

**ORIGINAL ARTICLE**

# Self and other reported workplace traits: A communal gap of men across occupations

Leire Gartzia 

Department of Management, Deusto Business School, University of Deusto, Bilbao, Spain

**Correspondence**

Leire Gartzia, Department of Management, Deusto Business School, University of Deusto, Bilbao, Spain.  
Email: leire.gartzia@deusto.es

**Abstract**

There is general agreement in organizational research about the relevance of the big two set of traits in social psychology: communion or consideration of other people and agency or pursuit of the self. I argue that, whereas both dimensions play critical functions at work, men are still overwhelmingly limited in communion. Results of five studies with male and female employees and managers across settings ranging from social work to the bank industry support this prediction in relation to both self-ratings and judgment of others and reveal that men are characterized with less communal traits by themselves and others. In contrast, women and men are perceived and perceive themselves as similar in agency, suggesting closing gender gaps in agentic traits. An analysis across occupational levels showed that sex differences in communion favoring women only disappeared at top managerial levels. Exploratory analyses of prescriptive traits (ideal characterizations) revealed more demanding expectations of communion for women than men, despite female employees' and managers' generally greater endorsement of these traits. Implications for organizations are discussed, underscoring the need to implement gender action focused on reducing male stereotyping and the communal gap, rather than increasing women's agency.

## 1 | INTRODUCTION

Organizations are multifaceted social systems where having ambitious individual goals and building positive interpersonal relationships are equally relevant. The idea of combining goal-pursuit and other-oriented attributes is comprised in the classic theorizing of situational leadership theory (e.g., Hersey & Blanchard, 1982, 1993), according to which employees and particularly managers need to effectively combine goal-oriented and interpersonal orientations to be effective in response to situational demands. These two-dimensional dispositions of individual and social judgement can be broadly subsumed under the concepts of *communion* and *agency*, whereby communion is defined as traits that focus on social relationships, and agency captures traits related to pursuit of

one's goals (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007). These two big dispositions have proven to be relevant for many work processes (e.g., Gartzia & van Knippenberg, 2015; Gartzia & Baniandres, 2019; Hentschel et al., 2019; Kark et al., 2012).

In most contemporary models of organizational functioning and leadership the communal dimension is gaining particular relevance with the growing relevance of teamwork and cooperation (Haslam et al., 2010; Yukl, 2006; Zaccaro, 2007) and the emergence of new leadership constructs directly associated with relational dimensions (such as servant leadership or supportive leadership; Avolio et al., 2009; Patzelt et al., 2021). The trait perspective in organizational and leadership research has also given a particular emphasis to communion-related dimensions of individuals' identity and behavior, including characteristics such as sociability and cooperativeness

This is an open access article under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs License, which permits use and distribution in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, the use is non-commercial and no modifications or adaptations are made.

© 2021 The Authors. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* published by Wiley Periodicals LLC

(Stogdill, 1948), agreeableness (Hogan et al., 1994) or prosocial influence motivation (House & Aditya, 1997). Contrasting the growing relevance of communal dispositions at work, social role analyses of gender stereotypes have pointed to sex differences in these dimensions (e.g., Eagly, 1987; Eagly et al., 2012; Gartzia & van Knippenberg, 2015; Kark et al., 2012). In particular, consistent with gender stereotyped associations, sex differences in the direction of gender stereotypes have traditionally emerged in different evaluations of communion including self-reports (Bem, 1974; Spence & Buckner, 2000; Wood & Eagly, 2009) and perceived traits of others (e.g., Fiske et al., 2002; Gartzia & Baniandres, 2019; Kark et al., 2012).

Importantly, contemporary analyses of communion and agency have acknowledged their dynamic nature, underscoring how social changes can translate into equivalent changes in individuals' endorsement of these traits (Reskin & Roos, 1990; Strough et al., 2007). Thus, to understand the implications of social change in the transformation of gender stereotypes and internationalization of gendered traits, researchers have called attention to the need to provide further and updated examination of whether communion and agency are so far dimensions in which men and women differ (Echebarria, 2010; Spence & Buckner, 2000; Twenge, 2009). Because the widest gender gaps are in the prime working ages (Mrkić et al., 2010), research that examines communal and agentic traits of working adults across occupational roles is particularly relevant to improve our understanding of personal dispositions when people operate in working environments. In particular, analyses are required that account for organizational variations as well as the occupational influences that occur when individuals are more directly influenced by professional roles by entering the workforce.

