-rearing as typical Japanese men do (Kanda, Hirano, Kimura, & Kiyohara, 1990). The third type is adopting a role in which they avoid marriage and child-birth to continue their profession. Women who wish to climb the career ladder often stay single in order to avoid possible obstacles in their career arising from household responsibilities after marriage (Kobayashi, 2009).

Women's social networks also impact their labor market behaviors and outcomes (Usui, Rose, & Kageyama, 2003). Informal and formal channels of network relations often help people successfully climb the career ladder (Ibarra & Hunter, 2007; Timberlake, 2005). Women can access networks that recruit and train leaders of major institutions. Men who control access to channels that lead to leadership positions have social networks that help advance their careers. However, women's family and community orientation may reduce their access to networks, thus inhibiting their aspirations and initiatives in pursuing leadership positions.

Women often lack women leadership role models in the Japanese workplace. Leadership role models are inherently men, which does not help in women's leadership development (Hadano, 2008). If the optimal model for leadership is envisioned as held by men, the methods used for leadership development are in line with men's working style, not women's.

In summary, the status of women's leadership development in Japan shows multiple layers with various factors intertwined. While there are generous work–family policies, social norms and an organizational environment obstruct their use. When it comes to individual work choice, women's motivation is influenced by political, social, and cultural factors.

OPPORTUNITIES

Despite the barriers and challenges descried, there are signs of hope in women's leadership development. In this section, we discuss general legislative support, organizational and institutional efforts, and educational and training opportunities featuring selected cases of women's leadership development initiatives.

General Legislative Support

As the government is gravely concerned that women still make up only 8.3% of managerial positions, in April, 2016, the Female Employment Promotion Law was enacted. The Law focuses on four challenges: a low percentage of women in employment, retention, promotions, and education or training. What makes the Law significantly different from other policies is that it requires national and local governments and private-sector employers with 300 workers or more to examine women's employment, develop an action plan, and make a publicly available report (MHLW, 2015b).

Considering that corporations are behind in terms of developing women leaders (Yamaguchi, 2014), by setting required employer action plans and making reports publicly available, the government is encouraging employers to become more responsible and committed to improving women's employment. With access to the publicly available reports, scholars and potential recruits will have a better understanding of both overall labor market and specific company situations related to developing women leaders.

Organizational and Institutional Support

A workplace where top-level executives support gender equality policies and systems helps create a gender friendly climate and tends to have greater representation of women in managerial positions (Kawaguchi,

2011). Gender-equality policies create environments in which women feel comfortable in utilizing the policies and feel motivated to pursue their career. Organization-wide policies and systems that help develop women leaders include a transparent performance management system, mentoring, and a flexible work hour arrangement (Takeishi, 2014). In addition to senior leadership support, direct managers and supervisors play important roles in developing women leaders (Sato & Takeishi, 2010). For example, they can help women's leadership development by supporting them in using policies such as 1-year paternal leaves and assigning challenging jobs to women that will help them obtain necessary experiences in advancing their careers. Takeishi (2014) explained the importance of setting up a fair performance management system. Women's performance should be reviewed with their human resource office and department head or supervisor providing a transparent and fair evaluation to help them develop their leadership skills. Managers need training in how to provide support to develop women's leadership.

Educational and Training Opportunities

An increasing number of educational offerings are being provided by governmental organizations, regional gender equality centers, community centers, graduate schools, and, in some cases, companies. Considering that the corporate sector is behind in terms of educational efforts for women's leadership development (Ishihara, 2006), it is extremely helpful for human resource professionals, diversity promotion leaders, and working women to take advantage of the educational offerings from public, not-for-profit, and academic institutions.

The government promotes educational initiatives for women's leadership development, providing expert knowledge and building networks with diversity promotion leaders who are responsible for promoting the participation of minorities, including women, non-Japanese, people with disabilities, and aging populations in their organizations (Cabinet Office's Gender Equality Bureau, 2016b). For example, the NWEC supports women's leadership development (NWEC, 2016). NWEC is an independent administrative agency with medium-term targets set by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. The agency promotes women's education by carrying out projects that include training for women leaders and other officials involved in women's education. They also conduct research pertaining to women's education. It has

provided the Program for Women's Employment Support since 2012, targeting those who are responsible for developing women leaders in their workplaces. The program provides information about increasing awareness and encouraging participants to share their company cases to develop action plans. For example, 29 diversity promotion leaders across organizations participated in a two-day Diversity Promotion Leader Workshop in 2014 in which they learned what is needed to carry out their diversity initiatives (NWEC, 2015).

Another example concerns a women's empowerment initiative led by Kansai Economic Federation (Kankeiren). The goals of the initiative include women's network building, women's leadership development, and awareness raising for men about women's leadership development (Kankeiren, 2016). As part of these initiatives, partnering with the U.S. Department of State Bureau of Educational Cultural Affairs and Consulate General of the U.S. Osaka, Japan, Kankeiren has provided an annual U.S. Study Tour since 2011 targeting those who are diversity promotion leaders in their companies (Kankeiren, 2016). The participants learn about practices used in US organizations that have helped them further improve diversity initiatives in their workplaces.

As a corporate example, the cosmetics maker Shisedo, can be seen as a leading educational diversity promoter. Shiseido received the Advanced Corporation Awards for the Promotion of Women from the Minister of State for Special Missions Prize, which was newly established by the Gender Equality Bureau of the Cabinet Office in fiscal 2014 (Shiseido, 2016). The government acknowledged that Shiseido created a system that promotes gender equality. The percentage of women managers at Shiseido is 27.0% as of 2016 (Shiseido, 2016). Shiseido has an ambitious action plan to increase the proportion of women leaders by creating systems such as a flexible relocation working system in which working mothers can choose where they work, cross-industry network building, and mentoring since 2005. Shiseido provides leadership training opportunities for both men and women, which is different from other companies in which leadership training is typically for men (Iwata, 2008).

In addition, there were no women's leadership development programs offered by universities until 2015 (Totani & Watanabe, 2015). However, as the first academic institution to do so, Ochanomizu Women's University has started to offer a women's leadership development course, *Ochanomizu University Women's Business Leadership Training School:*

Kiin [Virtue] School in 2015 (Institute for Global Leadership at Ochanomizu University, 2016). The course offers a flexible curriculum with a variety of topics, including leadership, communication, strategy, accounting, marketing, entrepreneurship, and business law. The classes are purposefully held on Saturdays, allowing working women to participate without interfering with their work schedule during weekdays. As the course takes place outside of their companies, participants can build networks with others beyond their own industry, with the university providing recommendations for daycare (Institute for Global Leadership at Ochanomizu University, 2016).

With a combination of the Law that forces organizations to review their diversity practices, organizational culture building efforts, and an increasing number of educational opportunities, we are hopeful that we can see progress in creating gender equality environments, slowly but surely emerging. Such environments will help women successfully advance their careers in the long run.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

For future practice, there is a need for creating environments in which women do not have to feel guilty or pressured but motivated to take on leadership roles. Organizations need to create a gender-equality climate in which women feel comfortable enough to take 1-year parental leaves, thereby staying employed in their workplace so that the leaves would not have a negative impact on their career advancement in the long run. Setting up organization-wide policies and practices will help women succeed; these might include mentoring, flexible work hours, and a transparent performance management system. Organizations need to increase the number of women in leadership positions, which will help change work climate to being gender friendly, and junior women workers can have women leadership models and mentors. It is also important that women receive educational opportunities for their professional development. Diversity leaders and human resource development (HRD) professionals need to take full advantage of publicly available diversity educational opportunities so that they could bring their knowledge back to their organizations to train their employees.

In terms of future research agenda, HRD scholars should pay more attention to women's leadership development in Japan. A variety of scholars and researchers have illuminated women's employment

situation, focusing on statistical evidence of discrimination, such as employment ratio (Nakagawa & Schreiber, 2014) and motivation toward a career (Kawaguchi, 2012; Takeishi, 2014). However, there is a need for the use of a broad set of approaches to research, including critical theory, grounded theory, feminist theory, phenomenology, and ethnography as multiple layers with various factors that are intertwined in women's leadership in Japan. Little is known about how education and training impact women in the workforce. It is important to examine the ways women are impacted from a leadership development perspective over time through interventions such as diversity training offered by governmental organizations or in-house training programs, or how men are impacted to influence women's leadership development through those sources. Organizations' future reports created by the Female Employment Promotion Law in 2016 will help scholars and researchers conduct comparative studies using a cross-sector analysis.

CONCLUSION

It has been three decades since the Gender Equality and Employment Law was enacted in 1986; it has not been a straightforward path for women's leadership development in Japan. Multiple factors created by political, cultural, social, and organizational forces impact the way women work and pursue their leadership career, yet the forecast contains the possibility of hope. We hope that recent movements and educational efforts, along with the Law enacted in 2016, will provide women with more opportunities and choices to create their own career paths effectively and successfully. Such efforts can help create a more women-friendly work culture that will ultimately increase gender equality, produce higher productivity, and build a better society.

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Korean Women in Leadership: Challenges and Opportunities

Yonjoo Cho, Hyounju Kang and Jiwon Park

South Korea (Korea, hereafter) has successfully transformed from a poor country in 1950 with a GDP per capita of less than 50 US dollars into a global economic power with a GDP per capita exceeding 25,000 US dollars in 2015 (The World Bank, 2016). The often-cited quote "Miracle on the Han River" (Kwon, 2016, Slide 1) refers to the remarkable economic success of the nation (Heo & Roehrig, 2014). Lacking typical material resources, only human capital, both men and women included, have played a critical role in economic development. However, women have never been fully integrated into the labor

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market or seriously considered for leadership roles in any segment of society (Kim, 2013).

INTRODUCTION

Organizational leaders are made up of middle managers and above, though this may slightly differ depending on sector. In this chapter, we operationally defined women leaders as those who have an impact on other people through their rank or position in the organization (Kim, 2006). The status of Korean women leaders is still considered to be *token* because only a small number of women are in leadership positions, not yet reaching 15%. For example, in the top 30 large companies (called *chaebols*), women executives make up only 1.8% (Park, 2015), and that number is even lower in other Korean companies, especially in small to medium-sized companies. As a result, Korea is among the lowest in women representation in senior roles, boards, and executive committees, both in Asia and in the world. Korea's women representation occupies 1% on boards and 2% on executive committees, making the country the bottom among Asian countries (Heidrick & Struggles, 2013). According to the World Economic Forum's (2016) *Global Gender Gap Report*, Korea ranks 116th of 144 countries surveyed. Korean women's low status in global rankings is quite alarming given the nation's prestigious status in economic power in the world.

Why has Korea's remarkable economic success failed to translate into women's corresponding status? We attempted to answer this driving question in this chapter. We reviewed literature on women in leadership in Korea and shared the study results from our recent research on women leaders in Korea in which we conducted interviews with a total of 87 women leaders (team leaders, executives, vice-presidents, and CEOs) in diverse sectors (Cho et al., 2015, 2016, 2017). In the following sections, we provide statistical analysis of women's participation in the labor market, discuss challenges and opportunities women leaders face, and present research agendas for further investigation.

WOMEN IN THE LABOR MARKET

Despite Korea's remarkable economic success, women's status in the labor market is still poor, resulting in women's low ranking globally.

Women's Low Status in Global Rankings

Korea ranked 116th of 144 countries in the *Global Gender Gap Index* (World Economic Forum, 2016) in four combined categories of economic participation, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment. This ranking is far below most Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, including Iceland (1st), France (17th), the USA (45th), and Japan (111st), and still lower than many Asian countries, including the Philippines (7th), India (87th), China (99th), and Malaysia (106th).

Korea's rankings in the *Global Gender Gap Index* have not shown notable improvement over the last 10 years by ranking 92nd of 115 countries in 2006 and 116th of 144 countries in 2016. This continued gender gap exhibits serious under-representation of women in Korea. Particularly, the gender gap index shows that women's under-representation is manifested in *Legislators, Senior Officials, and Managers* in Economic Participation and Opportunity, indicating that women make up 10% of these leadership positions (WEF, 2016, p. 218). Women leaders' status in politics, calculated by the proportion of *Women in Parliament and Ministerial Positions,* and *Years with Female Head of State*, also shows the same level of under-representation as that of the Economic Participation and Opportunity (WEF, 2016, p. 218). This clearly indicates Korean women's token status in organizations in various sectors, including business, civil service, and politics.

Women's Economic Participation

Women's economic participation in 2015 makes up 42.3% of the labor market. When we only look at this figure, Korean women's status in the labor market seems to be fine. However, when we consider women's occupation types as shown in Table 6.1, women managers, including executives, make up only 10.5% of all managers. In contrast, women in services (65.6%), sales (51.4%), and elementary school workers (51.5%) outnumber men. In addition, 41.3% of women are employed as contingent workers, including temporary workers, daily workers, and unpaid family workers, while only 20.9% of men are contingent workers (Statistics Korea, 2015c). These figures indicate that women's labor force participation is still unstable in Korea and the

Table 6.1   Korean Women Workers by Occupation (unit: person)

Occupation	Total (Thousand)	Female (Number)	Female (%)
Managers[*]	353	37	10.5
Professionals related workers	5,203	2,505	48.1
Clerks	4,400	2,069	47.0
Service workers	2,737	1,795	65.6
Sale workers	3,094	1,589	51.4
Skilled agricultural, forestry, and fishery workers	1,251	495	39.6
Craft and related trades workers	2,334	306	13.1
Equipment, machine operating, and assembling workers	3,142	407	13.0
Elementary workers	3,424	1,763	51.5
Total	25,936	10,965	42.3

Note: Managers are defined as those who perform planning, directing, and mediating work in the government, businesses, or communities, and spend more than 80% of their work on analyzing, evaluating, directing, making decisions, and mediating other's work. Senior officials, legislators, and senior executives are included in this category (Source: Statistics Korea, 2015b).

low quality of employment status may contribute to the small number of women in leadership.

Women Leaders in Various Sectors

Table 6.2 shows the proportion of women leaders in various sectors in Korea. In the business sector, the number of women executives remains very low (1.8%), while women employers make up 28.6% of all employers but most are self-employed. In politics, 51 women (17%) were selected in the 2016 parliamentary election. In the case of civil servants, 12.1% are women, but only 3.7% occupy senior positions. In the upper echelon of law, education (faculty), and healthcare (physicians), women make up more than 20% because more women have passed a bar exam or obtained a doctoral degree. However, women are still largely outnumbered by men, so their token status remains.

Women's Career Interruptions

Women's career interruptions are one contributor to the small number of women leaders in Korea. The rate of women's economic participation in their twenties was a bit larger than that of men, making up 64.4% and

Table 6.2   Korean Women Leaders in Diverse Sectors (unit: person)

Sector	Position	Total (Number)	Female (Number)	Female (%)
Business	Executives and above[1]	10,842	195	1.8
	Employers[2]	5,563,000	1,589,000	28.6
Civil Servants	Deputy Directors and above[3] (Senior Executives)	44,862 (991)	5,447 (37)	12.1 (3.7)
Politics	Members of Congress[4]	300	51	17.0
Law	Lawyers[5]	17,771	4,165	23.4
	Prosecutors[6]	1,917	487	25.4
	Judges[6]	2,779	761	27.4
Education	Faculty[7]	33,613	10,761	32.0
Healthcare	Doctors[8]	–	112,407	24.4

Note: Different data sources are combined to show the proportion of women leaders in diverse sectors at a glance including:
[1]Female executives of 30 largest companies (Source: Park, 2015).
[2]Source: Statistics Korea, 2015b.
[3]Female civil servants with the grade five or higher (Source: Ministry of the Interior, 2014).
[4]Statistics of 2016 Parliamentary election (Source: National Election Commission, n.d).
[5]Source: Korean Bar News 2016, March 28.
[6]Source: Ministry of the Interior, 2014.
[7]Source: Ministry of Education, 2015.
[8]Excludes dentists, herbal doctors, and pharmacists (Source: Statistics Korea, 2015c).

63.0%, respectively, as shown in Fig. 6.1 (Source: Statistics Korea, 2015c). However, the rate of women's economic participation decreases in their thirties (58.8%). This is partly explained by women's careers being interrupted in the beginning of their thirties because of their commitment to family. According to the survey on economic activities of career-break women conducted by the Ministry of Gender Equality & Family (2014), 16.4% of married working women in their twenties and thirties intend to leave their work within 1 year, and 45.7% answered marriages, maternity, and children's education as their retirement reasons. Furthermore, among women experiencing career interruption, marriages (63.4%), maternity (24.7%), children's education (7.0%), and eldercare (4.9%) surfaced as the major reasons.

The data also reflect some increase in women's economic participation as they enter their forties, suggesting some return to the labor force as children get older. These data imply that many Korean women leave their jobs and do most of the family and house chores after marriage, while men take comparatively little responsibility at home.

Percent
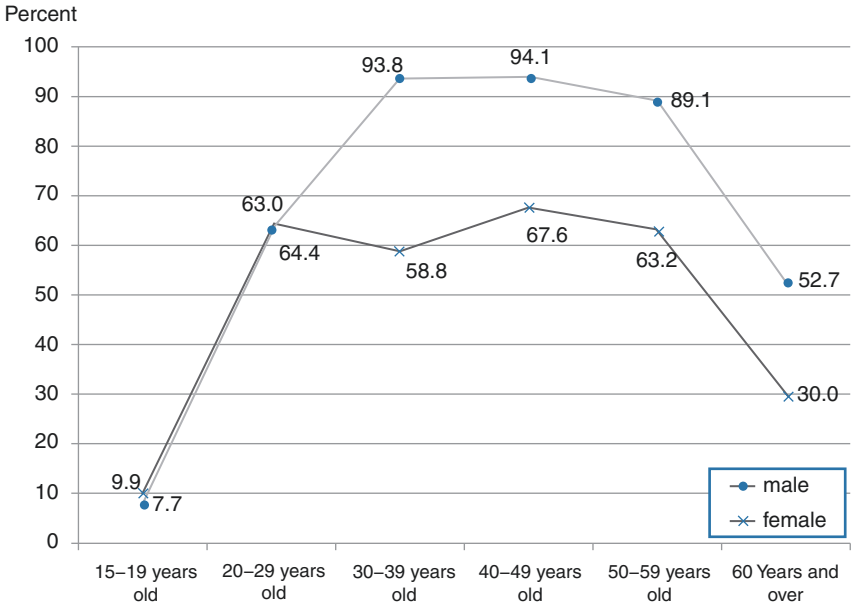
Fig. 6.1   Gender differences in economic participation

Women's Challenges

As shown in the statistics on women's participation in the labor market, Korean women's status is still poor by global standards. In this section, we present major challenges women leaders face, including cultural constraints, the gender divide in family roles, and the gendered workplace.

Cultural Constraints

Understanding Korean culture provides a foundation for understanding women leaders in Korea. Culture is defined as shared values, norms, and customs that people learn in the process of socialization, which influences how they make decisions, treat others, and create their worldviews (Burke, 2011; Schein, 2004). National culture is a critical indicator to understand people's life philosophy, attitudes, behaviors, and values in a nation. Korea

may be distinctive in that Confucianism and military culture have had a lasting effect on the society and on the way organizations are managed (Cho & Yoon, 2001; Hemmert, 2012; Park & Cho, 1995).

Since the beginning of the Chosun dynasty in the late fourteenth century, Confucianism has become a leading state philosophy for value systems and social structures (Lee & Lee, 2014). Major principles of Confucianism are represented as *respect for elders, loyalty to superiors, good human relations, filial piety*, and a *gender divide* (Kee, 2008). The core value of Confucianism is based on the belief that "every individual has its own roles and responsibilities according to its identity and social class" (Kee, 2008, p. 4) with the goal of creating a harmonious community.

In the strict family hierarchy of Confucianism, women are expected to obey and respect men's authority and perform multiple roles as mother, wife, and daughter-in-law. Married women should leave their own families and devote their whole life to their husband's family. In contrast, men have magisterial authority as head of the family and assume roles outside the household (Kim, 2013).

Confucian values have significantly affected the Korean family and work culture (Kee, 2008; Park & Cho, 1995; Shim, 2005). Although women's participation in economic and political arenas has promoted their social status and leadership, some cultural traditions remain unchanged. The roles of mother and wife have been strongly preserved as the fundamental duty of women in Korea (Kee, 2008). The term, *glass fence*, coined by Kim (2013), means keeping women from taking more active roles outside the home because there is a strong divide between women's space at home and men's space at work. For example, a Korean man introduces his wife as *JipSaram*, which means a person inside the home, and a woman introduces her husband as *BagganYangban*, which means a person outside the home.

Another cultural influence is associated with the military culture. Korea was ruled by military leaders between 1961 and 1992, at a time when a series of 5-year economic development plans were launched, resulting in the nation's outstanding economic development (Heo & Roehrig, 2014). Korea's success with military-led industrialization was based on its military command culture and sense of loyalty, working on clear-cut targets and having no tolerance for failure (Hemmert, 2012). Such a persistent military culture has solidified a patriarchal culture at national and organizational levels (Lee, 2002). In this context, building a team spirit for group harmony, which is built by eating, drinking, and singing together, is still encouraged in organizational life (Kee, 2008). Military service is

mandatory for all Korean men, resulting in learning leadership skills and partaking in strong bonding and informal networks based on the military experience (Rowley, Kang, & Lim, 2015). In the process, women are excluded from networking and such leadership development opportunities.

The long-lasting Confucian and military cultures have resulted in a hierarchical culture, patriarchal ideology, gendered organizational culture, and collectivism in the society (Lee & Lee, 2014). This unique Korean culture has been confirmed by Hofstede (Hofstede Centre, 2014) who evaluated the country as having cultural dimensions of high power distance, collectivism, and uncertainty avoidance. People easily accept hierarchical order regardless of inherent inequalities in the social structure and place a high value on strong commitments to their groups. In this context, people may have difficulty in speaking up with different ideas and changing existing cultural norms.

The combined effects of Confucian and military cultures have created a challenging workplace for women leaders. Due to the traditional gender divide and the gendered workplace, women have difficulties in entering the labor market and developing their careers (Lee & Lee, 2014). Cultural traditions in Korea have set a limit for Korean women's career and leadership development.

The Gender Divide in Family Roles

In the traditional Korean family system, women assume a caretaker role for children and elderly members and manage housework, while men are breadwinners (Kim, 2013; Yang, 2008). This traditional gender divide is still prevalent in the society because it has been ingrained in women's work and family roles, possibly leading to work–life conflicts, difficulties in career choices, and career interruptions.

Married women employees are often considered a vulnerable group due to a lack of time and energy to perform multiple roles at work and home (Oh, Kim, & Uhm, 2012). Despite the increasing number of dual-income couples, women employees are still considered secondary wage earners considering their responsibilities for domestic chores and family care (Lee, 2006). Married women's multiple burdens are evidenced by the OECD's (2015) well-being report; within dual-earner couples in Korea, men spend 40 minutes per day on domestic labor, while women spend 3 hours and 14 minutes, almost five times more than men.

This result evidences gender differences in domestic labor and indicates possible work–family role conflicts.

The pressure of the gender divide has considerably affected women employees' career choices. Gwak and Choi (2015) revealed that the most decisive domestic factor influencing married women's economic participation was their husband's preference in their employment. When their husband accepts their wife's roles outside the home, women actively seek their jobs and manage their careers with psychological relief. Married women employees who do not have their husbands' support are likely to experience work–family role conflicts and career interruptions caused by the gender divide (Ministry of Gender Equality & Family, 2014). Their failure in work–family balance leads to career breaks. The high rate of career-interrupted women is a major cause of Korean women's low employment rate compared with other OECD nations.

Due to unfair treatment, many women professionals have delayed marriage or postponed having a child after marriage to maintain their careers (Lee, 2006). This may help to explain why Korea has nearly the lowest birthrate (1.21 children per woman in 2014) in the world (OECD, 2016). In addition, Korea has undergone the most extreme demographic change in the last few decades with the fastest growth rate of older people in the world (*Yonhap News*, 2014). A report of Statistics Korea (2015a) estimated that Korea would enter an aged society with 14% of the total population aged 65 and older by 2018, while the aging population was 13.1% in 2015. It also predicted that Korea would become a hyper-aged society as the percentage will increase to 20% by 2025 (Kim, 2016).

The low birth rate and aging population may threaten national development caused by the reduction of the productive population. These demographic trends have spurred the country to find alternatives, including family-friendly policies, to increase women's economic participation and the number of women leaders (Lee, Lee, & Han, 2008).

The Gendered Workplace

Korea has a large number of highly educated women. As the rate of women students' college entrance exceeded men's for the first time in 2010, the gender gap of college entrance has gradually increased (Statistics

Korea, 2015c). However, the high rate of educated women has not resulted in their employment and, on the contrary, has led to the lowest employment rate with the largest gender gap in the OECD countries (Kim, 2015). Although the employment rate of women has been reported as the highest in their late twenties, the overall employment rate has decreased by the rapidly decreasing employment rate in their thirties, due to the traditional gender divide, resulting in a large number of career-interrupted women (Shin et al., 2016). Women's career interruptions imply that highly educated women are not effectively utilized in the labor market, let alone their potential to become leaders in the organization.

After sending their children to school, many women try to reenter the labor market in their late thirties and older. Women's late economic participation has shown an M-curve pattern (Fig. 6.1), found mainly in Korea and Japan, as compared with developed countries having an inverse U pattern (Han, 2012). When reentering the workplace, women tend to work as temporary, irregular, or at lower level jobs. Women, thus, make up a low rate of regular employees and a high rate of temporary employees (Oh, Kim, & Um, 2012).

Combined with lower positions of women employees in the labor market, the widest income disparity between men and women surfaced as a gender issue in the workplace (Statistics Korea, 2015d). This may be a result of the high rate of irregular women employees, devaluing women's labor (Lee, 2006). In addition, women have often been primary victims of layoffs during the restructuring process in organizations. This has to do with people's unconscious bias that women are not a primary breadwinner or are less productive because they lack time and effort caused by childcare at home (Gwak & Choi, 2015).

As Korean women's career paths are considerably affected by gender roles, successful women leaders who have achieved a top position in an organization are likely to undergo difficulties in work–life balance, networking, and finding mentors who can guide their careers (Lee, 2006). Women leaders' double burden of work and family contribute to forming their career identities with ambivalent attitudes for career aspirations. Kang (2016) revealed that many Korean women professionals with managerial positions have dual attitudes toward their careers, with a strong desire to continue employment but also to be less interested in career advancement. These professional women tend to seek modest level (low or mid-level) positions with less pressure for multiple role performance rather than higher positions with more responsibilities and

duties. Women leaders' concerns about work–life conflict, therefore, limit their career choices.

OPPORTUNITIES

Based on our review of literature and recent research on Korean women leaders (Cho et al., 2015, 2016, 2017), we provide three possible opportunities for women leaders, including women leaders' strengths as leaders, the government's role, and roles of Human Resource Development (HRD).

Women Leaders' Strengths

We found that women leaders are committed to their professions and careers, are loyal to their organizations, and have a strong sense of responsibility for both their work and family. They spoke of how their experiences as women in organizations significantly contributed to their career achievement. We found from our research that as the women leaders interviewed were both goal-oriented and performance-driven and soft and communicative, they were effective in working with men counterparts, resulting in outstanding performance in the organization.

In addition, it seems that women leaders' token status in the organization gave them opportunities to play a moral compass role (Agrawal & Kets de Vries, 2006), meaning that they were more transparent in doing business than men. As one woman executive stated:

> We need more women executives in organizations because they are transparent and work-oriented, whereas men are people-oriented and are tangled with relationships so they make decisions based on personal interests and connections. From an organization perspective, women's way of doing business is better and brings more to the table.

Women leaders interviewed, however, spoke of the importance of having both men and women mentors. As they lack having women mentors, meeting their needs in this regard would be helpful for their leadership development. To strengthen opportunities for women leaders' leadership development, organizations should provide challenging and high-profile work assignments, diverse business experiences, and development programs that are tailored to meet their developmental needs.

The Government's Role

The government has played a pivotal role in enacting several laws and policies to increase women's participation in the workplace and gender inequality over the last 30 years. Particularly, the Women's Development Act that was enacted in 1995 provided a crucial institutional foundation for guiding women's policies in Korea. Following the Act, the responsibility for planning, implementing, and evaluating women's policies on a 5-year basis was given to the government (Kim, 2010). The detailed policies include several strategies to promote women's economic participation, welfare, and gender equality in the workplace. Another achievement is the adoption of the Employment Quota System for women public officials in 1996, which has contributed to increasing women public administrators and congresswomen (Yang et al., 2012).

The government's initiative for work–life balance is also encouraging. The Ministry of Gender Equality & Family's (2011) meta-analysis of work–family conflict revealed that the most critical piece in resolving work–life conflict is a family-friendly organizational culture. The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (2016), in collaboration with the Ministry of Employment and Labor, has recently delivered 35 strategies for work–life balance that could be implemented in the corporate sector. It includes three focus areas including women leaders' development, work–life balance, and corporate culture for gender equality.

It is laudable for the government to provide information on legal protection and corresponding policies and programs for the benefit of women. However, as government's strategies are not punitive and lag behind the implementation of policies and programs, the government should find ways to distribute its strategies to all parts of the society. To that end, practitioners working for women in leadership should take full advantage of a close partnership between the government and the private sector that has proven to be an effective strategy for the nation's economic development.

Roles of HRD

HRD can play a role in bringing in family-friendly culture by promoting work–life balance for both men and women in the organization and in implementing mentoring programs for women in the leadership pipeline. First, there must be a cultural shift in organizations that are based on long

work hours and working late and during the weekends. Working at home with children should not be viewed as under-performing as long as outcomes are delivered. Given the changing nature of work with technology's assistance, the notion of working should be as flexible as it can be, so that both men and women can balance work and family/life. To that end, some Korean companies make an effort to educate employees by regularly distributing documents concerning what to do and not to do when drinking in after-work gatherings. This small but worthy effort is contributing to less drinking and after-work gatherings for both men's and women's work–life balance.

Our research indicated that many women leaders did not find women mentors because there are no or only a few women senior leaders. Women leaders who did not benefit from formal mentoring programs addressed a strong need for the development of their leadership skills through such mentoring programs because mentoring is a psychosocial intervention that helps women see others having similar struggles in the process of developing their leadership skills (Cho et al., 2015). HRD scholars and practitioners need to encourage women in the leadership pipeline to project their career paths through behavior modeling in collaboration with existing women leaders in mentoring programs.

Research Agenda

We present two research agendas for further investigation for women leaders in Korea, including contextual factors that might influence women's leadership development and comparative analyses of countries and sectors.

Contextual Factors

Given that HRD interventions for women leaders cannot be achieved without changing organizational work culture, discussions should be geared toward macro-level contextual factors that would increase the number of women leaders and meet their personal and professional needs in their leadership development. As we found from our research (Cho et al., 2015, 2016, 2017) that the most difficult challenge the women leaders face is the very challenging nature of their gendered workplace, we feel a strong need to pay more attention to research on organizational factors that promote or hinder physical and social infrastructures for women leaders in

Korea. The organizational level of research on women in leadership requires investigation into the contextual factors that contribute to a non-discriminatory atmosphere in the workplace (Gress & Paek, 2014). For instance, in line with tokenism theory (Gustafson, 2008; Kanter, 1977; Yoder, 1991), which explores how women's proportional representation in work groups affects their workplace experiences, Korean women leaders' token status can be tested to see how they are coping with the gendered workplace.

Comparative Analyses

Given the predominant western influences in studies on women's in leadership, there is a need to take cultural differences into account in research on the topic. As many of the challenges women leaders face are deeply rooted in traditional culture, we need to undertake critical inquiry into uniquely Korean contexts. In this way, it will be possible to identify which western approaches to women in leadership are and are not applicable to Korea. Representative examples include comparison studies between Korea and western countries (e.g., O'Brien et al., 2014), between Korea and Asian countries (e.g., Cho et al., 2015a), and between sectors (e.g., private and public). These comparative analyses will eventually contribute to develop indigenous research (McLean, 2010) on women in leadership that aptly fits into uniquely Korean contexts.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we reviewed statistical data on women leaders in the labor market and analyzed reasons of their low status based on unique Korean national and organizational cultures. Numerical evidence indicates that many women are still employed as non-regular employees and leave their jobs in their mid-career stage due to the burden of family duties and difficulties they face in the gendered workplace, thus only a small number of women remain in senior level positions. Although women's educational attainment reaches as high as that of men to date, women are poorly represented in leadership positions of almost all sectors, including business, government, and education. The lack of women leaders can lead to the delay of Korean economic growth with the loss of a human capital and also lead to social inequality in the deployment of family-friendly policies and programs.

Korean women's difficulties (i.e., work–life conflict, a threat of potential career interruption, income disparity, low representation, the pressure of traditional gender role performance) addressed in this chapter were deeply associated with the negative functions of traditional culture. Given that the culture was constantly pointed as a major sticking point for the growth of Korean women leaders, a variety of strategies should be called for to break unfavorable practices for women. The process of finding the ways needs to be achieved with a goal for a major shift in the male-dominated traditional culture. The good news is the government's increasing interest in creating family-friendly policies and programs. It should be noted, though, that the real impact of family-friendly culture is made possible only in collaboration with all involved parties, organizations and society at large as well as individuals including husbands and families.

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Women in Leadership in Malaysia

Siti Raba'ah Hamzah

Good leadership has played a crucial role in Malaysia's economic development. The country's political stability since independence has helped the nation to progress considerably. The political parties that formed a coalition government comprising the major ethnic groups (Malay, Chinese, Indian, Iban, Kadazan, and other indigenous minorities) set aside interethnic conflicts in the interest of promoting and sustaining socio-economic growth. In the Malaysian context, a growth-with-equity policy scaffold is considered necessary for the country's economic advancement, the success of which will depend on how well this is managed (Yusof & Bhattasali, 2008). In this regard, both male and female leaders have played significant roles in helping the government develop the nation. This chapter examines women in leadership in Malaysia from historical, political, economic, and cultural perspectives through a comprehensive literature review including books, journal articles, newspapers, articles, and other relevant documents published by government departments between 2000 and 2016.

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WOMEN AND LEADERSHIP IN THE MALAYSIAN CONTEXT

Women in leadership in Malaysia became a subject of empirical research from the 1970s onward when more female graduates began entering the labor market. Since then, Malaysian women have been significant contributors to the country's economic and social development.

Despite increasing participation in various sectors, women's representation at decision-making levels has yet to reflect the contributions made by women in the public and private sectors over the years. Women are grossly under-represented on the boards of directors of business corporations and government agencies. About 21% (5,989) of the entire board of directors members of 28,561 in public companies are women. In private companies, 29.7% are women (70.3%) (Ministry of Women, Family, and Community Development, 2014). Zainal, Zulkifli, and Saleh (2013) found little change in the appointment of women directors over a five-year period, reflecting slow progress in gender diversity with regard to leadership positions in the Malaysian commercial sector. The paucity of information regarding the status of women in leadership in Malaysia is the impetus for this chapter.

With rapid industrialization and urbanization in recent decades, there have been drastic changes in Malaysian women's traditional roles, reinforced by religious and cultural values and dogmas (Othman, D'silva, & Mohammed, 2012). Modernism has provided greater opportunities for women to participate in decision-making processes. The uplifting of the socio-economic, socio-legal, and political status of women in Malaysia is a reflection of the dynamism and mobility of its citizens in nation building. With a population comprising multi-ethnic groups, there is naturally considerable diversity of religious beliefs, customs, rituals, and languages. The diversified workforce is an asset that encourages different leadership styles, thus allowing the expression of creative and innovative ideas in the decision-making process. According to Article 8(2) of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia (2010), gender equality is guaranteed, particularly from the perspective of employment in the private sector, pregnancy, and gender discrimination. However, the equal opportunity and rights given to women, especially in decision making at work, needs to be improved.

Historically, after independence, the participation of women as leaders has undergone considerable change and growth but is still influenced by ethnicities. In the United Malays National Organization

(UMNO), the involvement of women in power sharing and decision making has moved upward. As for the women's section of the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), its role within the party was minimal in the early years, reflecting the lack of women representation in the highest policy-making body. Also, for Indian women, based on political membership and leadership in the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), the women's section did not play a visible role in the association compared with the women's wings of UMNO and MCA, and this contributed to their low profile (Danez, 1987; Ministry of Women and Family Development, 2003).

The National Policy for Women, which was implemented during the Sixth Malaysian Plan (1991–1995), was aimed at increasing awareness and concern for women issues, including women in leadership. The Malaysian government has promoted a human capital enhancement program through the Secretariat for Women's Affairs (HAWA) to improve their occupational status, including skill training and retraining programs. There was a concerted national effort by the government and NGOs, in collaboration with universities and the private sector, to improve the status of Malaysian working women. The Tenth Malaysian Plan (2011–2015) continued to address women's concerns and to provide a more stimulating environment for women to participate more effectively as partners in the country's social, economic, and political development. A special committee chaired by the Minister of Women, Family, and Community Development was established to implement a gender sensitization program in the public sector with regards to recruitment, career development, and succession planning to increase representation of women in key decision-making positions. One of the achievements was the Nur Bestari training program that is focused on politics and management for women.

The government's commitment to the advancement of women has also been reflected in international forums, such as the Commission on the Status of Women, APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) Women and the Economic Forum, the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, East Asia Gender Equality Ministerial Meeting, Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) Women Ministerial Meeting, Global Summit of Women, Annual Consultation of Commonwealth National Women's Machineries, and various workshops, seminars, and conferences on women's issues (Ministry of Women, Family, and Community Development, 2013).

Women's participation in top management has a positive impact on the organization's performance in terms of leadership styles, financial management, and various other aspects (Khadri & Subramaniam, 2015). A study in Malaysia (Ahmad-Zaluki, 2012) found that companies with a higher proportion of female board directors experienced "less underperformance" (p. 457) than those with fewer women board directors. This study suggests that increasing the number of women board directors promotes social justice and protects shareholder interests. Women bring a different style to board tasks and are better at environmental adaptation. Past studies also have found a positive association between gender diversity and return on assets, thus suggesting that women in top positions have a positive impact on the organization's performance (Julizaerma & Sori, 2012). This finding is aligned with the Malaysian government's policy of having at least 30% women representation at the decision-making level in the corporate sector (Shaed & Ishak, 2015).

In political leadership, women have the opportunity and accessibility to be elected to serve in parliament. However, according to Martin (2010), the structure of having many political parties in Malaysia has limited opportunities and support for women to participate in the political process, unlike their male counterparts who dominate the political sphere. Notwithstanding that the current leader of the Malaysian opposition is a woman, creating opportunities for female politicians does not seem to be important for any of the major political parties. Therefore, the existence of women appears to be just for lobbying in campaigns rather than for developing women leaders.

Malaysian Women's Social Status

Women possess important characteristics necessary for good governance (Ng, 2012). The roles and status of women in Malaysia have undergone a drastic transformation. More education and employment opportunities have opened the doors to more qualified women to be involved in decision making in top management positions in both public and private sectors (Ministry of Women and Family Development, 2013).

Women were identified as an important resource that could be mobilized to achieve the national development agenda in both the Seventh and Eighth Malaysian Plans (Khadri & Subramaniam, 2015). The female population stands at 14.5 million and 48.6% of the population of 29.9 million (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2014). More women are expected to join the workforce in future years. Most women in the workforce are

engaged in paid employment, while others are self-employed or are unpaid family workers. Overall, female participation in the labor force was 52.4% in 2013, compared to only 46.8% in 2010 (TalentCorp, 2015). The government aimed to increase the participation of women in the labor force to 55% by 2015 (*Tenth Malaysian Plan, Tenth Malaysian Plan*, 2011). To increase female labor force participation, the government is encouraging employers to implement flexible work arrangements, promote childcare facilities, create career comeback programs, and support entrepreneurship programs (Khalidah, 2014; Subramaniam, Overton, & Maniam, 2015).

According to the Commonwealth Plan of Action for Gender Equality (2005–2015), there should be at least a 30% target for women at the decision-making levels in the political, public, and private sectors, i.e., organizations need to have women in at least 30% of their entire leadership in order to benefit from gender diversity in decision making. This figure was put forward by the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) as the target endorsed by the United Nations Economic and Social Council to ensure greater female representation in power and decision making. Malaysia, as one of the targeted countries, aims to achieve this target by 2020. Between September 2014 and February 2015, the Commonwealth [of Nations] Secretariat collected baseline data statistics on the status of women in leadership in political, public, and private sectors across the Commonwealth. The information is essential for enhancing economic empowerment of women to ensure more sustainable and inclusive development and business practices for all and increased socio-economic development across the Commonwealth. The report provides a brief snapshot of the position of women in leadership across the Commonwealth, including eight countries in the Asia Pacific region, in which Malaysia ranks second.

The positions of women in leadership in political, public, and private sectors, such as cabinet ministers, deputy ministers, government corporations, and board and executive members, are still below the target. Nevertheless, the target of having women as permanent secretaries (32%) and as directors and heads of department (30%) has been achieved (Baseline Data Report Commonwealth Secretariat, 2015). Therefore, significant progress has been made by the government of Malaysia to enhance women in leadership. Various initiatives, such as the Women in Leadership Malaysia (WIL MY) program for senior managers, are equipping Malaysian women professionals with the strategies and skills to navigate, build, and lead in a dynamic and ever-changing twenty-first century work environment.

Family Roles and Expectations

Work–life balance holds a high priority for women in Malaysia (Zaimah, Sarmila, Selvadurai, Lyndon, Er, & Jamian, 2013). Although Malaysians, both men and women, generally prioritize family over work, women often elect a more balanced lifestyle over career progression (Marica, Ali Borhanuddin, & Nawi Abdullah, 2009). Obviously, whether they like it or not, it is clear that married career women end up having a double burden of responsibility in our society. Women prepare meals, clean and maintain their houses, take care of children, and get involved in school activities. Whether these are conscious choices or roles thrust on them by the society, women with a career clearly have priorities beyond just getting to work.

Generally speaking, promotion and recognition are dependent not only on performance but also on tenure. For women, the timing of tenure decisions often coincides with the optimal childbearing years. Hence, married working women have to resolve the conflict between biological and career clocks. One of the most probable reasons why women vanish as they move up the corporate ladder, out of the upper echelon league, is that occupying more senior leadership roles is not as appealing to them as they are to men (Khadri & Subramaniam, 2015). Women's participation in the labor force has led to the emergence of dual-career families. As a result of such participation, the productivity of the country has increased, and, at the same time, the financial situation of their families has improved (Shahina & Julie, 2004). However, a major challenge facing working women in Malaysia has been the lack of fit between the support offered by social institutions (workplace, community) and the demands of families. Therefore, to encourage women with families to work, the government has introduced flexible working hours under the Employment Act of 1955 (amended in 1998), with benefits to be paid to part-time workers proportionate to those provided to full-time employees (*Eighth Malaysian Plan, Eighth Malaysian Plan*, 2001). In reality, however, many workplaces do not abide by this ruling (Subramaniam, Overton, & Maniam, 2015).

Historical, Political, and Socio-Economic Backgrounds

An important dimension of Malaysian demographics is multi-culturalism. According to the 2010 census, the population consists mainly of ethnic Malays and other indigenous groups, commonly referred to as *Bumiputera* (62%), Chinese (23%), and Indians (7%) (Department of

Statistics Malaysia, 2014). Malaysian values and culture have been shaped by Islamic and Buddhist teachings over centuries (Kennedy, 2002). For example, Hamzah, Hamzah, Othman, and Devi (2016) concluded, based on correlational statistics, that religion impacts the performance of Muslim women academic leaders in Malaysia to have an exemplary moral character, strong convictions, tolerance to criticism, multi-tasking abilities, and a management style that helps others to excel.

Over the years since independence, the prevailing political stability has helped the economy to grow. The government has managed to keep in check inherent tendencies toward inter-ethnic conflicts and has succeeded in sustaining political and social commitment to the growth process. The emphasis on growth with equity, despite the difficulties, has helped to sustain stability.

While Malaysian women of all ethnicities have contributed to the country's growth, they have been less active in local politics and are relatively inactive in public processes owing to institutional, socio-economic, and cultural constraints. Specifically, cultural constraints arise from the strength of the norms and social sanctions that can provoke resistance to change practices and influence women in leadership positions (Toh & Leonardelli, 2012). However, times are changing. There is now wider acceptance of the fact that women can and do play a vital role in community affairs. As in other developing countries, women's role in Malaysian politics has also received attention. Malaysia has elected women representatives to the House of Representatives, also known as *Dewan Rakyat*. However, compared to women's role in other spheres, their role in politics has been limited, making it challenging to elect more women representatives to parliament (Yusoff, Sarjoon, & Othman, 2016). In the 2013 general election, of the 222 seats contested, only 23 women (10.4%) were elected as representatives to the lower house of Parliament. This positioned Malaysia in the second to last place in Southeast Asia in terms of women's representation in parliament. Women's political representation in Southeast Asia averaged about 18%, which is below the global average of 22.8% (Mulakala, 2013).

MALAYSIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Education is a key to career advancement and personal development. It also underpins the development of a highly skilled, innovative workforce that is a critical enabling factor for social, cultural, and economic growth.

The data on women's participation in education for 1990 and 2007 reveal that there existed gender differences in student enrollment in pre-university institutions, teachers training colleges and institutes, and in universities with the proportion of women exceeding men (Ahmad, 2009). Since then, the overall trend of an increase in the number of women participating in education has continued. Women participation in engineering increased when Malaysia sought to drive its economy from agriculture into industrial sectors (Azman & Ahmad, 2006). Since then, universities in Malaysia have offered new engineering programs to meet the requirements of engineering fields (Sulaiman, Salleh, Mohamad, & Sern, 2015). Women have exceeded men in the field of science, which encompasses the basic sciences, environmental science, agriculture, home science, food technology, computer science, and medicine. There have also been more women in the arts field that includes specializations such as commerce, economics, business, accounting, management, administration, communication, law, social science, humanities, languages, and education, and the proportions in such specializations have been on the increase (Ahmad, 2009).

The government, through the Ministry of Higher Education, has democratized higher education. It has encouraged the setting up of private colleges and universities in line with its vision to provide access to tertiary education for all qualified students. At the time of writing, Malaysia had more than 1.2 million students enrolled in 21 public universities, 32 private universities and colleges, 4 branch campuses of international universities, 21 polytechnics, 37 public community colleges, and 485 private colleges (Ministry of Higher Education, 2015). The expansion of educational opportunities in the country means that more avenues are available for women to develop skills and competencies necessary for their economic participation. Efforts have been made to churn out more innovative human capital in academic achievement, such as MyBrain 15, an ambitious program to produce 60,000 Malaysian PhD holders by 2023. The 2013 Malaysian Education Blueprint defines the course of educational reforms over the following decade while responding to many of the challenges faced by the education system as a whole. One of the ambitious goals of this Blueprint is the reduction by half of the current urban-rural, socio-economic, and gender achievement gap by 2020. However, in spite of the traditional dominance of men over women, the Government of Malaysia has given special attention to the education of women, which has more than closed this gap, as is evident from the enrollment of

women for first degrees in public universities being consistently above 62% for the period 2009–2012. For the 2013–2014 academic year, 68.02% of 41,573 new students for first degrees in public universities are women. Further, women exceed men in academic achievement.

Rising Trend: Women Participation in the Workforce

Malaysia has made significant progress with regard to women's participation in the workforce, with the participation rate increasing from 46% in 2009 to 53.6% in 2014. An additional 600,000 women have joined the workforce since 2010. However, less progress has been achieved with regard to the Government's policy target of 30% of women in decision-making positions by 2016. As of 31 December 2015, women accounted for only 14% of board directors among the top 100 listed companies on Bursa Malaysia. As Malaysia works toward increasing women participation in the labor market to 57% by 2020, women leaders can play a unique role by lending their influence, insight, and understanding to building future women talent pipelines (*Tenth Malaysian Plan*, 2011).

Studies have shown that work–life benefits are commonly viewed as a solution to help employees balance their work with life and family. Lim, Tan, and Benjamin (2013) have identified two main barriers to career advancement of women employees, viz., networking time with family responsibilities at home and less women mentoring support in their organization. According to Maxwell (2009), mentoring programs can enhance women mentees' career development and would, subsequently, contribute to improving gender balance in management.

Another issue is the glass ceiling, which can be attributed to indiscernible delays in women's movement to top management (Khadri & Subramaniam, 2015). There are two main categories of glass ceiling, viz., personal and work challenges. The first consists of demographic factors, family commitment, and family support. The second consists of negative stereotypes, workplace arrangements, organizational culture, and career development opportunities. The implications of this issue range from the micro level, such as women's dissatisfaction over job opportunities and exiting from the labor force, to macro issues, such as brain drain and migration (Khadri & Subramaniam, 2015).

Cases of Women as Leaders in Organizations

In recent years, women have increasingly entered leadership roles in organization that were traditionally occupied by men (Kennedy, 2002). According to Samina (2015), two outstanding Malaysian women, Tan Sri Dato Sri Dr. Zeti Akhtar Aziz, the former 7th governor of Bank Negara Malaysia, Malaysia's central bank, and the first Malaysian woman to have held such a position, and Dr. Engku Rabiah Adawiah Engku Ali, one of the world's first female scholars to advise financial institutions, have motivated and inspired a new generation of female scholars. With these excellent women leaders, Malaysia has become a global leader in Islamic finance (Samina, 2015).

Legislative and Policy Context

As Malaysia moves toward its vision of achieving an industrialized nation status by 2020, many policies have been drawn up to bring women into the labor force. Major initiatives include improving labor productivity, creating more skilled jobs, reducing wage gaps, improving labor market information, minimizing mismatches in the labor market, and introducing a national wage index to serve as a guide and benchmark (Economic Planning Unit, 2015).

Though patriarchal concerns in the home need to be addressed, equally significant is the need for a paradigm shift in the working environment to facilitate women's juggling of paid and unpaid labor (Subramaniam, Overton, & Maniam, 2015). The proposed flexible work arrangement plan in the 2014 budget shows the government's commitment to creating a more supportive working environment for female employees. Under the plan, employers are encouraged to provide flexibility to their staff in terms of duration, location, and working hours to ensure that they are able to balance their career with family and personal commitments. Of course, if the government were truly committed to improving work environments to assist women, we would see a lot more government agencies implementing such plans in their offices.

To improve talent development, there is collaboration among the Ministry of Women, Family, and Community Development (KPWKM), Ministry of Human Resources (MoHR), and Talent Corporation. The Talent Corporation is the go-to agency for helping employers meet their talent needs. It speaks the language of government and business, creating

a bridge between the two, to implement government policy. New flexible working arrangements, such as teleworking, part-time work, job sharing, and home office settings for small businesses, are some of the proposals developed by the Talent Corporation.

In line with the nation's aspiration to attain the status of a developed country by 2020, the Human Resources Development Fund (HRDF) under the MoHR was established in 1993. The HRDF aims to develop quality human capital and a world-class workforce using knowledge and innovation as its base. The objective is to encourage employers to retrain and upgrade the skills of their employees, apprentices, and trainees in line with their business needs and the development strategies of the country.

Future Development: How to Empower Women to Be Leaders

Despite numerous challenges at home and in the workplace, more and more educated Malaysian women are acquiring better skills and expertise. Hence, it is not surprising that many of them aspire to be leaders or hold high positions. As stated by Shaed and Ishak (2015), equal opportunities should be given so that the nation can benefit from competent women leaders. They concluded that women have been found to be more self-confident and persuasive, have a stronger need to get things done, and are more willing to take risks. Women leaders have also been found to be more empathetic and flexible, as well as stronger in interpersonal skills with their counterparts, enabling them to read situations accurately and take in information from all sides. By investing time and energy in developing women employees, organizations would find it easier to retain experienced and competent staff.

The following are some suggested strategies for stakeholders (government, agencies, corporations, small and medium-sized enterprises, universities, schools, individuals, families, communities, and any other entity affected by and affecting women) to empower women to be leaders.

Offer Opportunities

Talented women employees should be provided by their organization with opportunities to excel and be outstanding. Studies have shown (e.g., Kim, Lee, & Kim, 2015) that women workers reported a more favorable

perception of diversity management practices than did men. This might initially push some women staff out of their comfort zone, but it would help them gain both breadth and depth in their work experience to develop leadership, strategic, and operational skills. The HRD Fund was designed to help organizations accomplish this through financial incentives.

Provide Leadership Training

Career development programs for women would go a long way in nurturing capable women leaders in the workplace. Such development programs could include intensive training courses that explore key leadership topics, such as the art of negotiation, effective communication, and how to develop a high performing team. This leadership training program, in addition to the employer, could be organized by occupational and professional associations and conducted professionally. In addition, the training would help women employees identify the attributes and characteristics needed to be a skilled leader, while receiving constructive feedback. Perhaps an even more effective leadership development approach could include job rotation and providing the women who are aspiring to leadership with challenging job assignments.

Provide Flexible Work Arrangements

While more working women want to climb the corporate ladder, they do not want to do so at the expense of family commitments and personal goals. To build a healthy channel for women leaders in the workplace, it is important that organizations implement measures that make such roles more attractive, for example, through the provision of flexible work arrangements. This could include providing access to support through information and communications technology that allows workingwomen to operate with more flexibility, including telecommuting (working from home) and variable working hours. Performance should be based on results rather than hours spent in the office. With the emergence of more women in the workforce, now is the time for employers to develop leadership capabilities of their women employees and capitalize on the untapped potential that they have to offer.

The Malaysian government strives to ensure higher participation of women in the nation's labor force. To strike a balance between work

and family commitments, the government has introduced various initiatives, such as providing training opportunities, granting longer maternity leave, and creating a special loan for women entrepreneurs that carries low to no interest, has no guarantor requirement, and has a longer payback term. The government also monitors existing laws and regulations that discriminate against women through the Gender Focal Points (GFPs) in each government agency (Ismail, 2012). GFP acts as a focal point in an agency to ensure that there is no form of discrimination against women employees and against women in general in the relevant agency and that gender mainstreaming is pursued as a clear policy in that agency.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

Further studies need to focus on ways to enhance leadership among women in all types of organizations. This chapter provides evidence to support the sources of barriers involving women in the workforce, with gender inequality, women's leadership roles, and those related to work–family balance, all of which influence career advancement. From theoretical and managerial perspectives, understanding the barriers to women's career advancement are important in solving the issue of low participation rate of women in leadership in the Malaysian workforce. Future directions on research must consider the importance of women leadership contexts and leader identity, including work–family interface, affirmative paradigms, lived experiences (phenomenology), and multiple dimensions of self-identity.

CONCLUSION

Comprising almost half of the population, Malaysian women have seen their roles evolving. As an increasing number of Malaysian women graduates join the workforce, it is time for a paradigm shift in the way home and society function vis-à-vis women's roles. Women's participation in society should not be limited to mere participation in the workforce in general but should be extended to empowerment and leadership.

In Malaysia, as elsewhere, qualified and capable women in the workforce should be viewed as invaluable human capital yet to be tapped to its fullest. It would be a great loss to the nation if such invaluable human capital was not given due recognition, especially at decision-making levels. Although the Malaysian government has implemented a policy for at least

30% of decision-making positions to be filled by women, absence of a pre-set ceiling would, in fact, allow even more capable women leaders to make greater contributions to the development and advancement of the nation.

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Uncovering the Space Left for Women to Lead in Myanmar

Anchalee Gibbins

Myanmar's history, from a monarchy to British rule to military control and now into an era of modernized transformation, has all been dominated by men. However, there is an increasing trend that women are starting to reclaim the territories to which they once belonged and enhance their status in decision-making roles.

In the country that looks like a diamond-shaped kite, sitting between China, Thailand, and India, many people would think that there would be some similarity in terms of culture, customs, and traditions with its neighbors. While this may be true along some of the border areas, India seems to have had more influence on Myanmar society (Myint-U, 2001, 2011). This may be due to the impact of the colonial period of rule from 1885 to 1948 and the impact of the East India Trading Company. Prior to 1885, Myanmar was ruled by a series of dynasties and kingdoms, and from 1962 to 2015, the country went through various types of military rule (Khiang, 1984; Than, 2014).

During all of these periods, the role of women has ebbed and flowed in the backdrop of political and cultural changes. Before the current government took control, the accepted notion was that women could help the

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nation by being good mothers and good wives (Than, 2014). This seems to define the boundaries on the roles and the expectations of women from the government's point of view. Hence, the leading roles in politics and decision making are seen as men's concerns. In previous days, benefits and opportunities tended to go to men first, as they were perceived as having more importance by society. This seems to have been influenced by Buddhism and its traditions. Education, health care benefits, and careers were concepts deemed important only for men (Khiang, 1984).

Elsewhere in the world and in Asia, women have been entering professional and managerial ranks in corporations. This seems to occur more in countries with periods of rapid change. Hence, this change has provided women in Asia with opportunities they have never seen in the past (Nisbett, 2003). It was not until reforms started in 2011 that opportunities that had been provided to women in other Asian countries for the past three to four decades became available to women in Myanmar.

Mixed Perceptions of Equality and Inequality

Given the advances made in other Asian countries, there would naturally be an expectation that there would be a general lack of gender equality in Myanmar. However, we find that issues of equality or inequality vary from state to state across Myanmar, as modern Myanmar is a collection of states, a home to many different languages and customs with ethnically varied areas (Myint-U, 2001, 2011).

Even with these differences, the big picture is that women of Myanmar have the right to continue to possess their property after marriage (Khiang, 1984; Than, 2014). Also, women of Myanmar do not need to change their name after marriage. Their identity remains, no matter the change in their marital status (Ikeya, 2006). Steinberg (2013) also pointed out that the status of women of Myanmar had historically been higher than women from neighboring countries in South and East Asia, especially when compared to the status of women in India and China. Women of Myanmar married under their own wish. There are even women in the military and police but not in high-risk roles and not in high ranks (Steinberg, 2013; Than, 2014).

Further, according to Khiang (1984), women of Myanmar have the right to access education, even though Myanmar is a country that is rich with old civilizations and a melting pot of cultures from different tribes in the country. Access to education seems to depend on the attitude of each

family, tribe, and economic condition. According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2016), the percentages of literacy between the men and women of Myanmar are similar: adult men, 95.2%; adult women, 91.18%. Based on these data, there is approximate equality in accessing education, while there is still a small gender gap. This is the new face of Myanmar in the era of new development as Myanmar has opened its borders to connect to the world. In the early twenty-first century, there are more educated women starting to play a more active role in public professions. The area of intellectual and cultural intermediaries is taking place by women of Myanmar. The role of women has developed beyond being wives and mothers (Ikeya, 2011). Cultural intermediaries are those who are responsible for preserving and passing on cultural heritage and knowledge.

Harriden (2012) pointed out that, although equal rights between women and men exist in some contexts, there are fewer opportunities for women to exercise political, economic, and social power. The rights and equality of women in Myanmar in ethnic groups, such as Mon, Karen, Pa-O, and Shan, seem to be an ongoing issue. Those who have no formal education have low skills and are treated unfairly across the borders with neighboring countries such as Thailand, where they are underpaid or not paid at all, have improper documentation, and generally face violation of their basic human rights.

In contrast, Than (1986) argued that women of Myanmar have enjoyed relatively equal status in the fields of politics and administration, economics, and culture; this statement is even true today with the opening up of Myanmar and the reforms that are slowly taking place. Historically, some women even participated in decision-making roles, especially those in royalty and those who were in the same family as military men (Myint-U, 2001, 2011). The uncertainty in the issue of equality relies upon political and cultural changes. In the context of religion, women are excluded from being ordained as monks. Nonetheless, women can actively contribute as key donors to support the operation of the monastery. Gender inequality in religious status is often depicted by the lower status of women who entered the monastery as Buddhist nuns. They are considered less privileged and have never received the same respect as monks. The world of the monastery is mainly for monks in a territory dominated by men.

Though women of Myanmar from old days to present have dominated in the areas of nursing, teaching, and trading, more women are

moving into spheres previously reserved for men, such as doctors, journalists, lawyers, and the police (Than, 2014). In fact, Htun Htun (2016) reported that Esther Htusan became the first woman journalist from Myanmar to be awarded a Pulitzer Prize for reporting.

According to the 1996–1997 data cited by Than (2014), women constituted 68.1% in the health care sector and 65.2% in the education sector. The forces behind these changes are twofold: more opportunities are being given to women, and more skillful women exist in these fields. Further, they have a desire to lead.

The new type of female leaders differs from those of the past and is emerging as Myanmar changes to become more modern. More women entrepreneurs are being created. More informal and formal organizations support women leaders. Other woman leaders are heroines of their communities; they have encountered complicated situations or uncomfortable circumstances and overcome them. Women leaders have supported and empowered others to continue to lead better lives and to choose a better pathway for educating the community to which they belong. For instance, Dr. Cynthia Maung, the Karen ethnic doctor, runs a clinic to provide health care services to refugees near the Thai-Myanmar border (Sa Isue, 2016).

There are many factors influencing equality and inequality of the genders, including various religions existing in one community, different ethnic groups, internal social conflicts, conflicting attitudes, and the economic status of a particular region.

Occupational Patterns of Women of Myanmar

Historically, a large number of women of Myanmar have participated in trade, while some have worked in services, vocational fields (e.g., education and health care), agriculture and forestry, and clerical and management roles (Than, 1986), occupational areas that still dominate today. As for women in rural areas, half of the labor force in agriculture are women workers. Myanmar remains relatively rural. Only 31% of the population live in urban areas. Indigenous ethnic groups live in rural areas and are mainly engaged in agriculture. Karen and Shan are the majority. There are a few women working in cultural and administrative roles in the community. The occupational pattern of women in rural areas differs from those who live in urban areas.

However, there are similarities among married women from both rural and urban areas when it comes to career choices. For example, all women

would find it unavoidable to take on household tasks. Findings from my interviews with married women in leading roles confirm that being a mother at the same time as being a top manager is not a barrier after all as women believe that they are capable of multitasking. Some women leaders pointed out that being a mother even offers the opportunity to perform effectively in a leading role, especially working with many different types of people, as attitudes of caring and understanding others had become natural. Women have a kind heart, they said, to handle difficult circumstances and be more patient in complicated situations.

Women at the village level are the main traders. This has been consistent throughout history. Before British rule, women could be found trading with multinational groups, selling homegrown products, then expanding to importing European products. However, the latter trades would be found only among women with a royal bloodline or high social status. Village women were the main traders of rice, fish, vegetables, tobacco, lacquerware, pottery, and locally woven textiles (Ott, 2008). As long as there were no feelings of insecurity, women could discover their own tasks and move forward with their own potential. Once Myanmar women are married, they live and work with their husband and play a leading role in many business activities. Myanmar women often share a leading role with their husband. Wives control most family affairs and have important decision-making roles related to household expenditures (Steinberg, 2013).

However, there are many cases in the community where determination allows women to become leaders of their own enterprises. They are wives who have lost their husbands either through political conflict or by natural causes. The fate of being a mother drives her to take the leading role of the household and trade at the bazaar or turn their home into a place of business for a better life for her and her children. Than (2014) observed that "women as housewives and as breadwinners became common representations in modern Myanmar" (p. 60).

It is not surprising that more women who live in main cities where globalization and new know-how flood in are more likely to adapt to changing times that advocate for gender equality (Steinberg, 2013). Women from wealthy families or those with international connections take on professional careers after gaining overseas qualifications, and those who have formed relationships with foreign enterprises tend to reach leadership positions. Otherwise, they become owners of their own enterprise in the same field for which they acquired qualifications.

Another scenario is women of Myanmar who may reach higher status in their career via marriage with foreigners who are from the upper echelons of society. However, they may not reach higher status unless they pursue higher education from the country or culture from which their husband came. Living in a multinational environment and the ability to harmonize in multicultural and multilingual environments allow Myanmar women to gain more opportunity to get ahead in their profession.

WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN CORPORATE AND PROFESSIONAL WORLDS

Myanmar's collection of states and tribes and the resulting challenges of different types of rule and government is becoming increasingly out of touch with today's vibe in urban areas, especially Yangon. Some of the new companies opening up and international corporations forging partnerships show that near the top will be women who are juggling housework and the new corporate world in Myanmar.

It appears that women leaders prefer to take a cautious step in doing things in their own territories. However, women are increasingly stepping into men's traditional domains, such as doctors, journalists, engineers, or lawyers in modernizing Myanmar. Women in their mid-40s are embracing leading corporate roles. Qualifications are the key drivers that lead them to top management pathways (Than, 2014). There are no obvious cases of gender discrimination in the corporate world, especially in foreign joint venture companies.

Even in the banking industry, the percentage of women holding senior management positions at Kanbawza Bank (KBZ) has jumped from approximately 27% in 2009 to 51% in 2014 (Editor, 2014). There are women executive directors and general manager levels at Kanbawza Bank (KBZ bank). KBZ bank is a private commercial bank in Myanmar established by a KBZ group in 1994 in Taunggyi, Shan State. It was the winner of Euromoney's Best Bank in Myanmar in 2016. Nang Lang Kham, an executive director of KBZ who is recognized as one of Myanmar's brightest entrepreneurs and is the executive director of the Kanbawza Group, is a great example of a woman leader in the corporate world in Myanmar. Her life experience is extremely diversified. Being born in Myanmar, she pursued her undergraduate education and training in Singapore and had a mentor who was one of the most powerful women in business as listed by

Fortune. Being local while accessing global know-how has prepared her well to play a leadership role (Editor, 2014).

Women in Rural Businesses

If true leadership is defined as the power or ability to lead others or to engage followers to gain benefits together, leadership is not limited to a political domain or the corporate world, especially in the context of the rural areas of Myanmar where there are many different ethnic groups spread throughout each state of the country. The foundation of women in leadership or indigenous leaders is still maintained in religious, spiritual, local schools, and traditional cultural spheres. In rural areas, women form traditional musical bands, representing their village heritage, to perform during key festivals at temples in the village. Women take on the role of teaching by instructing followers to preserve local folk art and traditional cultures. Their focus is different from those women leaders in urban areas driven by modern business domains. The space for women to lead in rural areas, hence, is focused on preserving societal values, local culture, health care of the community, basic education of the younger generation, and taking a lead in contributing to preserve Buddhist ceremonial functions.

Women in charge dominate many stand-alone minimarts and local restaurants and large canteen-type restaurants that are often found as pit stops for commuters when travelling long distances between towns. Inside the restaurant, there is a high stand with a table, where a woman boss sits to see all customers and her subordinates running to serve them. This person not only takes the role of overseeing all things happening in the restaurant, but she also is the center for managing cash transactions. Compared to leadership by women in a corporate world, home-based women leaders in rural areas are expected to draw from their innate strengths rather than having a degree from a proper educational system. Being an indigenous leader is, in fact, being respected as the mother or the teacher or the mentor, as long as she engages her subordinates and enhances their life with a job and some earnings.

An interview of a business owner of a wholesale liquor and beverage shop who manages the shop on her own shared that her success is due to the combined effort of all workers during business hours. She allows her workers to live in and live like family members, which includes sharing the same kitchen at the back of the shop for meals. What empowers women to

keep on doing this for a number of years is her teaching and mentoring the workers with kindness and patience.

In workplaces in rural areas of Myanmar, boss and subordinates tend to work together openly. The relationship between female bosses and subordinates regardless of gender is family-like. They value their subordinates' loyalty, consulting with them to solve problems at work. Rewards are given to the team, rather than to the individual. This contrasts with the high power-distance that is found in urban areas or in the corporate world. With businesses that attach paramount importance to groups or teams, leadership expectations in these types of businesses in rural areas are believed to be perfect for women as they are considered to be inherently nurturing in nature.

WOMEN'S ROLE IN THE COMMUNITY

I began exploring women's professions and women community leaders in Shan State, the largest state of Myanmar, in the middle of 2016. Women's leadership in the areas of culture, arts, and religion is significant. When discussing women's leadership in Myanmar, often overlooked is how these traditions contribute to the leadership role of women of Myanmar (Myint, 2014). Religious and cultural traditions are the backbone of the country and, in many cases, are great inspiration for people to gain encouragement in life and in improving their attitude toward society. Events that focus on educational enhancement and unity often happen around temples or religious locations through festivals or ceremonies. Women constitute the majority of those who contribute at key religious ceremonies or perform cultural traditions. This supports the notion that religious and cultural traditions are one of the most important drivers for women's leadership roles in Myanmar (Myint, 2014).

The leadership role defining women includes taking an active role in preserving the community's unique performing arts, taking time to learn and train others, and taking the lead in staging performing arts in most key events in town. I had an interview with a 27-year-old woman with a bachelor's degree in Physics from Kyaing Tong University, Shan State, Myanmar. She is the leader of cultural and folk arts at the Wat Intr the Learning Center in Kyaing Tong Township, Shan State. On her own initiative, she learned arts from great masters who are still alive. She passes on her motivation and learning to the younger generations in town. Ignoring full-time work in the new modern workforce allowed her to

have more free time and be independent to keep polishing her performances and teaching her young students from many villages. Her hometown is not yet developed well enough into the modern Myanmar to support this work on its own. Her attitude toward life is outstanding and praised by village people and those who come to visit the town. To earn a living, she runs a small local restaurant in the evening when she is free from teaching and contributing her time to folk arts at the learning center. Balancing her life in a self-sufficient way allows her to have the energy to contribute to and lead villagers to preserve their culture.

The findings from the in-depth interviews support Ikeya's (2011) contention that modern women are actively engaged with the era's strong self-fulfillment attitude. Stretching from rural to urban areas, Myanmar women are gaining more respect from its people for their spiritual knowledge and skills. This may result in more and more women's organizations for community development established in both rural and urban areas. Women's organizations in Shan State, women's organizations for community development in Mon State, and the women's vocational training center in Yangon are evidence of this.

During my interviews, women shared the importance of continuing to accumulate skills and knowledge. Skills can be learned and a person can be trained, but if one lacks the freedom to carry out those skills or pass them on to others, the skills will gradually die away. Inequality between the genders appears not to be the focus of women who realize their potential. Rather, inequality has enabled women to overcome barriers by being community leaders to preserve their homegrown culture and traditions (Than, 2014).

Oxfam, CARE, Trócaire, and ActionAid (2012) noted that social norms in Myanmar depict women as preservers of culture and tradition. They indeed contribute to the sustainable development of the community. As long as the mission or tasks women are taking are not in dangerous parts of the country and they never harm anyone, playing these leading roles simply occur by instinct and the nature of motherhood (Khaing, 1984).

WOMEN AND RELIGION

In Myanmar, Buddhism is the major religion and is seen as an institution dominated by men. Women are not permitted to be ordained as monks even today. Society regards women who leave home to enter a nunnery in a negative way (Romberg, 2002). They are perceived as women who fail in

their duty to sustain their family and bear children. However, women who decide on their own that they want to enter a nunnery and follow through on such a commitment believe that becoming a nun is a way to accumulate good deeds and merits (Than, 2014).

According to Kawanami (2013), the characteristics of Buddhist nuns have changed from being inactive with a low profile in the monastery to having a visible role of helping others in society. Some Buddhist nuns desire to contribute to the community. The tradition was that a family preferred a son over a daughter when it came to education. This limited the educational opportunities for women (Khiang, 1984). Building nunneries became a means for providing educations to young girls. Therefore, education for girls and women became available at the community level. Buddhist nuns' efforts were often supported by family members by building their own nunnery. Now, a nunnery is a place where nuns can share their compassion toward those who are in need and follow the preaching of Buddha regarding kindness. What Myint (2014) emphasized is that both making merit and spreading kindness are concerned with the principles of human-centered development.

I interviewed a Buddhist nun who was 47 years old and has been contributing to and leading a nunnery where she has been the sole manager for 17 years. She has worked to provide basic needs, such as shelter, food, clothes, and education to underprivileged young girls aged 7–14. The nun has confidence in what she has been doing as a form of merit making, more commonly known as the accumulation of good deeds, which is fundamental to Buddhist ethics. She pointed out that men have their own duty, but women also have theirs. There is no difference between men and women as Buddhism recognizes everyone as being equal and born as a human being. Her understanding of young girls has led her continually to contribute to providing education and Buddha dharma (religious) practice for young girls who have less opportunity than others. Looking back on her life and how she became the leader in her own path, the key driver and motivation has been developing herself and others. This motivation came from growing up in a big family and being supported by her aunt. Then she learned dharma from a monk who influenced her to enter the monastic life. According to Than (2014), before educational institutions were established for women, women had to be taught by learned relatives or neighbors. The Buddhist nun seems to follow this tradition of providing an education path for girls. Many trained students from her monastery have grown up and have been sent to other

monasteries in bigger towns to pursue higher education and then provide support for other young girls who lack opportunities.

A simple idea with simple thoughts set her to become one who is full of potential in her status as Tilashin or the precept keeper in Myanmar. This changes the notion of this role. It is evident that nuns in Myanmar are treated as underprivileged, lacking opportunity in society, or having experienced disappointment from worldly life (Khaing, 1984; Than, 2014). However, according to Kawanami (2013), the context of Buddhist nuns in Myanmar, especially in Sagaing Hill, is different. They have made outstanding contributions to promoting monastic education for nuns. This nun epitomizes what it means to be a woman leader in rural areas – self-confidence, self-reliance, a decent education or constant learning for developing, and never thinking negatively about being a woman.

Myanmar is a high power-distance culture. Command may come from a nun leader who is in charge. This is influenced by societal value and Buddhist tradition. Showing great respect to those who provide you with shelter, education, and wisdom is instinctively accepted as the norm. Hence, women who lead in this field require strength, courage and wisdom, or a great personality to be able to continue in this leadership role. Self-reliance is the fundamental aspect in taking on this leadership role. According to Myint (2014), spirituality becomes a powerful motivation for women to lead and improve their community and society. Buddhist nuns hence seek to improve their educational standards along with supporting the community rather than seeking high status individually (Kawanami, 2013). Power to lead sometimes is seen as the effect of merits one accumulated prior to becoming a potential leader (Myint, 2014).

CONCLUSION

There are similarities in the life history among women who hold a leadership role. The childhood histories of women leaders are similar, no matter in what fields they are working. Most of them were head of their class, won either academically or in sports. They were also involved with community initiatives. They have a high degree of confidence that has been nurtured since childhood and gained enormous support and encouragement from parents and their close cousins. Women have been seen throughout the country as guards and keepers of religion, and of the unique values and cultural traditions of the community (Than, 2014). The difference between women leaders in

modern businesses and women leaders in religion and cultural traditions seems to be the demand for a university degree and connections with international counterparts in their field of employment. A deep understanding of traditions and unique values are of more importance for those leaders in religion and the community.

In conclusion, the number of women leaders in Myanmar is ever increasing. As long as the country continues to make economic and social progress, as well as preserve their unique cultural traditions, women leaders will become more common across a greater variety of occupations and vocations. However, there is a dearth of research on women in leadership in both urban and rural areas, and the connection between the modernity of women and the leadership roles in preserving cultural traditions and heritage. As the country becomes more modernized and developed, future research should look to evaluate the changes that take place with women leaders. The need for formal education, any polarization between urban and rural women, and the degree to which traditional and cultural values are maintained would all contribute to enhance overall understanding of women in leadership in Myanmar.

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Underrepresentation of Women in Leadership in Sri Lanka

Udaya Mohan Devadas and Ariyamuni Priyanthi Silva

Sri Lanka has mainly been influenced by India in its civilization since the sixth century BCE. For almost 400 years, from 1505 until 1948, the year of Sri Lanka's independence, the Portuguese, Dutch, and British dramatically changed Sri Lanka's traditional evolution after their invasions. The country has transformed from a self-sufficient economy to a trade-oriented cultivation economy, traditional temple-centered education to a formal schooling system, and from traditionally a Buddhist country to a multi-religious society.

Today, Sri Lanka is a multicultural society with a largely functioning democracy since 1948 (Jayaweera, 2002). Universal franchise was introduced in 1931 by which both men and women over 21 years of age were given the right to vote, which was earlier limited only to men (Jayaweera, 2002). Following independence, there were dissonance and tensions that negated some social gains and have resulted in political instability and violence (Jayaweera, 2002). This political and social instability dragged the country's development backward, and the country has missed many opportunities that Singapore and Malaysia have utilized.

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Through free education and health policies, however, Sri Lanka achieved a high level of human development. Sri Lanka ranked 73rd in the Human Development Index in 2014 and has surpassed most of the Millennium Development Goals targeted by the UN for 2015 (The World Bank, 2016). Sri Lanka's top three income sources are tourism, textiles and garments, and tea exports (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 2014b). Over 90% of the workforce in the textiles and garments industry (Meyer & Scott, 2011) and over 60% of the workforce in the tea industries (CEDAR Fund, 2014) are women. Further, in 2015, the highest receipts in the balance of payments account were from personal transfers of workers (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 2015) from Sri Lankans working overseas. Almost all such workers who were housemaid workers and 49% of total foreign-employed workforce are women (Asian Development Bank, 2015). As such, Sri Lanka's economy is mainly driven by unskilled women labor.

Sri Lanka placed 84th out of 145 countries, according to the World Economic Forum's (2015) Global Gender Gap Index, with subset rankings of economic participation (120th place), educational attainment (57th place), health and survival (1st place), and political empowerment (59th place) in terms of women's status compared with men's status (World Economic Forum, 2015). However, in 2014, the gender gap was 79th out of 142 countries (World Economic Forum, 2014). This shows a widening of the gender gap within Sri Lanka; even though Sri Lanka's economy is mainly dependent on women-intensive labor, women's position in the country still needs vast improvement.

This chapter discusses the nature of and the reasons for women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in Sri Lanka. This is especially the case in the workforce when positions relate to decision making in both public and private sector governance, political governance, judiciary services, and the education sector. To that end, this chapter reviews literature to understand the nature of and the causes of the phenomenon in question while using content analysis and qualitative data analysis. Content analysis was used as evidence to support literature review findings and to describe the context of women in leadership in Sri Lanka. Interview data analysis was used to explore the causes of underrepresentation of women in leadership positions, the facilitating factors contributing to successful women in leadership, and personal characteristics of successful women leaders. Contemporary literature on women in leadership positions in Sri Lanka is skeletal. There has been no study done in *Sinhala*, the major local

language in the country, describing the phenomenon in question. Literature was identified through researching online, using the book collection of the Center for Gender Studies of University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka's first university gender studies center. Collecting sources of relevant literature was done through preliminary discussion with women scholars specialized in gender studies. To conduct the qualitative data analysis, grounded theory procedures were used. Data was gathered from five panel discussions with fifteen women leaders who were recognized for being the most successful in Sri Lanka, and from interviews with another nine women leaders, including women political leaders, corporate leaders, an entrepreneur, and an influential women activist leader. For the content analysis, statistics on women's population and their economic contributions and women's education and employment were used.

Women Leaders in the History of Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka's history records several instances of women in leadership roles. First, the ancient queen, Kuveni, contributed to the colonization of Sri Lanka by Indians that greatly changed Sri Lanka's way forward and civilization. According to the chroniclers, when Vijaya arrived with 700 followers (all Aryan, from the Indian homeland of Laala or Laata), in sixth century BCE, he married Kuveni, an aboriginal princess in Sri Lanka and, with her influence, soon became the ruler of the country (Perera, 2013). When Vijaya met Kuveni, she had been weaving cloths, providing historic evidence of Sri Lanka's women's role in society.

Second, in 250 BCE, Queen Anula's involvement in top level decisions led to the bringing of women disciples of Buddhism from India by *Sangamiththa Thero*, the daughter of *Asoka*, an Indian king. Third, another queen, Anula, was named black widow for killing five husbands by poisoning them; she exercised informal power during 48 BCE–44 BCE and was the first queen in Sri Lanka's history to exert formal power – for about four months (Mahingoda, 2003). Further, she was the first female Head of State in Asia (Women's Chamber of Industry and Commerce, 2016). Fourth, in recent history, Sirimavo Banaranayake became the world's first woman prime minister, in 1959, after the assassination of her husband, a former prime minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake, by an unknown gunman. Fifth, one of her daughters, Chandirka Banaranayake Kumaranathunga, became the first woman president in Sri Lanka in 1994 after her husband, Vijaya Kumaranathunga, was assassinated by an

unidentified gunman. This evidence shows that Sri Lanka has not rejected women leadership since ancient times.

CONTEXT OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN SRI LANKA

Since 2001, women have been the majority in Sri Lanka's population. From 2010 to 2013, women's portion of the population increased from 50.3% to 51.5% (Department of Census and Statistics, 2014). Importantly, in Sri Lanka's population pyramid, by 2056, the majority of the population is expected to be between 44 and 84, with women dominating (Gottret, Schieber, & Waters, 2008). Girls are well-educated in Sri Lanka, mainly due to the implementation of nearly eight decades of free state education with no discrimination in terms of gender and socio-economic circumstances. Further, there a range of incentives has been offered over the years. As families could send both sons and daughters to school, gender equality in access to primary education was achieved in the 1960s and to secondary education in the 1970s (Asian Development Bank, 2015). Women's literacy rate has vastly improved over the last few decades as well. By 2012, women's literacy rate was 94.6%, close to men's literacy rate. Women showed a huge increase from 39.1% in 1953 to 55.5% in 2012, whereas men's literacy rate grew only from 80.7% to 96.9% from 1953 to 2012. Further, over 50% of students in secondary schools and universities and 60–70% of employees in these institutions are girls and women (Jayathilake, 2016b).

The above data shows that the quality of women in the population has increased considerably with a high level of participation in formal school education. According to the Department of Sensus and Statistics (2013b), the portion of employed women with primary and higher education is higher than men. However, the women's labor force participation is at a very low level compared to men's. From 2000 to 2014, women's labor force participation increased slightly from 33.9% to 34.7%, whereas men's labor force participation dropped slightly from 76.2% to 74.6% during the same period (Department of Censes and Statistics, 2014b). The number of women in the labor force, according to the labor force survey quarterly report for the 2nd quarter of 2014 (Asian Development Bank, 2015), was approximately half of employed men. Goonesekere (2012) pointed out that Sri Lanka has been successful in giving more students access to a cost-free legal education in the public university system with notable social

achievements, yet equal access to leadership positions in public administration, political participation, and employment is still low. Amarasuriya (1995) confirmed that women's representation in decision-making positions in Sri Lanka is still as low as 10%.

Women's Underrepresentation in Leadership Positions in Sri Lanka

This section identifies the nature of women employed and then explores their leadership in management positions in the public and private sectors, in political participation, in the judiciary system, and in the higher education sectors in Sri Lanka.

Distribution of Women Employed in Public and Private Sectors

A high percentage of employed women are in the occupational groups of professionals and clerical support workers. Compared to men, women's employment in technical plants and machine operators is much lower (Asian Development Bank, 2015). Importantly, women's representation in occupational groups labeled *Managers, Senior Officials*, and *Legislators* is very low (around 22%) (Asian Development Bank, 2015). Women dominate the occupational category of *professionals* (63%) (Asian Development Bank, 2015). According to the Asian Development Bank's Country Gender Assessment (2015), 20.4% of employed women are unpaid family workers, primarily in the agriculture sector. Notably, even though more women are employed in the public sector than are men, unlike many other Asian countries, women classified as *employer* is quite low compared to men, with only 1% of women who are employed are in this category. Further, it has been estimated that, of the 80% of the small and medium-sized enterprises that drive the economy, only about 10% are led by women (Women's Chamber of Industry and Commerce, 2016), implying that there is low participation of women in entrepreneurship. Adding to this, it is reported that only 2.8% of women are in administrative staff positions, whereas 32.2% of women participated in semi-skilled work (Asian Development Bank, 2015).

In the main agricultural sectors of tea, rubber, and coconut, more women are employed in laborer positions, such as pluckers, tappers, and coir (coconut fiber) workers, while an insignificant number of women hold

management positions (Asian Development Bank, 2015). The garment sector also employs more women workers, yet even fewer women are in management positions (Asian Development Bank, 2015).

In examining women's contributions to foreign labor, listed as departure for foreign employment in 2012 (Country Gender Assessment Sri Lanka Report of Asian Development Bank, 2015), women represent all of the house maid jobs, whereas women make up only a small number of professionals and other skilled and non-skilled workers. Weerakoon (1998) highlighted Sri Lanka as the only Asian country at that time that reported such a high number of woman labor migration as foreign domestic workers. It appears that a majority of the educated women population in Sri Lanka is either unemployed or employed in non-skilled jobs locally and abroad. Further, only a few women in Sri Lanka hold leadership positions.

Women in Top Management Positions

Women's participation rate in public and private sectors in Sri Lanka has increased from 54.9% in 2006 to 56.1% in 2012 (Department of Census and Statistics, 2013a). However, according to Jayathilake (2016b), women remain underrepresented in top management positions in both public and private sectors. Gunawardane (2013a) highlighted that women held only 25% of the positions in grade 1, the highest position in the Sri Lanka Administrative Service, and in all other public sector leadership levels (Jayatilake, 2016b). This indicates that women's upward occupational mobility has been limited in the public sector (Gunawardane, 2013b).

In the private sector, there were only 106 women on Boards of Directors of establishments registered in the Colombo Stock Exchange, out of a total of 1,730 directors (6.1%) (Gunawardane, 2013a; Jayathilake, 2016b). Further, Gunawardane (2013a) found that the number of women in top positions (Director Board, Senior Management, and Corporate Management) in the banking sector in Sri Lanka was also low, but much better than on private sector boards (38.8%). However, there are no women leaders on boards of directors in four of the nine major banks. Only 9.3% of the directors in these nine banks are women. Further, in the senior management teams of these nine major banks, only 13.4% are women. In corporate management teams, only 20% are women. Thus, a high number of women professionals are stuck in middle or lower levels of management.

Women in Political Leadership

Women were granted voting rights in 1931, and in 1977 Sri Lanka's economy was liberalized (Lakshman, 1998), yet women's representation in Parliament has been deplorably low (Perera & Chandrasekera, 2005). According to Kodikara (2009), proportional representation (PR) was introduced in 1989 to increase the representation of minorities with a potential to increase the number of women in politics. However, there has been no noticeable impact on women's political representation in Sri Lanka, though other countries, such as Germany and Australia, have increased women in politics through PR.

In 2005, by presenting a women's manifesto (Perera & Chandrasekera, 2005), among other things, many women campaigned for a 30% quota for women in political participation, yet successive governments have ignored this quota, and the target has not been achieved. There were only two women representatives, accounting for 3.4% of the total, in the first Ceylon State Council (1931–1936) (Ministry of Child Development and Women's Affairs, 2012). In the 14th parliament (2010–2014), there were only 13 women representatives, accounting for just 6% of the 225 members of parliament, even 83 years after the first Ceylon State Council. There have been only 6 parliaments out of 14 from 1931 to 2014 in which women's representation has reached two digits, and the maximum number has been only 13 (Ministry of Child Development and Women's Affairs, 2012).

Women's representation in the parliament of Sri Lanka in 2004 was the lowest in South Asia, excluding Bangladesh (Perera & Chandrasekera, 2005). Further, women's representation in Provincial Councils, Municipal and Urban Councils, and *Pradheshiya Sabha* (the lowest level of local government in the government of Sri Lanka) has also been less than 4%. In the general elections of 2000, there were 5,048 men nominated and only 117 women. Women have also been marginalized in the hierarchy of decision making in political parties (Kodikara, 2009).

Women in Leadership in the Judiciary Service

Sri Lanka is unique in the region and even globally in giving access to over 80% of female law students a cost-free legal education in public universities (Goonasekere, 2012). However, women's representation in the Judiciary Service, such as women judges of the Supreme Court, Appeals Court, and High Courts, has been low (Jayatilake, 2016b). Of 280 judges in Sri Lanka,

64 (28.9%) are women (Department Census and Statistics, 2013a). Further, from the same source, in the Supreme Court, of 11 judges, 4 are women; in the Court of Appeals, of 12 judges, 2 are women; in the High Court, of 7 judges, 3 are women; and of a total of 250 Magistrates, District Judges, and Additional District Judges, 57 (22.8%) are women.

Women in Leadership in Higher Education

In the education sector (elementary though higher education), in 2013, 78% of teachers are women (Ministry of Education, 2013), whereas only 25% of principals are women (Gunawardane, 2013b), even though the recruitment and promotion of teachers are highly qualifications based with no consideration of gender. In the detailed statistics available in the Ministry of Education of Sri Lanka database, although data on teachers' leadership positions are presented, gender disaggregated data are not available. Morley and Crossouard (2015) found that, in Sri Lanka, 53.4% of lecturers were women, 38.4% of senior lecturers were women, and 27% of professors were women. In 2014, in all 15 national universities in Sri Lanka, there were no women chancellors, only 1 woman vice-chancellor, only 9 women deans of 82, 140 heads of 479, only 3 women registrars of 15, and 8 women librarians of 16 (Department of Census and Statistics, 2014a). In higher education, women appear to be stuck in the middle; few women reach the highest leadership positions in the university administrative system.

CAUSES FOR WOMEN'S UNDERREPRESENTATION IN LEADERSHIP IN SRI LANKA

Women's underrepresentation in leadership positions is influenced by many factors, including cultural and social influences, lack of economic feasibility, desire for work–family balance, society's psychological contract, and other situational forces.

Cultural and Social Influences

Women's acceptance of leadership roles is mainly led by cultural and social values (Herath, 2015). The reasons for a majority of women in education, according to Jayatilake (2016b), are cultural and other factors. However, the masculine culture in organizations demands that women behave like

men, which has caused the low level of women's upward career mobility as the majority of women cannot or do not want to deliver the same outcomes as men do (Jayatilake, 2016b). As reported by Morley and Crossouard (2015), the Asian Development Bank's country gender assessment in 2008 highlighted negative gender norms as a reason for there being fewer women participating in leadership positions in higher education. Harmful traditional attitudes, attitudes of society (especially of husbands), patriarchal values, and cultural taboos have led to lower level of participation of women in politics (Liyanage, 2005).

Role division between men and women in the Sri Lankan culture has mainly been attributed to paddy-growing cultivation and *chena cultivation* (traditional cultivation of villages in the jungles in the dry zones) as highlighted by contemporary feminist scholars (Goonasekere, 2012). However, Goonesekere (2012) argued that diversified social factors affect women's roles in society. According to Jayathilaka (2016b), women fail to reach high decision-making positions because of socialization processes in the occupational choices of women, gender discrimination, the work culture, and the glass ceiling. Kodikara (2009) noted that men and women have different socialization processes. Accordingly, men are raised to be aggressive and independent at work, while women are raised to be more social and dependent and to be at home for child rearing, homemaking, and domestic organizing (Jayatilake, 2016b).

There are barriers to women being in political leadership: fierce competition among candidates; political culture characterized by thuggery, voter intimidation, and vote rigging, as well as assault against candidates and supporters; burden of poverty; economic exploitation; political exclusion; legal discrimination; social oppression; violence against women; and patriarchal practices (Kodikara, 2009; Liyanage, 2005). As well, women are dependent on men, and men and family adults control women's public activities, sexuality (i.e., women's sexual orientation and freedom for sex), and mobility (Kodikara, 2009). According to Morley and Crossouard (2015), barriers to women in leadership in higher education in South Asia, which also apply in Sri Lanka, are because women are largely identified as more fit for domestic activities of caring/nurturing, and extended family roles; corruption; and emphasizing gender-appropriate behavior, such as women should not be in authority over men. However, women from more privileged socio-economic backgrounds with high social class and caste can navigate leadership opportunities in education employment. According

to the interviews we did with women leaders, lack of role models in the country has also caused fewer women entrepreneurs to emerge. In many cases, women start businesses not to be successful entrepreneurs but due to unsatisfactory experiences as employees, or due to forced unemployment created by loss of income-earning sources (Attygalle et al. 2014).

Lack of Economic Feasibility

Women who have poor economic backgrounds confront challenges in participation in politics, the labor force, and decision-making processes (Ministry of Child Development and Women's Affairs, 2012). Lack of opportunity to invest in developing their leadership contributes to their struggle to find leadership positions. They may lack opportunities to learn on the job, seek out development through overseas experiences, experience formal mentoring arrangements, or have structured capacity-building or career advice, all of which hinder women's leadership development in higher education (Morley & Crossouard, 2015). Lack of commitment and investments by political parties to support and nurture women's leadership within the party hierarchy, especially those from the lower classes, has caused fewer women to be nominated for elections (Kodikara, 2009). As reported in the website of the Women's Chamber of Industry and Commerce, Sri Lanka (2016), successful women entrepreneurs have been largely those from families with more economic resources. It means that the majority of women are not in entrepreneurship partially due to lack of resources.

Desire for Work–Family Balance

Women strive to balance family and work life. Handapangoda et al. (2006) found that women in the state universities in Sri Lanka must fulfill dual responsibilities of household and workplace. Accordingly, women with a culturally masculine and career-oriented nature strive harder to become effective leaders than women who value women's traditional roles and family orientation (Jayatilake, 2016a). Kodikara (2009) highlighted that women's political participation has increased when family supports them. As revealed by the interviews with women leaders, women do not enter business without family support.

Societal Psychological Contract and Role Expectations

Women accept secondary performance or take a subordinate role in society when they do not see themselves becoming a leader (Gunawardane, 2013b; Herath, 2015; Ponnambalam, 1982). Their abilities beyond traditional roles are often disregarded by society (Handapangoda et. al., 2006). Further, women are expected to place a higher value on their husband's career than on their own (Jayatileke, 2016a). According to Jayatilake (2016a), one of the reasons for the *glass ceiling* has been women's personal aspirations, though this sounds, to some degree, like blaming the victim. Family expectations of caregiving have limited women's involvement in the higher education sector to mid-levels of leadership (Morley & Crossouard, 2015). According to Morley and Crossouard (2015), many women academics are reluctant to aim for senior leadership positions and perceive it as an unattractive career option. Kodikara (2009) mentioned that domestic roles also deter women's political involvement. Providing evidence for women's withdrawal in politics, Perera and Chandrasekera (2005) reported that two women members elected to provincial councils resigned to make way for their husbands who both subsequently assumed the office of Chief Minister in 1999. Jayasena (1996) highlighted that most managers perceive men to be better in areas such as decision making, using power, analyzing, and being innovative. This strengthens the belief that most men are efficient planners and possess superior leadership qualities compared with their women counterparts.

Situational Factors

According to Jayatilake (2016b), situational factors that affect women's under-representation are discrimination, men-dominated gender stereotyping, masculine-based stereotype of managers, biased decisions against women, lack of organizational support of women, lack of association of women with peer mangers, less support to work alone, and fewer opportunities for professional development. In higher education, organizational cultural values of patriarchy, gender discrimination, and bias; politically biased recruitment and selection; and domestic responsibilities are situational barriers (Morley & Crossouard, 2015).

Based on our empirical data analysis, we identified causes for the under-representation of women in leadership positions, facilitating factors that

contribute to successful women leaders, and personal characteristics of successful women leaders in Sri Lanka. These are depicted in Fig. 9.1.

A lack of skills and exposure leads to women's incapability to perform in leadership roles within their relevant contexts. Low expectations and the withdrawing attitudes of women mean that women's tendency is to define their own roles as secondary and supportive of men, giving priority to the family and motherhood. Structural barriers exist within families, organizations, and society that discourage women's participation in leadership positions. Lack of institutional support refers to all kinds of external support that empowers women as leaders. Lack of political sponsorship refers to the non-availability of sufficient national policy directions that facilitate compulsory representation of women in political, governing, and corporate leadership positions. Finally, socio-cultural expectations of a subordinate role refer to cultural and social acceptance by society that women should play a caring and subordinate role.

Facilitating factors that have contributed to women leaders succeeding are shown in Table 9.1.
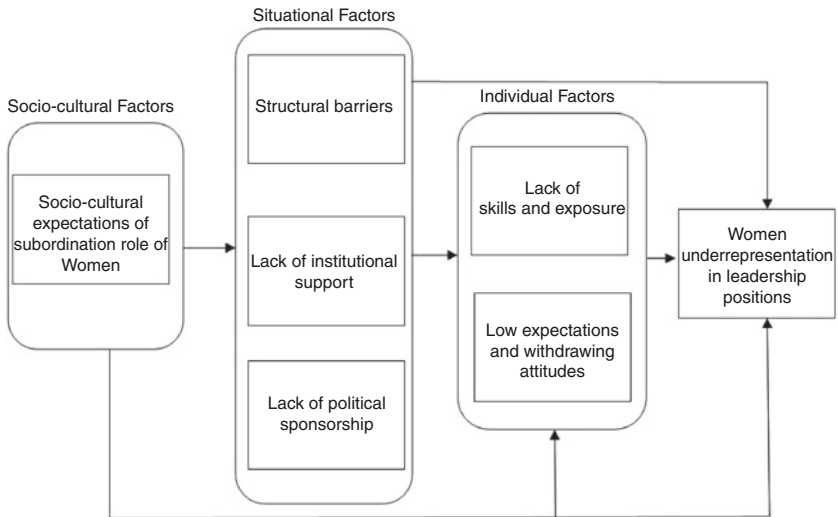
Fig. 9.1 Causes for underrepresentation of women in leadership positions in Sri Lanka

Table 9.1   Facilitating factors for women leaders to be successful in Sri Lanka

Facilitating Factors	Description
Supportive family Support from good mentors, coaches, and role models Acceptance by others Non-discriminating environment Networks Flexwork arrangements	– Educated family background, parenting style that empowers children, father's role model and encouraging guidance given to face challenges freely, children's culture, and socialization are cushioned against the weaknesses of national culture and social norms so that girls are brought up to enable them to be leaders, extended family support in caring role performance of women, husband's support in balancing the work–family role – To be in political, high class family background, family's political engagements, spouse's good name in politics, and popularity of family names among the community – Especially for women leaders in private sector, mentors, coaches, and role models in same organization and industry or in local contexts; in most cases, males; in some occasions, role models from foreign contexts; husband's support also strong – Successful with attention, recognition, and acceptance, especially from male leaders and colleagues, subordinates, and service receivers – Successful women leaders have not perceived in any discriminative environment, especially by the women leaders in the private sector. – In public sector, successful women perceived and experienced discriminating contexts that managed successfully – Especially in the private sector, successful women have built successful relationships and networks that helped in role performances – Some women leaders supported by flexwork arrangements, especially after becoming leaders

Source: Our research data

As per the data analysis, we found that family status, family facilitation, parenting styles, fathers' role models, support from coaches and role models, and women's personal characteristics act as crucial factors to women to emerge as successful leaders. The hindrances are mainly rooted in Sri Lanka's macro level socio-cultural factors that favor women's secondary or subordinate role in the society.

Further, the personal characteristics of successful women leaders in Sri Lanka have also been identified by us as shown in Table 9.2.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To increase participation of women in leadership, recommendations are made for an amendment in the country's policy direction, women's human capital development, civil society's role adjustments, and research on women in leadership.

Table 9.2   Personal characteristics of successful women leaders in Sri Lanka

Personal Characteristics	Description
Traits/in-born qualities Expectations Attitude Skills and competencies	Integrity, authenticity, balanced and positive mind, patience and wisdom, out of the box thinking
	Desire for success, explore differences, desire for multitasking, visionary and dedicated, broad thinking for high achievement, continuous reenergizing, overcome challenges, adapt to situations, stand by self, "learn to live with guilt of not caring about the family," hard work, perseverance, honesty, be human with "motherly touch," "I don't feel gendered," think equal to men, "if the family is not happy, then people are also not happy," think big, "no such things as jobs for men and women," how you look at things, "it is not what you have, but what you do with what you have," "never compare yourself with men or feel inferior or 'womanish,'" doing little bit more, stand on your own feet
	Educated; exposure and experiences; multiple role performance; self-care; teamwork, less hierarchical, networking; time management and work prioritization; getting men's support; care for others at work; forgive and forget past; exercise (practice and prepare); work with heart as well as head; sharpen competencies in man-dominated culture; never keep a margin for lapses; extra-curricular engagements when working; "have fun with everything you do"; compete with yourself; reliable; believe in yourself and what you do; situation management; believe in teamwork; accept challenges; work with coaches/mentors and be guided by role models; build networks (and social capital); language skills; develop sixth sense (see things with foresight); build confidence; respect others; collaborate not compete; discipline for performance; prioritize time for family; delegate; brand yourself; develop employability skills

Source: Our research data

Policy Directions

In the education sector, policies on gender equality and gender mainstreaming need to be developed, accompanied by policy guidelines, strategic action plans, resource allocation, and reporting mechanisms. Setting institutional policies and practices, including affirmative action and family-friendly policies supporting work–life balance, are also suggested (Morley & Crossouard, 2015).

With regard to women in political leadership, it is recommended to allocate a quota for women at all levels of political governance, nominations from the national lists (a mechanism for appointing members to parliament who are not elected but appointed by a political party based on their share of the national vote), political parties, and young women; caucuses of women in the legislature cutting across party lines to focus on women's issues; and giving voting rights to Sri Lankan migrant workers abroad as a great number of women are in that category (Liyanage, 2005; Perera & Chandrasekera, 2005).

The Ministry of Women's Affairs needs to be empowered further to formulate policies and strategies to collect and disseminate gender disaggregated data in relation to political and electoral processes and to eliminate all kinds of discrimination against women by reviewing the laws, regulations, and policies at all levels. Further, it is recommended to establish gender-sensitive rules for the selection of candidates for elections, establish a funding source for women candidates, and take corrective actions to transform a violent political culture that has completely marginalized women in electoral politics (Kodikara, 2009).

The industrial policy reforms, boosted after 1977 in Sri Lanka, focused mainly on creating assembly type of work for women (Lakshman, 1998). Therefore, new industrial policy reforms should be put in place by diversifying the country's industrial sector to attract educated and skilled women into the workforce as the majority of educated women are unemployed (Department of Senses and Statistics, 2015). Provision is needed for special welfare facilities to support women's caring roles in the workplace (Lakshma, 1998), such as on-site daycare and nursing room facilities, and new job roles in society to replace the unpaid caretaker roles.

Women's Human Capital Development

Preparing women to accept leadership positions in the current contexts is essential. This task begins at birth with appropriate parenting and continues throughout a girl's education at elementary and secondary levels

into higher education. Then, as adults, skills and competency training and gender sensitization training for men and women are strongly recommended to improve work performance and career success. Further needs include adjustability and adaptability to work contexts; ability to face, endure, and overcome masculine cultures; and deliver results in organizations and political governance (Kodikara, 2009; Lakshma, 1998; Morley& Crossouard, 2015; Perera & Chandrasekera, 2005). Assessing organizational support for women's career advancement to allow women to surmount various types of impediments is also highly recommended (Jayatilake, 2016b).

In higher education, exposing women faculty to internationalization and mobility, networks and research partnerships, mentoring, and women-specific learning opportunities and professional development for women to enter leadership positions is essential (Morley & Crossouard, 2015). Special programs on leadership development, such as women-specific leadership development courses, are recommended as a strategic tool in preparing women for organizational and political leadership (Kodikara, 2009).

Curriculum changes in schools, universities, and vocational education institutions will be crucial to facilitate equal representation of women in all contexts, to produce employable women, and to change both men's and women's attitudes from preschool through kindergarten and every level of education in shaping society's psychological contract regarding men's and women's roles in the society as equal (Kodikara, 2009; Morley & Crossouard, 2015).

Civil Society's Role

In civil society, leaders in villages, towns, and cities, as well as community activists, need to encourage women to voice their opinions; brand themselves and build their profiles through media; create networks among women politicians at local, regional, national, and even international levels, and with civil societies; participate in education and awareness programs for women, girls, men, and boys on women in politics and governance, and women empowerment; organize national campaigns to promote more women in politics and in decision-making processes; demand allocation of resources, space, and time to discuss women's issues; seek to fund a trust fund for women in politics; and demand monitors to ensure elections free of malpractice, corruption, violence, and violations against women (Kodikara, 2009).

Encourage More Research on Women Leadership

Paying more attention in research to producing and disseminating gender-disaggregated statistics that are updated regularly and made readily accessible is critical in women leadership studies (Morley & Crossouard, 2015). More evidence is required from explorative research studies to understand why educated women withdraw from leadership positions. Explanatory research on how to encourage men and women to value women's equal leadership role is also needed, as are case studies and phenomenological studies to allow for greater understanding of women's experiences related to leadership.

CONCLUSION

Women representation in leadership positions in Sri Lanka is low even with educated women dominating the population. Women's underrepresentation in leadership positions was observed in the workforce, top management of the public and private sectors, political governance, judiciary services, and in education and higher education. The main causes for women underrepresentation are cultural and social influences, lack of economic feasibility, lack of work–family balance, societal psychological contact, and situational factors. Further, according to our data analysis, the main reason for women's underrepresentation is society's social-cultural expectations of the subordinate role of women that influence situational factors. Individual factors are crucial in determining the underrepresentation of women in leadership. Importantly, family factors, support from coaches and role models, and women's personal characteristics were found to cushion the negative influences of the causes that create underrepresentation. Finally, important policy directions, suggestions for women's human capital development, a role set for civil society's activists and government officials at all levels, and insights for further research on women in leadership are recommended to eliminate women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in Sri Lanka.

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The Power of Taiwanese Women in Leadership and Management

Bella Ya-Hui Lien and Gary N. McLean

Taiwan is rapidly developing within the Asian region in which traditional cultural expectations and modern values coexist; in this context, women in leadership and management positions still face challenges. Due to popular education systems and traditional thinking, Taiwanese people are influenced by both traditional Chinese values and western thought. Taiwan is generally aligned with mainstream Chinese civilization and culture (Smith, 1992). Within the Chinese cultural value system, cohesive family life is important to convey social order, relationships, and gender roles. The father in a family has the power to control everything because, as a man, he is usually the breadwinner who is supposed to work outside the home and take care of family expenses. Conversely, a woman's role is to stay at home and do the domestic chores that she learns from her mother and grandmother. However, in the Chinese culture, education is a way to upgrade one's status in society, even for a woman. It is through education that Taiwanese women have had the chance to obtain knowledge and

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power to do what they really want to do. The status of Taiwanese women workers is understood only in the context of Taiwan.

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

Taiwan, the main island of the Republic of China (ROC), is located in the western Pacific between Japan and the Philippines, off the east coast of mainland China, the People's Republic of China (PRC). Taiwan is separated from the Chinese mainland by the Taiwan Straits. With a total area of nearly 36,000 square kilometers, Taiwan's population is over 23 million (Taiwanese Executive Yuan, 2016). Historically, the Taiwanese have had a strong bond with the Chinese mainland, although China lost Taiwan to Japan in the Sino-Japanese War of 1895. In 1945, Taiwan was formally retroceded to China after 50 years of Japanese occupation. In 1949, the national government, defeated in a civil war by the Chinese Communists, moved to Taiwan and set up a provisional capital in Taipei.

Taiwan's two major political parties (Kumintang, KMT; and Democratic Progressive Party, DPP) have very different perspectives about the relationship of Taiwan and the PRC. At this time, the relationship between Taiwan and the PRC is controversial in Taiwan. From the PRC perspective, there is no controversy – Taiwan continues to be a province of the PRC.

Although Taiwan is a small, densely populated area that lacks natural resources, the economy of Taiwan has made great progress during the past few decades. The main reason for Taiwan's economic growth is the country's abundance of technically trained talent and the national competitive education system. Economics and education cooperate to make Taiwan's industrialization a success. In addition, small- and mid-sized companies have made great economic advancement and created the economic miracle during the 1990s (Hsieh, 1993) when Taiwan attempted to develop its high-technology and service industries. Due to economic demand, Taiwanese women workers have played important roles in Taiwan's development and growth. Currently, Taiwan is embedded in the international business community and is closely connected with the western world, while still actively involved with the PRC economically as Taiwanese are strongly influenced by Chinese traditional culture. Yet, as the world has become smaller, the younger generation has become more globalized. Economic liberation and internationalization are the government's administrative principles (Sayang & Huang, 2008).

To understand the experiences of Taiwanese woman in leadership and management, the lead author interviewed five successful Taiwanese women in leadership and management positions. Further, relevant international and domestic literature, including statistics available from the Taiwanese government, was identified and reviewed for this chapter. This research highlighted how Taiwanese women balance their work and family life, their challenges under traditional cultural expectations, and how they intertwine traditional cultural values with westernized values.

INFLUENCE OF TRADITIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY VALUES

Taiwanese are influenced by Confucianism. According to Smith (1992), Confucian philosophy is not based on religion; it is, rather, based on a philosophy of relationships. Harmonious social institutions and collegial behaviors are important, as a result, to Taiwanese. Although Confucianist societies historically have been authoritarian and patriarchal, this situation is changing as women's values and behaviors are changing with attendance in higher education in numbers that exceed expectations. Yu (2015) stated that, in 2014, 89% of women aged 30–34 had completed high school (51% of women and 50% of men, per DGBAS, 2016a) and 48% of women aged 30–34 had completed a four-year university (31% of women and 36% of men, per DGBAS, 2016a), whereas the rates were 48% (57% of women and 59% of men, per DGBAS, 2016a) and 9% (DGBAS, 2016a, agrees for women with men at 16%) for those aged 55–59. It is not clear why Yu (2015) and DGBAS (2016a) disagree; it is probable that the DGBAS (2016a) figures are accurate, though Yu's (2015) figures are for a year earlier. These data reflect that, in Taiwan, women's educational attainment has increased dramatically during the country's rapid development and is close to the educational achievement of men. In Taiwan, for all populations attending university, the ratio of women has also increased from 49.3% in 2005 to 50.4% in 2015. Women represented 50.4% of those attending university in 2015 (DGBAS, 2016a). Men and women have a different focus on their choice of academic discipline. For instance, men still dominate in the fields of medicine, engineering, and sciences, while women are the majority in the humanities and foreign languages (Hsieh, Lin, & Chen, 2011; Wang, Eccles, & Kenny, 2013).

Traditionally, women were confined to activities in a domestic setting. In other words, men and women, according to Chinese values, have different social roles. Specifically, beliefs underlie social structures that

presume that women are homemakers, while men work outside the home and must be assertive. In Taiwan, the women labor force participation rate rose from 46.0% in 2000 to 50.7% in 2016 (DGBS, 2016a). The majority of women's employment is concentrated in manufacturing and service sectors. Even with the larger number of women entering the workplace, the society still maintains certain expectations for women workers. For instance, women have more domestic responsibilities than men do, even if women are employed. Further, in the Taiwanese Labor Standards Law (2016), there are special rules for women workers. Specifically, women are protected in terms of how many extra hours they can work, the types of employment from which they are prohibited as being too risky, the provision by employers of nursing rooms for new mothers, and so on.

Women are expected to meet the needs of their family to a greater degree than they are expected to meet the needs of their respective workplaces. Therefore, it is perceived that employers should not expect employed women to take on too many work responsibilities. Many employers, especially family-owned small- and mid-sized business, believe that young women will quit their jobs after marriage or after having children; hence, employers are unwilling to hire young women and take a chance on losing training investments that they have made in their women workers. Therefore, women in the workplace have to make more effort than men do and seize every opportunity to make themselves visible in a positive way.

According to Katz-Wise, Priess, and Hyde (2010), the gender role-expectations theory is based on traditional sociocultural role expectations that prescribe that men take primary responsibility for the breadwinner role, while women assume primary responsibility for the family. Taiwan was colonized by Japan for five decades; therefore, in addition to the traditional Chinese cultural values, Japanese values also support the gender-role expectations in which men are breadwinners and women take care of family chores. In this changing world, Taiwanese have absorbed western thoughts and values that come into conflict with their traditional Chinese value system. The large number of women workers entering the workplace challenges the traditional view that encourages women to stay at home and care for domestic chores. Because of this, the issue of work and family balance is increasing and becoming important. For example, from Bella's personal experiences, although she has a significant leadership job as department chair in an MBA program, taking care of her family chores was still her primary responsibility according to gender role-expectations

as described. Fortunately, her husband and family members all supported her when she needed to work. In addition, her husband is very willing to share in family care, especially compared with their parents' generation. Her husband and his family are also very successful businesspeople, providing financial resources to allow for the hiring of assistance with childcare and housework.

In sum, cultural values and gender-role stereotypes often cause young women workers to resist making career choices, creating psychological barriers to their successful work lives. Although some social movements, such as those promoting changes in labor laws, have gradually influenced gender ideology in Taiwan and further encouraged the popularity of women in management positions (Cho et al., 2015), young women leaders still experience a difficult journey in their professional life.

Career Development of Taiwanese Women

Career development for Taiwanese women is a significant issue as it is for women around the world because more women are entering the workforce than ever. According to Chuang (1986), Taiwanese women may be divided into two types: family-oriented and career-oriented. And, while this reference is old, it is still an accurate description that applies today. Family-oriented women's attitudes toward life are more traditional; work may be just a transition for them. After these women attain a certain number of years of education, their main goal is to get married. Career-oriented women have three sub-types. The first is women who try to balance family and work and try to have a job and take care of their family. The second is an independent worker who places more emphasis on self-development and work–life fulfillment and would rather stay single if she cannot find a supportive spouse. The third is a re-organized type, who has gone through a crisis, such as a divorce, and re-entered the workplace, mostly successfully, by finding value in their work.

In Taiwan, according to Cheng and Hahn (2014), married women still face challenges in the labor market. Due to traditional role expectations, women who have stable jobs still need to take care of family chores after work. As a result, they are like a candle burning from both ends. Many women's careers just happen with no plan (Sullivan, 1992). Sooner or later, they will face family and workplace conflict. Though many women have no definite career plans, many have aspirations for how their career

Table 10.1   Labor participation rate in Taiwan (2015)

Age/ Gender	% 20– 24	% 25– 29	% 30– 34	% 35– 39	% 40– 44	% 45– 49	% 50– 54	% 55– 59	% 60– 64	% 65 and Up
Women	52.1	90.2	82.3	75.1	75.6	70.4	57.2	40.2	23.1	4.6
Men	52.2	92.5	89.4	83.9	84.9	80.9	70.3	55.1	35.8	8.8

Source: DGBS, 2016a

may develop and how their career choice might influence their lives (Marks & Houston, 2002).

As noted earlier, in 2015, Taiwanese women's employment rate was around 51% (DGBS, 2016a). By age group, the labor participation rate of Taiwanese women aged 20–24 and 25–29 were 80.3% and 90.2%, respectively (see Table 10.1). In general, the labor participation rates of Taiwanese women aged 20–44 and 45–64 were 80.3% and 49.0%, respectively.

According to a survey conducted by 1111 Manpower Bank (Taiwan Executive Yuan, 2016), 50.5% of 542 women agreed that they face situations about "unequal pay for equal work between men and women" (p. 1), and 34.4% acknowledged that men found it easier to obtain promotions than did women. In spite of advances in the workplace, Taiwanese women workers still experience a pay differential, and a glass ceiling still exists (Wu, Tsai, & Tsai, 2000).

STATUS OF TAIWANESE WOMEN IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Although women in national leadership is still a new concept for many conservative and traditional nations, in 2016, for the first time, the Taiwanese elected a woman as President, Tsai In-Wen. At the turn of the twenty-first century, Taiwanese women held about one-fifth of the seats in the legislative Yuan (parliament). By 2016, women comprised 42 of 113 (37.1%) seats, a record. For the KMT party, 12 of 25 (48%) seats were held by women; for the DPP, 26 of 68 (38.5%) were women, putting Taiwan far ahead of other Asian countries. With the international average of 22%, Taiwan is now far ahead of most nations, including the UK (22.1%), Germany (32.4%), and the USA. (17%) (Sui, 2015). However, of 22 cities or counties in Taiwan, only two mayors are women

(Yang, 2014). As for women in city council seats, due to laws having reserved seats for women, the average seats for women in city councils was around 22.1%. In the city council seats for the six major cities in Taiwan, women occupied 33% (Taipei), 37% (New Taipei), 33% (Taoyuan), 30% (Taichun), 40% (Tainan), and 37% (Kaohsiung) (Ministry of Labor, 2015). Although the political status of women in Taiwan has increased, women in leadership positions are still considered a minority. Of the 40 cabinet members, only 4 were women in the 2016 government. Many of Taiwan's women politicians, including former Vice-President, Annette Lu; Kaohsiung City Mayor, Chen Chu; and Chair of the Kuomintang Party, Hung Hsiu-chu, rose to powerful positions without having come from a political family. They have largely made it on their own. This is particularly difficult for women. These women are generally considered to be elites who are highly educated and sometimes are single or married with adult children, meaning that they do not need to face significant conflict between family and work (Yang, 2014).

Ho Mei-yueh, a 65-year-old former economics minister, said that she devoted 33 years to government, putting her own needs second, while also raising a family. She just wants some time to herself now.

> I had to work and look after the kids. The only person I neglected was myself . . . . Would a man of my age turn down the offer [new job assignment with higher pay and higher position]? Men, when they are young, they don't have to give so much of themselves, because the burden of taking care of children does not fall on them. To many men, their job is their life. (Sui, 2015, p. 12)

Status of Taiwanese Women in Management

Businesses are beginning to improve conditions for working women. While 60% of all workers are women in western countries (DGBAS, 2016a), 50.7% of all Taiwanese workers are women (DGBAS, 2016a). Compared with East Asian countries, Taiwan's rate is roughly comparable with Japan (49%) and South Korea (50% in 2013), while lower than Singapore (59%) and China (64%) (DGBAS, 2016a; Yu, 2015). According to McKinsey's report (Sussmuth-Dyckerhoff, Wang, & Chen, 2012), the proportion of women sitting on corporate boards and executive committees in Asian companies was strikingly low compared with Europe and the USA. In Taiwan, women accounted for 8% of seats on corporate boards and 8% of those on executive

committees, while the comparative figures in Europe were 17% and 10%, and in the USA were 15% and 14% (Sussmuth-Dyckerhoff, Wang, & Chen, 2012).

There are four typical business organizations in Taiwan: a) family-owned businesses, usually managed by the owner; b) foreign-owned businesses, usually adopting the overseas parent company's policies; (c) privately owned corporations listed on the Taiwan stock exchange with a western management style, usually having clear policies; and (d) government and publicly owned organizations (Wu, 1995). Irrespective of the nature of the company, the status of women in Taiwan has been based on and affected by traditional patriarchal views and social structures within Taiwanese society, putting women in subordinate positions to men. Their legal status is improving, however, through legislation that is beginning to give attention to women's situation and has improved Taiwanese women's rights. Influenced by Confucian thought, some Taiwanese women may put family interests over individual goals that may hold them back in their career aspirations (Cho et al., 2015; Lien, 2005). One of Bella's interviewed participants said: "I need to take care of my family first; after taking care of my family, then I can put my efforts into my work. But I am exhausted." However, in Taiwan, women have made it to the top of several large corporations, including High Tech Computer Corporate (HTC Corporate), the Yuen Foong Yu Group (YFY Group), Tatung, Test Rite Group, and China Life Insurance. Women have an even stronger presence at the top in small- and mid-sized companies (Hsieh, 2016).

According to Wu (2011), in foreign-owned companies, Joanna Liu has been a senior vice-president and chief operating officer of McDonald's in Taiwan since 2004. She described that she did not have career plans when she first entered McDonald's. In her words, her career "just happened" (para. 10). She wanted to prove that she could do it. She became a senior manager after 17 years of hard work. After 15 years of hard work at Accenture, a world-leading consulting firm, Hsiu Ping Lii was appointed as the first woman CEO of Accenture in Asia. Cher Wang, as first woman CEO in HTC &VIA technologies, one of Taiwan's local corporations with a western management style, commented that women managers are more sensitive to employees' emotional change and more considerate of employees' situation than men. However, compared with men, women usually lack the big picture when running a business. Wang also observed that women managers want to do the right thing, while men managers are more concerned with climbing the career ladder. As another example,

Wu, a vice-president of IBM in Taiwan, described how she devoted herself to her work and managed her time successfully. Wu then became the first woman CFO of IBM in Taiwan. She is grateful for her family's support when she faced conflict between work and family. Wu (2011) commented that married women rely on their family members, such as grandparents, to take care of kids in order to balance work and family life.

Increasingly, women in leadership positions have a real, tangible impact on organizations' financial and talent outcomes. However, despite years spent on gender-balance initiatives, Credit Suisse's analysis of 28,000 senior managers at over 3,000 companies worldwide found that the global average of women in senior management positions (CEO, CFO, operational roles, and shared services) was 12.9% (Dawson, Kersley, & Natella, 2014). According to their report, Taiwan's women in senior management positions in total was 24.3%; by function, respectively, the percentages for CEOs, CFOs, operational roles, and shared services were 5.7, 37.4, 17, and 34.3. However, in *Fortune 500* companies, women account for only 4.4% of CEOs (Bellstrom, 2015).

Irrespective of the type of leadership position, the most important character identified through the five interviews was their determination to succeed. Through determination, these women become visible in the workplace. One participant said, "Although there has been some progress with gender equality in our current society, there are still stereotypes about women. Most of the time, I need to show ambition and confidence to prove that I can get what I want."

According to PricewaterhouseCoopers' *Female Millennial Report* (2015), women prefer to communicate with their employers to get feedback, while men as their counterparts are afraid of talking to their bosses. However, this report showed that, although work–life balance programs exist in their organizations, they are not readily available to them in practice. This is true in Taiwan's situation. Some organizations in Taiwan have work–life balance programs, but women need to speak up to make the programs work. There are two types of communication: with others and with self through reflection. Cheng said, "Every day I prepare myself to communicate with my family, my coworkers, and my customers. I need to let them know that I can do it." She said that she needed to communicate softly but firmly in order for others to listen and accept her decisions.

In sum, according to Wu (2011), Taiwanese women managers have the following advantages over men: (a) resilience and patience, (b) being steady and hard-working, (c) thoughtfulness and consideration, (d) sensitivity and warmth, and (e) being an idealist. However, according to Wu, women managers also face challenges: (a) limited by gender stereotypes, (b) do too much while wanting to do the right things, (c) emphasize harmonious relationships due to being afraid of not being successful, and (d) not having enough women role models from whom to learn.

Status of Taiwanese Women in Entrepreneurships

Small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) have played a crucial role in Taiwan's economic development, and women have contributed significantly to the success of SMEs in Taiwan (Sanyang & Huang, 2008). According to them, there are three broad socioeconomic categories of Taiwanese women entrepreneurs: (a) women employers, providing paid-work opportunities to employees; (b) women's own-account workers, who are self-employed but do not have employees; and (c) owners' wives, referring to those women who hide behind their husbands but are the real managers of their husbands' businesses. Owners' wives are not counted as women entrepreneurs in official statistics provided by the government. As a result, the impact of women entrepreneurs is underestimated in determining the contributions of women to Taiwan's economic development.

Women employers and businesses run by women have been steadily increasing, suggesting that women are now more likely to become entrepreneurs (Taiwan Executive Yuan, 2015). Specifically, the number of SMEs in Asia that are owned or run by women is significantly higher than it was before the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997. In Taiwan, due to the development of the knowledge economy, women have attempted to break gender barriers and now account for an increasingly large percentage of entrepreneurs. For example, of all the new enterprises that were established in 2003, 37.6% had women as the responsible person (chairperson or business owner), higher than almost any other country in the world (Wang, 2005). In 2015, the Taiwan Ministry of Economic Affairs incubated 204 new enterprises, with 35.3% headed by women (DSMEA, 2016). In 2015, there were 1,371,859 business enterprises in Taiwan, of which 502,470 (36.6%) were headed by women (DSMEA, 2016).

In general, there are two main types of motivation for Taiwanese women to become entrepreneurs or to hold leadership positions in higher management – being self-motivated (intrinsic) and externally motivated (extrinsic). In order to gain a sense of achievement, some Taiwanese women entrepreneurs choose to be their own boss and become an entrepreneur. Or such a decision might derive from a woman's desire to combine homemaking with work to pursue her own ideals and interests, including financial gain. Some women start a new business because they have work experience from their professional areas. For example, Tu, an interview participant, performed well and was acknowledged by her bosses and customers for her manager position in an SME. She also received assistance from her relatives and friends to establish an enterprise.

CHALLENGES CONCERNING TAIWANESE WOMEN'S CAREER ASPIRATIONS

In Taiwan, as suggested earlier, women in leadership and management positions still face challenges, not only from their professional work, but also from taking care of their family responsibilities (Chou et al., 2005).

Taiwanese women were similar to most other Asian women living in traditional societies and lack government support to become a leader. Further, most are confined to low-paying jobs in factories, service industries, or family farms (Hung, 2015). Due to the universal nature of Taiwan's education, women have accounted for half of all university graduates since 1995, but in 2013 women earned just 80% of the earnings of their men counterparts (DGBAS, 2016b). According to Hsung and Chow (2001), there are glass ceilings and significant pay differences between men and women, and the higher the rank, the more women encounter gender inequality.

Lu (2011), in contrast to other literature reviewed above, found that labor force participation among contemporary Taiwanese women is rather high throughout the lifespan. Specifically, Taiwanese women are now an integral and indispensable part of Taiwan's labor force. However, Taiwanese women need more emotional support and tangible help from husbands and less endorsement of traditional gender role attitudes to increase the labor participation rate (Lu, 2011). As shared earlier, women are under-represented in senior management roles across the board. Career interruptions during early child rearing years are exceedingly detrimental to women's long-term career prospects and

earnings. Therefore, the increasing tendency of Taiwanese women to continue their jobs upon marriage and childbearing is an important driving force in closing the gender gap in the workplace. Another approach that many women in Taiwan are taking is to avoid marriage altogether (31% of Taiwanese women over the age of 25 remain single; the age of first marriage has increased for men to age 32 and for women to age 30) or to forego having children (10% of married couples over the age of 40 have no children, and the age of the mother at the first birth has climbed to 31, with the average number of children in a family now 2.4). The birth rate in Taiwan has now dropped to an alarming 1.1, causing serious concerns about having talent available for the workplace and having a sufficient labor force to support seniors (DGBAS, 2014). Some studies have shown that some women managers in Taiwan do not prioritize work over family, but they find that combining these dual roles is difficult (Wu et al., 2000). In many dual-earner families, Taiwanese women still shoulder the bulk of the family work, caring for the young, the old, and the sick; husbands' willingness to support and help can go a long way to show appreciation.

Although Taiwan is transforming its labor-intensive industrial structures to a high-tech and service-oriented economy, we still face a labor supply shortage. The government is encouraging more women and older workers to take paid jobs or to remain in the labor market. Another challenge Taiwanese women have faced is unfair treatment of women workers in aspects of promotion, training, and compensation (Lu, Hsieh, & Pan, 2009). Another challenge is that women's careers may be delayed, terminated, or interrupted by marital and maternal responsibilities; therefore, women may choose to remain single (Tzeng, 2006).

There are five issues that women in the workplace face: (a) lack of fast decision-making ability, (b) fear of success, (c) work–family conflict, (d) emotional issues, and (e) fear of taking orders (Hsieh, 2006). Wu (2011) addressed five challenges that Taiwanese women managers face: (a) self-constrained by gender stereotypes, (b) lack of ambition, (c) fear of taking orders, (d) too focused on relationships, and (e) lack of role models. However, the advantages of being a woman manager include: (a) more patient than men managers, (b) willing to learn and make great efforts, (c) consideration, (d) sensitive to others' emotions, and (e) idealism and remaining committed to their ideals (Wu, 2011). Chou (2016) commented that, although the challenges of Taiwanese

women managers have remained the same in recent years, more women mangers are willing to break through the situations. These challenges include: (a) women managers are afraid of setting higher goals for their job position, (b) need to try hard to balance work and family, (c) need more effort to connect to others, (d) need to pay more attention to workplace political issues, (e) difficulty in learning upward management, downward management, and peer management, and (f) building a support system.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR OVERCOMING CHALLENGES FACED BY TAIWANESE WOMEN

Several important actions should be considered to overcome the challenges facing working women in Taiwan who aspire to leadership positions:

1. Government policymakers should enact legislation to protect women, legally enforce and educate organizations to give women equal opportunities, and provide a respectful workplace environment.
2. Businesses with a diverse workforce can outperform their more homogeneous peers in adapting to a rapidly changing global business environment. In addition, in order to face increasing uncertainty and complexity in the world, organizations must welcome a range of perspectives, especially with women in leadership (Medland, 2016). Therefore, organizations should provide adequate staff development programs to help women reach their full potential in the workplace and create a more supportive work environment.
3. Educators should revise their career development curricula to help both genders, but especially women students, to understand and prepare for what they want to do with their careers.
4. As women are great assets for organizations, organizations should acknowledge that work–life conflict constitutes a major obstacle for women to progress in corporate hierarchies. For that reason, flexible working arrangements and other work–life provisions, such as childcare facilities, need to be implemented in order to support women's career advancement (Windsor & Auyeung, 2006; Tatli et al., 2013).
5. In Taiwan, increased numbers of powerful women have excelled in their positions. The Taiwanese government and organizations need

to recognize the talents of women as significant assets in Taiwan with appropriate policies to support them.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Although the Taiwan government has made further attempts to facilitate work–family compatibility, such as providing partial pay for up to six months when women take childcare leave (which can add up to two years) (Yu, 2015), many women with young children have not utilized childcare leave due to economic issues, not wanting to leave the workforce. Therefore, more study is needed on availability and need for public childcare facilities or policy-related issues. Future research may focus on offering a high-quality public childcare system so Taiwanese women do not need to worry about interrupting their labor market careers. For women with career aspirations, future research may need to focus on women role models in various fields. The more these women's experiences are voiced and shared, the more young Taiwanese women will aspire to careers. More information is also needed about Taiwanese women's career paths. What are their obstacles and how have they been overcome? What government policies are working? What is the problem with the policies that are not working, and how can they be improved? What education or experiences are useful in helping men recognize their roles in creating gender equity? Most values are developed while children are still very young. What support and programs are available for parents with young children? What is needed in terms of government-supported early childhood education? The issues discussed in this chapter are so complex that there is an almost endless need for research. Research will support practice, which will, ultimately, lead to sex equity in Taiwan.

CONCLUSIONS

Women can use government and political processes to improve their status. In the early 1990s, many women's groups flourished in Taiwan. These women's groups attempted to push the government to be responsive to women's concerns and issues (Clark, Lu, &Clark, 2009). Although women hold 10% of high-level positions in the civil service sector, they are

far better represented at middle levels (Clark & Clark, 2009). Especially in the 1990s, women legislators in Taiwan pursued a legislative agenda that prioritized feminist issues (legal equality and improving women's status in society) and caring issues (childcare, education, health care, and social welfare) (Clark & Clark, 2009; Lien, 2005). For example, the Gender Equality in Employment Law was approved in 2001; the intention of this law was to ensure equal opportunities at work, to provide maternity leave and benefits, and to create employment opportunities for women (Chou, Fosh, & Foster, 2005).

Although Taiwan is a newly industrialized country, and although women have career aspirations, women still have a long journey to go on the path to management. However, women's work attitudes and aspirations have typically not been set before they entered the labor market; rather, they have been influenced and changed by work experiences. If they had positive work experiences, they would maintain their work aspirations. On the other hand, if they face the real world with obstacles or discrimination, they might change their minds and think about leaving work to get married and, later, come back to stable jobs while they raise their families. These women's attitudes toward life and work can be influenced not only by their own work experiences but also by education and family values. More specifically, family values are related to their parents' wishes about the positions they wanted these women to obtain. If their family supports their career choice, then they have more of a chance to succeed.

In Taiwan, increased numbers of college-educated women are entering the workplace, thereby expanding their roles from strictly a family orientation to a dual orientation toward both work and family, or they are choosing work roles over family. In addition, in this rapidly changing world, Taiwanese women and organizations both face new challenges that include conflicts between eastern and western values and between traditional and modern customs. Although some conflicts still exist, Taiwanese women are more interested and willing to develop themselves in the workplace. In addition, women should develop their major advantage for good leadership – communication skills – to get promoted and have a great career.

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Thai Women in Leadership and Management

Dawisa Sritanyarat and Gary N. McLean

The roles of women are changing in many societies, including Thailand. Though "Thai women are viewed as subservient to men and take an unequal role in family responsibilities" (Cho et al., 2015, p. 16), there are many women leaders in Thailand. Women in Thailand are moving toward equality with men in many aspects. To describe the experiences of women leaders in Thailand, including challenges and opportunities, the first author conducted an extensive review of Thai literature related to the topic, while the second author developed the case of a Thai woman leader using personal experience with her and conducted an accuracy check upon completion.

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HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS OF THAI WOMEN

In one way, Thailand has shown potential for gender equality since the reign of King Rama the Fourth, when laws supporting inequality were eliminated in 1865 (Kittirattakarn, 2006). In 1932, in the reign of King Rama the Seventh, Thailand shifted from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy. The first constitution of Thailand in 2475 B.E. (Bhudist Era) (1932) granted all people of Thailand who held the qualifications the right to vote, regardless of gender (*Thai Government Gazette*, 1932). Then, in 1992, Thailand's 7th National Economic and Social Development Plan established an agenda for eliminating discrimination against women (Yukongdi, 2005). Also, according to Charoensap (2009), since 2000, women have had the same education level as men. Charoehsap (2009) noted that the proportion of women and men students in public universities in 2009 was 55% to 45%. This differential proportion has continued to grow; in 2015, it was 56.1% to 43.9% in higher education (Office of the Educational Council, Ministry of Education, 2015).

However, relying on laws and policies, alone, cannot ensure a firm ground for women to grow in leadership. There are still issues of concern for women in leadership. While women in Thailand receive the same (or more) education as men, women have less opportunity to climb to top positions in organizations (Charoensap, 2009; Martpo, 2006), not only in the private sector, but also in government sectors. Women held fewer than 20% of decision-making positions in 2008. The only exception was in the legal and judiciary system, where 38.4% of judges were women (Charoensap, 2009).

According to the 2016 labor force survey of the National Statistical Office, Thailand's population aged 15 and above consisted of more women than men (28,660,320 women to 26,811,590 men), while the labor force consisted of more men than women (20,859,710 men to 17,452,580 women) (National Statistical Office, 2016). Yukongdi (2005) suggested that discrimination of women in leadership is not based solely on perceptions of women's personal characteristics.

Additional dimensions have played a role in preventing women from making it into leadership roles. Stereotyping of women's roles is still imprinted in the Thai society. Women are still perceived as inferior to men. Mass media and literature still reinforce these perceptions. Women are still seen as second to men, keeping them underrepresented in the workforce and in leadership positions (Kittirattakarn, 2006; Yukongdi, 2005). Women

have been seen more for their family roles, as mothers and wives, than for their professional roles (Kittirattakarn, 2006). Men are still expected to take a leading role in both family and work, and men are still expected to be in charge.

However, Martpo (2006) suggested that women in Thailand are gaining better opportunities in administrative and leadership roles. A turning point for women leaders in Thailand may have been in 2011 with Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra, the first female prime minister in Thailand. In Thai society, there have been many other women in leadership and management roles. There are now many more women leaders at the top of corporations and small businesses, employees in major consulting firms, and independent consultants, as well as in positions of senior managers in public and private sectors, ministers or deputy ministers in the government, and senior academic faculty and administrators (Yukongdi, 2005, 2015). Globally, 24% of management roles were held by women (Thornton, 2014). Comparatively, Thailand is outstanding with 38% of management roles held by women (Thornton, 2014).

Women and men face different leadership challenges. In particular, Charoensap (2009) argued that a husband's role needs to be one of cooperation and support to enable women executives to be successful in their careers. Different from men, a spouse's support is crucial for women to be able to dedicate themselves to their work. To clarify, men in leadership might not have to consider this issue of support from their spouse, as it would be taken for granted that wives would take care of the housework and kids. When considering women in leadership, this aspect becomes an issue due to the social expectation and convention of women's roles in the family.

Dr. Chiraprapha Akaraborworn (Tan) and her family illustrate this point well. Tan is an Associate Professor and former dean of the School of Human Resources and Organization Development at the National Institute of Development Administration (NIDA) in Bangkok. At the time of writing, she was Assistant to the President for Quality Development, reporting directly to the President of NIDA. Tan is married with two children. Like many other women leaders, she has developed her career along with her family. She shared that her husband has been a great support in her life. He gave a helping hand in raising their children. When they cried at night, it was her husband who got up and took care of them. He took a strong supportive role in transporting the two children to

school, to music lessons, and to social activities. He also drove her elderly parents around when needed. Even in her early career stage, having that kind of support allowed her to dedicate herself to work and focus on her work. He has also provided support and assistance as she initiated her very successful consulting company and has provided assistance in her research and projects (he also has a PhD). Such extensive and consistent support has given her the space to grow in her career. Her career is a good example of how a husband's role can support a woman's career growth. This case also illustrates how the culture in Thailand is slowly evolving toward egalitarianism in gender roles.

INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP PERSPECTIVES
OF THAI WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP

In this section we describe the context of the reviewed research, the methods and methodologies researchers have used, and the themes researchers have identified.

Context of Studies

Most of the research reviewed was conducted in the context of education; 18 of 22 studies were conducted in educational institutions. This might be explained by ease of access and the success of women in leadership in the education sector. In 2008, there were more women teachers than men in Thailand (277,072:178,907) (Wongsamarn, 2012). It is possible that this situation results from Thai social norms that women are more nurturing and caring. Therefore, women's roles are considered to be nursing and teaching (Yukongdi, 2005, 2015). While being a teacher is an important job, taking for granted that teaching is a woman's job denigrates both women and the job itself. Another possible explanation about the context of studies found here is that the proportion of women in administrative positions in educational institutions has been growing. In 2004, only 9.95% of education leadership positions were held by women. Thailand aligns with the global situation in which education and social services were the industries with the highest number of women in management roles, now at 51% (Thornton, 2014). It is possible that women in leadership roles in other contexts were so minor that there was not much to research in those contexts.

Research Methodologies and Methods Used by Researchers in Reviewed Literature

This section is important as it raises awareness that, even though we use research to explore and understand women in leadership and management, we are still failing by using the same research paradigm over and over without recognizing that the use of one paradigm does not adequately get at the lived experiences and deep understanding of such women.

Most of the reviewed research was survey research. Among the 22 studies reviewed, 12 used quantitative methods with the use of a questionnaire. Eight studies used mixed methods of structured interviews and questionnaires. Qualitative methods with structured interviews and integrative literature reviews were undertaken once each. Quantitative methods still dominate in Thailand.

Though there were variations in research methods, there was only one research methodology: post-positivism. This is obvious for those who used quantitative elements. However, even with qualitative methods, researchers attempted to provide objective knowledge about women leadership in Thailand with the use of structured interviews. Objective knowledge is a concept of post-positivism (Nawrin & Mongkolsirikiet, 2012). Though all studies focused on women leadership in Thailand, there were, inappropriately, attempts to generalize the results beyond Thailand (positivism).

Results

Content analysis led to six primary themes about women leaders' traits, characteristics, and behaviors. Five themes concerned women leaders' individual aspects, with the sixth focused on external factors.

Women leaders normally see themselves differently from their followers in terms of leadership. According to Dulchamnong (1998), women leaders considered themselves to be democratic leaders, while their followers considered them to be autocratic leaders. Moreover, according to Chaisricholtharn (1991), women leaders considered themselves to be strongly task-oriented, while their followers considered them to be both task- and people-oriented. Additional themes follow.

Personal background. Personal background cannot be changed easily or quickly as it has been developed throughout a person's life. Education is an important factor for women leaders. According to Charoensap (2009),

Wongwatkasem and Boonreungrat (2013), and Seanghirun (1998), a higher education background supports women in achieving leadership. This matches Yukongdi's (2005) conclusion that educational opportunities play an important role in contributing to women's leadership and facilitating advancement toward leading positions. Other studies mentioned intelligence and cleverness as characteristic of women leaders (Buaiam, 2001; Chankesorn, 2011; Seanghirun, 1998; Wongwatkasem & Boonreungrat, 2013). These factors might have contributed to the educational background of these women leaders cognitively.

Family is also a part of personal background. Charoensap (2009) and Seanghirun (1998) found that most successful women leaders were married. Seanghirun (1998) suggested that a nuclear family was most likely to provide support for women's careers. Wives in nuclear families have less to take care of than those with collective families, where they need to be concerned about not only their husband and children, but also relatives. Seanghirun (1998) found that a supportive spouse and family can influence women's leadership roles. Yukongdi (2005) noted that, while women's roles have shifted toward equality in terms of work, women are still expected to hold more responsibilities at home. Having family members who understand the leadership role of the wife/mother could free her from the obligations at home, allowing her to dedicate more energy and time to work. Family of origin (the family in which one grows up) is also important; Charoensap (2009) observed that the family of origin facilitates women's career advancement, as that family becomes a source of personal assumptions and personality. The ability to manage family responsibilities, with the support of her family, is crucial for women leaders (Buaiam, 2001).

Economic status is another personal factor. Suesajjapong (1997) and Seanghirun (1998) found that economic status supported women leaders' advancement. Yukongdi (2005) connected economic status with social class or socio-economic status. This status could lead to educational and career opportunities, both directly and indirectly. Women with higher socio-economic status have better access to educational opportunities, which directly enhances their career opportunities. Moreover, socio-economic status, indirectly, supports women's career and leadership roles. Having sufficient resources to hire someone to handle housework and childcare allows women to dedicate more of their time and energy to work. Yukongdi (2015) also found that women executives reached the top of the organization with crucial family and domestic support.

Age and work experience were also important. It was difficult to tie age directly to career success. However, age is directly associated with work experience. Wongwatkasem and Boonreungrat (2013) found that being experienced leaders allowed women to reach a higher leadership position. Charoensap (2009) and Seanghirun (1998) also found that years of work experience supported women in becoming a leader or manager.

Motives. The need for achievement is a dominant motive or inner driver for advancement for women in leadership (Chamnankul, Visalapon, Klinkulab, & Chuanchom, 2014; Neufeld, 1998; Rattanaseanwong, 2012; Siripirom, 2007). This is illustrated by Ketsara Munchusri, a woman executive of the Stock Exchange of Thailand (SET), who earned her leading position after 13 years of working with the organization. Her motives are reflected through her vision. She had strong intrinsic motivation to set a clear goal for the organization and drive toward that goal. Her story illustrates women leaders' need for achievement (TerraBKK, 2015). According to Rattanaseanwong (2012), women in leadership want to receive feedback on their performance and desire to perform challenging tasks. Chamnankul et al. (2014), Chankesorn (2011), and Rattanaseanwong (2012) found that women leaders' need for achievement results in dedication, determination, and persistence. While many have suggested that women leaders' need for achievement was a dominant motive, Charoensap (2009) suggested that the need for power was the strongest motive of women leaders, followed by the need for achievement. Both factors relate to Yukongdi's (2015) observation about the importance of a self-driven personality for women leaders.

Traits. Emotional intelligence was found in several studies to be an element of Thai women leaders. Three elements were found. First was the ability to handle stress and frustration (Chamnankul et al., 2014). Second was self-emotional control of both positive and negative emotions (Boonyasatid & Chompukum, 2010; Chamnankul et al., 2014; Srikruadong, Chantanee, & Suyaphrom, 2014; Wongwatkasem & Boonreungrat, 2013). Leaders need to be able to control themselves and not be subsumed by emotions in decision making. This includes calm and prudent behaviors (Martpo, 2006; Suesajjapong, 1997). Third, emotional intelligence of women leaders includes paying attention to others' feelings, successes, and career advancement (Chamnankul et al., 2014; Rattanaseanwong, 2012).

Chaisricholtharn (1991) and Martpo (2006) found that important traits, as labeled by them, included being disciplined and traditional, which might also be reflected in subsequent behaviors. They observed that leaders were precise, careful about regulations, and punctual. This

work discipline can extend, however, to non-flexibility and rigidity. For example, women leaders in Thailand are known for handling decision making strictly according to the rules without an attempt to find alternatives (Chaisricholtharn, 1991). This characteristic of ambiguity was found to have a negative impact on subordinates (Boonyasatid & Chompukum, 2010).

There were elements of charismatic leadership found among some women leaders. Suesajjapong (1997) suggested that women leaders possessed a high degree of self-confidence and had a dignified personality. Chankesorn (2011) suggested that women leaders should have strong determination to achieve. Chaisricholtharn (1991) proposed that women leaders have the characteristics of sportsmanship and sincerity, while Nopparujjinda and Shinatungkura (2011) suggested that they are inspiring and express individual concern.

Consciousness of ethics was mentioned as another trait of women leaders (Nopparujjinda, & Shinatungkura, 2011). Honesty and faithfulness (Srikruadong et al., 2014; Wongwatkasem & Boonreungrat, 2013), kindness (Srikruadong et al., 2014), and fairness (Srikruadong et al., 2014) were included in this category, especially reflecting fairness in performance evaluations and career advancement (Pratumnok, 2001).

Ability. Women leaders need both social and work-related abilities. Social ability includes developing good relationships with colleagues and subordinates (Boonyasatid & Chompukum, 2010; Chamnankul et al., 2014), concern for others at work and in their personal lives (Boonyasatid & Chompukum, 2010; Prasertsri, 2001), and developing mutual understanding without exercising position power (Suwannarit, 1994). Yukongdi (2015) suggested that facilitating factors for women's career advancement include people management and networking skills.

Work-related ability is a major portion of the requirements for women leaders. Such abilities include adaptability (Chankesorn, 2011), communication (Srikruadong et al., 2014; Surabulkul, 2012; Suwannarit, 1994), and negotiation skills (Surabulkul, 2012). Martpo (2006) observed that women leaders preferred communicating via official reports rather than through unofficial verbal communication. Another work-related ability is compartmentalization of work and personal issues (Boonyasatid & Chompukum, 2010). Change management ability was identified by Chamnankul et al. (2014) and Nopparujjinda and Shinatungkura (2011) as a trait of Thai women leaders. Women leaders were also expected to have a degree of technological knowledge

and the ability to help subordinates with technological problems (Boonyasatid & Chompukum, 2010; Nopparujjinda & Shinatungkura, 2011; Wongwatkasem & Boonreungrat, 2013). This issue has not been frequently mentioned in general leadership or leadership literature studying men in leadership in Thailand. It may be that women have been seen as not being technologically savvy. Therefore, this issue needed to be put forward for women leaders. The ability to offer a vision is another work-related ability mentioned by Srikruadong et al. (2014) and Rattanaseanwong (2012).

Work behaviors. Many studies found that empowerment was a significant work behavior in women leaders (Pratumnok, 2001; Suwannarit, 1994). Moreover, successful women leaders were very energetic (Chankesorn, 2011) and open-minded (Chamnankul et al., 2014). Participative management is another work behavior found in women leaders, as women leaders tend to involve subordinates in decision making and welcome opinions from them (Pratumnok, 2001; Rattanaprasart, 1991; Rattanaseanwong, 2012; Suwannarit, 1994; Tanbua, 2015). Rattanaprasart (1991) also found that women leaders were role models of effectiveness and good performance. Supajee Suthumpun, an executive officer in Thaicom Public Company Limited, Thailand, illustrates this. Her subordinates often mentioned that she always had a kind look. However, when it came to the issues of work, she tended to be tough (TerraBkk, 2015). Performance has been a key aspect of women leaders. Rattanaprasart (1991) also found that women leaders exemplified supportive behavior. Supattra Paopiamsap, managing director of Unilever (Thailand), a multinational company operating in Thailand, said in her interview about her working philosophy that running an organization was not just business; it was also about taking care of thousands of families (TerraBKK, 2015), a form of supportive behavior. She also said that, while men leaders tended to use command and control in their leadership, women leaders tend to listen and gradually change. She preferred to support subordinates' learning and to persuade subordinates to agree upon decisions made in the organization (TerraBKK, 2015). While men leaders tended to use punishment, women leaders tended to reward and utilize relationships (Prasertsri, 2001) and provide psychological support (Rattanaprasart, 1991). Continuous learning behavior was more frequently found in women leaders (Chamnankul et al., 2014; Rattanaprasart, 1991; Srikruadong et al., 2014). However, women leaders were also found to be indecisive and to avoid risks (Boonyasatid & Chompukum, 2010).

External Factors. Other dimensions of women's leadership exist that are external (Yukongdi, 2005, 2015). It is important for women leaders to be successful that the Thai society accept women as leaders (Pratumnok, 2001; Rattanaseanwong, 2012). This context lies outside of organizations where women leaders are working (Siripirom, 2007), yet it is crucial.

It is not surprising that organizational context was also found to be vital. A supportive organizational culture was frequently mentioned (Buaiam, 2001; Siripirom, 2007). Within organizational culture, it is important that human resource policies promote gender equality (Sukhontrakul, 2003; Yukongdi, 2015). Another important aspect of organizational culture is Surabulkul's (2012) conclusion that a feminine organizational culture, such as giving back to others and showing care and empathy (Pimpa, 2012), was vital to the success of women leaders.

Job characteristics are also important. Suwannarit (1994) suggested that jobs that require creativity tended to be more suitable for women leaders. In this light, Buaiam (2001) suggested that academic jobs were favorable for women leaders. Care needs to be exercised, however, in these conclusions as they represent stereotypes, and many individual women are not accurately described by these stereotypes.

Another societal context that was mentioned as influential in the acceptance of women in leadership was the environment of women acting together, consistent with the collective society. The more that women in organizations can bond, the more likely that women will be accepted in leadership (Sukhontrakul, 2003). Because of these external factors, Buaiam (2001) suggested that successful women leaders need to work up to four times harder than men to prove their leadership and to be accepted by subordinates.

In light of these research findings, research on women leaders in Thailand has mainly focused on individual factors. According to Yukongdi (2005, 2015), the situation of women leaders needs to be studied in multi-dimensions, not just one. It is important to understand individual, interpersonal, organizational, and societal factors (Yukongdi, 2015), as well as to understand their complex interactions (Yukongdi, 2005).

LEADERSHIP THEORIES

This section discusses Thai women leadership related to leadership theories. The results above match many leadership theories. Emotional intelligence relates to adjustment in the Big Five Dimensions of Traits, or

the five desirable characteristics of leaders (Judge, Heller, & Mount, 2002). Further, the high degree of self-confidence exhibited by Thai women leaders is related to the concept of surgency, a personality of extroversion and dominance (Achua & Lussier, 2010).

There were, however, leader characteristics found in the research that are not mentioned in theories of leadership, such as sportsmanship, the quality of those who can experience losses without complaining and victories with fairness, generosity, courtesy, and fellowship with others, even if they are opponents (Neufeld, 1998). Thai women leaders tended to be task-oriented, yet they were thought of as kind and considerate by subordinates. Thus, Thai women's leadership style belongs to both control and results-oriented behaviors, and considerate and people-oriented behaviors, which are mentioned in behavioral theories of leadership on a continuum of behaviors (Achua & Lussier, 2010). However, women leaders' needs for achievement and power are opposite of the Thai character of high femininity, while the characteristics of being indecisive and avoiding risks match with the Thai character of uncertainty avoidance (Pimpa, 2012).

The results that suggest that women leaders are inspiring and concerned for individuals go along with the transformational leadership concept of inspirational motivation and individual consideration (Bass, 1985; Riggio, 2009). The finding of empowerment also aligns with Daft's (2008) suggestion about the new paradigm of leadership, changing the leading perspective from controlling to empowering. Being empowering, open-minded, communicative, and using networking skills also contribute to findings in the Thai context, as they were found to be elements of effective leadership for innovative organizations in Thailand (Sritanyarat, 2016).

Contingency leadership was not explicitly addressed in the identified literature. However, there are situational elements of Thai women leaders to be considered based on followers' readiness and abilities (Hersey, Blanchard, & Johnson, 1996), leader-members' relationship, task structure, and leaders' position power (Fiedler, 1972). Women in leadership have to deal with situations of family as well as social expectations. To extend our understanding of Thai women leaders, more research focus is needed on elements in situation-based leadership. Moreover, it is difficult to explain Thai women leadership within any existing leadership theory alone. To cope with the complex interaction among multiple dimensions, it is important to incorporate multiple leadership theories and concepts in any study of Thai women in leadership.

Feminist Theory

Discussion of women in leadership would not be complete without considering feminist theory. Key concepts of feminist theory relate to oppression, gender stereotyping, and inequality (Chitchai & Satsomboon, 2012). Based on the research presented in this chapter, it is difficult to deny the existence of these concepts to some degree. As reported, women leaders have to work harder than men to reach the same stage of leadership as men. According to Baumgartner and Schneider (2010), women have to sacrifice for family, due to social roles assigned by society. Women are considered to be more caring and collaborative and have better interpersonal communication skills than men. However, when it comes to leadership, men were assumed to be more effective (Baumgartner & Schneider, 2010).

However, no evidence has been presented to indicate that men are more effective leaders. Leadership is about relationships among leaders and followers (Achua & Lussier, 2010; Daft, 2008). As there is a wide range of followers, and given the construct of situational leadership, there is no one best way to lead. Women leaders do not need to be similar to men leaders. Just as there is a wide range of leadership types among men leaders, so, too, is there a wide range of types among women leaders. Further, even when differences exist, this does not mean that they are better or worse; they are just different. As Chitchai and Satsomboon (2012) proposed, both men and women are subject to being oppressed when men and women are treated differently, especially when it comes to their leadership. Therefore, to contribute to feminist theory, future studies about leadership could look at both genders' oppression and effective leadership styles without assuming that there will be one best way.

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR THAI WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP

As reviewed in the beginning of this chapter, Thailand started out with good potential for gender equality in terms of policies and regulations. However, inequality, including leadership, was not prevented or resolved by policies alone. Discrimination has been a social phenomenon. There are still challenges for Thai women in leadership. Some were formed out of the protective regulations that have caused more

stereotyping and discrimination against women. For example, the maternity leave laws could make employers hesitate to hire women for important positions to prevent the cost of pregnancy (Yukongdi, 2005). Prohibition of employment for women in dangerous jobs could be seen as patronizing and keeping women out of higher paying jobs often associated with dangerous employment. Such laws assume that women are more frail than men, ignoring that there are differences within both genders. Thus, while systems supporting equality have been developed in the form of laws and regulations, social norms have not developed accordingly.

It is important for Thai society to understand more about women in leadership. In this chapter, we have described research in Thailand that has not been able to provide much in-depth understanding about women in leadership. Therefore, one of the biggest challenges for Thai women in leadership is to overcome the lack of understanding in context and factors of women in leadership that exist in Thai society. It is challenging for women leaders when Thai society still holds stereotypes about women leadership styles. Such research may enhance opportunities for Thai women in leadership.

Despite such challenges, the Thai socio-culture context has been changing in the direction of equality (Yukongdi, 2005, 2015). We can see opportunities provided for Thai women in leadership and for women to become leaders. Thai society needs to be educated to transform in that direction. Functioning within a global environment, the influx of western tourists, the influence of higher education from abroad, international trade, and the international media are supporting this movement.

Recommendations

The results found from literature review have revealed where we are in researching and understanding women in leadership in Thailand. There is definitely much more to learn and do. Much more research is needed to help us understand the in-depth experiences and surrounding factors of women in leadership in Thailand. This chapter intends to provoke new thinking, new research ideas, and new attempts to find answers to having more women leaders in Thailand, as an equal playing field is created for both genders. The following recommendations, we believe, will move both research and practice related to women in leadership in Thailand forward.

Recommendations for Future Research

It is important to understand in-depth experiences of being a woman in leadership in Thailand. Therefore, there is need for research to be done using research paradigms or methodologies different from post-positivism. Phenomenology, critical theory, feminist theory, and auto-ethnography (Grenier & Collins, 2016), among others, should be considered to extend our knowledge. Country-specific women leaders' histories, aspirations, frustrations, and experiences could be studied and revealed. This aligns with what Chitchai and Satsomboon (2012) suggested about focusing on the lived experiences of women leaders in top companies (and small- and medium-sized enterprises, non-government organizations, government agencies), as well as those who failed to reach the stage of leader to learn more about their journey to leadership. Similar research on men in leadership roles might also help to identify the sources of in-organizational contexts that inhibit women from moving into leadership roles.

Recommendations for Improvements in Practice

External factors are a part of women's leadership and affect women's path to leadership. It is important to guide and coach women, especially those with desire and potential to climb the leadership ladder, to be able to handle those factors effectively. Coaching and training on leadership competencies and consideration of individual factors are still important. Young girls need to learn the importance of selecting a supportive mate, and there needs to be extensive consideration about how family roles will be fulfilled. Many women in leadership are choosing not to marry or not to have children as a way of minimizing challenges of balancing leadership responsibilities with family duties. This conversation needs to take place before marriage, such as the role that parents and parents-in-law will play in managing childcare and handling home tasks. A much more serious approach to family and marriage considerations needs to become part of all school curricula. Further, given the role of Buddhism within the Thai culture, temples can play an important role in changing the Thai culture and help individuals make better decisions to support their individual visions for their futures (Yamnill, McLean, & Singsuriya, 2008). Higher education is also in a good position to model desirable practices for both boys and girls; while this is happening, it is not

happening as quickly as desired. As practices begin to change through-out the society, it will become more and more acceptable for women to be in positions of leadership and for men to become equal in homecare and childcare.

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Closing

We Have Come This Far. Now, What Is Next?

Gary N. McLean

According to the United Nations (Worldometers, n.d.), there are 48 countries and 3 others/dependencies (Taiwan, Macau, Hong Kong), 10 of which are included in this book. This is an unfortunate necessity given the page limitations of this book. The nine countries and one in the other category come from the top half based on population. Three of the UN's subregions (Central, Southern, and Western Asia) were not included. Many of these countries are commonly referred to as the Middle East. Future books in this series, covering the Middle East and Central Asia, are currently in the proposal stage.

In this chapter, the concluding chapter of this book, I compare these ten Asian countries and region, looking at their convergences and divergences. I also, briefly, look at how these countries and region compare with western literature, which contains the bulk of the research on women in leadership, focusing primarily on the USA and the UK. I then offer my vision of what the future might look like for women in leadership and finish with a proposed research agenda.

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CONVERGENCES

It was surprising to me that there was so much commonality across countries that have such different religious foundations, languages, cultures, traditions, rituals, and age demographics. Yet, we found that in all of the countries included in this book:

- Women have the primary responsibilities for childcare, eldercare, and homecare.
- Men seldom participate in these tasks, and, if they do, it is to a much lower extent.
- Boy babies are preferred to girls.
- If the family has limited resources, it is boys who receive education.
- Men are seen as primary breadwinners.
- Women's work is often seen as secondary and supportive, not primary.
- Some women who wanted to progress in leadership needed to remain single and without children.
- Only a few women have been able to rise to senior leadership positions, whether in companies, government agencies, politics, the community, or NGOs (non-government organizations).
- Some of those leaders succeeded through the support of their husbands or fathers.
- Religion and tradition are often the source of discrimination against women.
- Women are more likely to be in leadership roles in multinational organizations.
- No country is homogeneous in the way in which women are treated; regional differences exist within each country, often based on urban and rural differences.

One could well argue that there is no reason to see Asia as a unified region, and I would be one of those to make such an argument. In spite of such differences, however, as I have observed in this brief section, there are many, many similarities that provide a united view of the opportunities that women have for leadership across Asia.

Divergences

In spite of these many similarities, we did find some differences among the countries:

- While the influences appear to be similar, the religious drivers are quite different, including Confucianism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam, with some influence of Christianity.
- In spite of the similarities in cultures and practices, the outcomes are very different, with women, for example, being a major influence in entrepreneurship in Myanmar and women, generally, having much more success in leadership in Indonesia.
- The extent to which the west has influenced practices in business varies widely, with Korea being heavily influenced by the USA; India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, and Myanmar being significantly influenced by the UK; Indonesia by the Dutch; and Vietnam by the French (as well as by the Chinese).
- The extent to which girls and young women receive education varies across countries, also influencing literacy rates.
- The extent to which women have succeeded in achieving political influence also varies, though in no country or region are they equal to men in the number achieving such roles.
- The extent to which English is spoken widely also varies, influencing, to some degree, the extent to which multinational (or transnational) corporations are active within each country.

In spite of these differences, which I would consider to be rather minor, the similarities (convergences) seem to outweigh the differences (divergences).

Comparison with Western Countries

During the winter holidays of 2016, while in St. Paul visiting our family, we attended the Mill City Museum in Minneapolis. Minneapolis was built along the Mississippi River beside the St. Anthony Falls. There were two benefits to this location: there was easy transportation for the timber from

the rich forests of northern Minnesota, and there was plentiful hydropower to run the saws to cut the lumber. Later, timber sawing was replaced by flour milling. The museum was built on the site of the last active flour mill in Minneapolis driven by hydropower. While in the museum, we watched videos talking about the *girls* (yes, that's how women were referred to in those days) who were key to running the mill during the Second World War. They talked about how they had to give up their jobs to the men when they returned from the war. Some were kept on to do the packing, but they had to give up their jobs when they got married or after giving birth. My 13-year-old granddaughter looked at me and asked incredulously, "Really, Grandpa? NO WAY!!" It was hard for her to believe these statements that we have seen are common across the countries and region included in this book. But the reality is that the rest of the world was, not too long ago, in the same place as the women in the countries and region included in this book.

In the World Economic Forum (2015, 2016), cited by almost every author in this book, the top five positions (of the 145 countries included in the index) are occupied by countries from Scandinavia in 2015, with Iceland dropping to sixth place in 2016. Surprisingly, Rwanda ranked 6th in 2015, rising to 5th in 2016, and an Asian country, the Philippines, ranked 7th in both years. Countries typically thought of when considering leadership research ranked considerably lower and dropped in 2016: UK (18th to 20th), USA (28th to 45th), and Canada (30th to 35th). As a result, there is still much conversation in the literature about difficulties faced by women who are trying to break through the glass ceiling (Smith, Caputi, & Crittenden, 2012). In fact, the most recent data (Zaiya, 2016) show that the number of women in the CEO position in the *Fortune 500* companies has dropped to 21 from 24 in 2015, or only 4%. Authors in this book have been bemoaning the number of women in senior management positions in their countries, yet a country that ranks 28th in the world has a miserly 4% of positions – definitely not something of which to be proud.

Many of the authors of the chapters made reference to national religions or religious beliefs to explain how women are perceived to be inferior to men, whether that religion is Buddhism, Confucianism, Hinduism, or Islam. The USA is usually perceived as a Christian nation, though it is becoming much more diverse. And the message from Christianity is ambiguous. The Apostle Paul is attributed as writing, "Women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed to speak, but must be in submission, as the law says" (1 Corinthians 14:34).

But he is also purported to have written, "There is neither male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3:28). The Bible is full of such apparent contradictions, but that should not be surprising as there are many authors of Biblical sources, and there is no certainty about the authorship of almost any of the Bible. Further, the Bible, as with almost all of the sacred writings of the world religions, was written thousands of years ago in a cultural context that was very different from our current context. Finding culturally appropriate canonized sacred writing is almost impossible. We should not be surprised, then, to find that such sacred writings do not speak to today's culture without carrying with it the biases and stereotypes from cultures very different from today's.

My Vision

Sadly, all of the religious books of the world's major religions convey the same message. The creation stories of the Judeo-Christian-Islamic religions all teach the same message – that women were created to be supporters of men. Adam (man) needed a helpmate so God created Eve (woman). And remember who is blamed for the fall of humanity; of course, it was Eve. And throughout the religious books of all major religions, the *cultural* message is conveyed that women are to serve men. As a Christian minister, there is no way that I believe that this is what the universe (or a higher power) intended or intends. I believe that we were all created equal, as partners.

My vision is simple; men and women will be given the same opportunities for training and development. They will be given equal opportunities for mentoring and promotion. They will receive equal pay for equal work. Men and women will be offered paternity and maternity leave to allow them a period of time for at-home childcare for the first few weeks of the new baby's life. Personal leaves will be available to both genders for elder-care and for addressing issues related to a child's well-being, such as illness, medical visits, and school-related activities. Both genders will have available on-site government- or company-sponsored daycare. Women will have easy access to on-site nursing facilities. Both genders, in other words, will have everything made available, equally, to allow them to take on the dual responsibilities of the job and of the family. Companies will no longer want to discriminate, as they currently do, assuming that women will carry the burden of childcare and eldercare, as both genders will have equal access to whatever is needed to care for the family.

The point of sharing this vision is to offer hope to the sometimes pessimistic messages of our authors who see thousands of years of the subservience of women to men and find it difficult to find a promising future of gender equality in their countries or region. And, while those in what is colloquially referred to as the west have come a long way, and we have, we still have a long way to go for full gender equality, as well. When we proposed (McLean & McLean, 2001, p. 322), in our definition of HRD, that it was of benefit "ultimately, to all humanity," we were accused of being overly optimistic. I prefer to believe, however, that we were (and are) full of hope, and, as the saying goes, "without hope, we have nothing" (source unknown).

A Proposed Research Agenda

Throughout this book, the authors have proposed two or three suggestions for research agendas. In this section of the concluding chapter, I am offering a brainstormed list that I made as I thought about this book and this chapter while returning from a teaching assignment in Mexico. As such, it is unreferenced (all of the ideas have accumulated during almost fifty years of thinking about this topic) and presented briefly so as not overly to influence the direction of the research. As such, it is presented in bulleted format and without a priority order.

- Mentoring continues to be a popular approach to leadership development. Men and women mentors may have different benefits to offer a woman on the leadership journey. What benefits are available from each gender? Is age/generation of either partner a factor? What aspects of leadership development are most likely to be served by mentoring? Can partnering of equals, or peer mentoring, across both genders, be useful in leadership development?
- Many of the authors talked about the importance of mentoring, but mentoring in the traditional sense may soon be obsolete. In all aspects of our lives, social media are replacing more traditional approaches. How do women aspiring to leadership in Asia access social media for networking, mentoring, information, and other ways to support their journey to leadership?
- Almost every author talked about the importance of family culture in influencing women in seeking a leadership position. But no author

talked about what caused the culture of one family to be different from the culture of another family within the same national culture. Why are some families supportive of a daughter seeking a leadership position while others are not?

- I was surprised to see how quickly Indonesian women seem to have made progress in comparison with other leading economic powers like India and China. What are the factors that influence how quickly change takes place related to gender equality? What aspects of gender equality take longer, and which a shorter time? How long does it take for such changes to become embedded in the culture?

- In many of the countries and region reviewed, the drive to leadership begins with the individual woman, supported by family and organization. But not much was said about men who are colleagues and potential peers and even subordinates. What will it take to change the mindset of men in the workplace to accept women in leadership roles? Who has the responsibility for bringing men to this level of acceptance? What is the experience like for men in Asia to have a woman as a boss? As women need partners to move into leadership positions, what are the costs and benefits of partnering with women to help them move into leadership positions for both men and women?

- Many of the authors talked about the political scene. While in some countries and region women are making more progress in political arenas than in some other arenas, progress is still not at a point of gender equality. What will it take to encourage women to run for office? What are the characteristics of women who run successfully for political office? What will it take to convince the electorate to vote for women to political office? What impact have elected women had on changing the culture of politics in their country?

- And, once elected, in what areas are women most successful in influencing decisions? Even if numbers become equal, that does not assume that women have achieved gender equality. On what issues do women speak up and not speak up and why? What changes in the political system are needed for women to have equal influence in the political systems?

- I have long argued that women's issues are also men's issues. Men benefit when women benefit in so many ways. Yet many men resist changes in gender roles. Why? What are the benefits that men and women see for their own gender as well as the opposite gender from achieving gender equality? What arguments are most

likely to convince each gender of benefits exceeding costs for gender equality?

- There is considerable evidence for the benefit of early childhood education influencing how adults view gender roles (e.g., Aina & Cameron, 2011; UNESCO, 2011). Yet, the field of human resource development (HRD) does not typically look at early childhood as it considers the development of adults in the workplace. This situation needs to change, probably requiring us to get more involved in interdisciplinary research to focus more on early childhood education.

- What role do the media (TV, movies, toys, games, videogames) play in helping or hurting girls in setting their sights on leadership, beginning in elementary and secondary schools? My wife and I were committed to giving equal opportunities to our children, regardless of gender. When our kids were still preschoolers, we overheard our first two children quarreling in the living room over who would be doctor and who would be nurse in their make-believe hospital. Our son said, "You have to be the nurse because you're a girl. I'll be the doctor because I'm a boy." We couldn't believe it. When we discussed this conversation with them, they immediately pointed to *Sesame Street*, which, at the time, had still not figured out that their gendering was creating stereotypes in children. So, what message is the media in various geographies sending about who can be leaders?

- When we move into the elementary and secondary schools, we need to look at the factors there that encourage or deter girls in their quest for leadership. What stereotypes do teachers have? What are their beliefs about gender and leadership? What do textbooks convey about leadership and gender? One of my early research articles (McLean, Kleven, & McLean, 1978) focused on the pictures and language used in textbooks in my field at the time of business education. They were clearly stereotyped. Whether this article was an influence or not, I do not know, but shortly thereafter the textbooks moved toward equal genders in all roles. Similar studies in all fields of study are needed to identify those books that are telling girls that they cannot succeed in leadership.

- And, given the important role that schools play in developing gender identity, what are ministries of education, departments of teacher education, professional teachers and curriculum organizations,

accreditation associations, and other influential bodies doing to eliminate gender stereotyping in school curricula?

- Storytelling can be a powerful tool for understanding and for creating change, whether the stories relate to organizational issues (Hansen & Kahnweiler, 1993; Tyler, 2007) or to personal stories through autoethnography (Grenier & Collins, 2016). As an example of the latter, I had often heard how women were invisible and inaudible when they made suggestions around a table of men, but I never really understood until the following experience. Our youngest daughter was in Brownies, the Girl Scout program for girls in grades 1–3, and she had wonderful leaders. However, when she moved to 4th grade (the Juniors stage of Girl Scouts), her leaders decided to stay with Brownies for their younger daughters. Because my wife had a previous commitment, I attended the meeting of parents at the school (the sponsoring agency) to decide what would be done about leadership. I was one of only three men in a room with over 200 women. At our troop table, we went around the table, and each mother (of 12) indicated that there was a reason why they couldn't be a leader. When it got to me, I suggested that, with my flexible schedule, I could probably do it. There was no reaction, and one of the women suggested that we might be able to merge with another troop. She went to talk with them, but they were already at their maximum. She came back, long-faced, saying, "We will probably have to give up the troop." Again, I said that I could make myself available. No reaction. Finally, all of the troops had made their leadership decisions except ours. The lead person came to our table and asked us what our problem was. One mother said that we had no leader, so we would probably have to shut down the troop. Again, I spoke up, "I'm willing to do it!" This time, I was heard. The lead person asked, "So, what's the problem?" There was a chorus of explanations: "A man can't be a Girl Scout leader"; "Will our girls be safe with a man as leader?" and so on. We talked out all of the concerns, and I ended up being a Girl Scout leader for three years, and we had a wonderful time. The girls experienced things that none of the other troops were experiencing, like flying a flight simulator at Delta Airlines (a friend was a pilot trainer), taking a bike apart and putting it back together, and earning Super Troop each year before the year was half over. Most of the girls came from split families, so I became a surrogate father, which was great for the

girls. Many still contact me and tell me how that experience changed their lives! Now, isn't that a powerful story? From a research agenda perspective, how can stories be used to influence women toward leadership or to help men accept women in leadership roles? Why is storytelling not used more frequently to bring about the changes discussed in this book?

- As has been pointed out in almost every chapter, men have invisible privilege. They wear it in a backpack hidden from view. But tens of thousands of years of privilege is not easy to unload. So, the research questions arising from this include: What are the invisible privileges that men have? What are the cultural components that allow these privileges to remain packed and out of sight? When men have been able to unpack them (and some few men have succeeded in doing this), what factors in the environment have allowed this to happen? What are the life experiences of those men and the women with whom they are in relationship?

- It has been a long time since we have realized that language influences our gender patterns. In English, inclusive language has almost become the norm. As a result, we now talk about flight attendants rather than stewardesses, servers rather than waiters and waitresses, and firefighters rather than firemen. We use the plural (they/them/their) whenever possible, rather than "he" for the generic. What factors in other languages continue to convey gender roles that might inhibit women's advancement? What are the characteristics of those who use inclusive language compared with those who do not? Why do some people resist the use of inclusive language? As another form of communication, what are the cultural rituals, traditions, religious practices, festivals, and so on that continue to influence how genders are viewed?

- From an HRD perspective, we cannot leave out the possible impact of training, adult education, and development, for both genders. Each of these approaches has benefit for women as they journey up the ladder in various leadership positions. From a research perspective, what can be expected from each of these three approaches for women? Men may need to experience these approaches to gain their buy-in. What approaches are most effective in helping men to understand how they benefit from gender equality? Can attitudes be affected through mandatory training? What objectives are most accomplished through each of the three approaches?

- Another popular approach in HRD is dialogue as a means of managing conflict. As conflict is often encountered by women who are attempting to climb the career ladder, what benefits can be expected from the use of dialogue? How well is dialogue accepted by both genders?
- Finally, some measure may be needed beside numbers to determine progress in overcoming gender discrimination and gender stereotyping. What factors should be included in a gender audit to determine such progress? Can a reliable and valid instrument be created within each cultural context to be used in doing a gender audit?

While this is a long list, I could easily add many more suggestions. In spite of all of the research that has been conducted on leadership, I do not believe that we yet have a good sense of leadership based on research. This is especially true from an indigenous perspective. Sadly, there is still too much reliance on western research. This is not just a reluctance to do indigenous research, but also a reluctance on the part of reviewers and editors to publish such literature in the international arena. We all have a responsibility for this situation and for changing it.

Conclusion

I was part of the women's lib movement in the 1960s in the USA and have been actively pushing for gender equality since then, in my politics, in my scholarship, and in my personal life. I have come a long way since those days and recognize that I still have progress to make. And I have seen the US society make huge progress since then, in spite of occasional setbacks. But society, too, has lots of work yet to do before gender equality becomes reality. We seem to take two steps forward and one step backward. But I do not get discouraged. One of the benefits of aging is that I can look back over many decades and see gradual change. We clearly have much more gender equality today than we had sixty years ago.

I carry this same optimism when I view the issue of gender equality in Asian countries. Every chapter in this book (and, thus, in every one of these ten countries and region) is moving toward gender equality. Some have further to go than others, but none is excluded from some progress. The readers of this book can join with the authors of the book chapters in continuing to exert political pressure, share in the scholarship called for in the research agenda proposed in this book,

and continue to challenge your personal life journey toward gender equality. As with the famous advertising campaign of the 1960s (sadly, advertising the right of women to smoke), we cannot stop with celebrating, "You've come a long way, baby!" We need to continue to remind ourselves and our stakeholders, "We've got a long way to go yet, everyone!"

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