Because both identity traits (Lord & Brown, 2004; Lord & Maher, 1991) and judgements of others (Abele et al., 2021) are consequential for a variety of individual perceptions and behaviors in organizations, analyzing the magnitude of sex differences in communion and agency in relation to both self and other-reported judgements is also a necessary approach. The vast majority of communion and agency work has focused on individuals' self-reported traits. Yet, personal and social traits and self-construals are closely interconnected, such that individuals tend to define themselves in terms of the prototypical characteristics ascribed to the social groups to which they belong (Turner et al., 1987). When individuals belong to a given social category, they are likely to assume the prototypical features of the group as their own (Turner & Oakes, 1989). Previous research has examined gender stereotyping in leadership styles (e.g., Eagly et al., 2003; Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Eagly et al., 1992) and communion/agency (e.g., Cuadrado, 2004; Gartzia & van Engen, 2012; Gartzia & van Knippenberg, 2015; Gerber, 1996; Kark et al., 2012), but our understanding of how sex differences vary across dimensions as well as the ways in which occupational and gender roles uniquely interact to alter self and other reported responses in such traits remain limited.

Responding to these gaps, in the current article we provide updated accounts of the two relevant dispositions of communion

and agency for male and female employees in a number of different organizational settings. Extending arguments from the sharper movement into counter-stereotypical functions for women than men (Croft et al., 2015; Perra & Ruspini, 2013; Twenge, 2001), sex differences are argued to be stronger in self and other reported communal than agentic traits, pointing to men's limited endorsement of communion. Given the particular relevance of communion for both female and male managers as effective leaders (Gartzia & Baniandres, 2019; Gartzia & van Engen, 2012; Gartzia & van Knippenberg, 2015; Kark et al., 2012), we also explore the question of whether stereotypical sex differences in self and other reported agency and communion vary across occupational roles (managerial levels), and whether communion is influenced to a greater extent than agency by such occupational influences. If occupational and in particular managerial roles determine individual traits to a greater extent than gender stereotypes (Agronick & Duncan, 1998; Echebarria, 2010; Kasen et al., 2006; Turner & Oakes, 1989), male and female employees should display similar levels of agency and communion in similar job positions. In contrast, if gender roles override occupational and managerial influences, asymmetries in men's and women's endorsement of agency and communion should persist across occupational roles. The confirmation of greater sex differences in communion than agency across work roles can be critical to understand updated accounts of the internalization of social roles and stereotypes in identity and behavior in the context of work, with relevant implications for organizational research and practice.

## 2 | THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: THE RELEVANCE OF AGENTIC AND COMMUNAL TRAITS AT WORK

Organizational behavior research has long acknowledged the relevance of individual traits of people at work, particularly for managers (DeRue et al., 2011; Judge et al., 2002; Judge et al., 2009; Northouse, 2016; Van Iddekinge et al., 2009; Zaccaro, 2007). This trait perspective emphasizes that there are a number of individual dispositions (e.g., personality traits) that are uniquely associated with effectiveness and therefore adoption of such traits is an important mechanism through which individuals and particularly managers can produce effects in organizations (Barrick & Mount, 1991; Judge et al., 2002; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991). Because agency and communion represent two basic, overarching dimensions of traits that can be measured in oneself and other people (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007; Abele et al., 2021), they provide a simplified and powerful structure for the analysis of self and other reported individual dispositions at work and beyond. In fact, research has revealed that other dimensions such as the Big Five personality traits or the dominance/ambition versus nurturance/warmth dimensions can be subsumed under this two-dimension structure (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007; Digman, 1997; Wiggins, 1991). Likewise, although

the trait literature has largely relied on the five-factor model (see Judge et al., 2009), general critics remain about its conceptual and methodological structure, with studies calling for analyses about different factor structures of traits (Benet-Martínez & Waller, 1997; Block, 2001; DeYoung et al., 2007; Digman, 1997).

In general terms, communion and agency capture two basic sets of traits characterized by focus on others' needs versus focus on own needs, respectively (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007). These dimensions have been usually captured through the lens of self-reported personality traits, but organizational and management studies have revealed similar bi-dimensional structures in relation to perceptions of people's behavior at work. Consideration (i.e., the degree to which leaders show concern for followers, express appreciation and support, and look out for their welfare) and structure (i.e., the degree to which leaders define and organize their role and the roles of followers and are oriented toward goal attainment) represent a common two-factor structure of leadership behaviors capturing communal and agentic features (Bass, 1990; Judge et al., 2004). Regarding social judgment (other-reported scores), there is also evidence that two superordinate factors cover the competence/structure (agency) versus moral integrity/consideration (communion) dimensions of social perceptions of leaders (Chemers, 2001; Halpin & Winer, 1957; Rosenberg et al., 1968; all cited in Abele & Wojciszke, 2007; see also Abele et al., 2021).

In the organizational behavior literature and with the growing relevance of teamwork and complex organizational structures in which employees' functions are interdependent and involve social and emotional competences (Ashkanasy, 2004; Jordan & Troth, 2011; Reevy & Maslach, 2001; Wong & Law, 2002), there is a particular emphasis on the relevance of communion. For instance, organizational research has put a strong weight on the relational and emotional dimensions of work behaviors whereby other-oriented characteristics such as sociability and cooperativeness, agreeableness or prosocial motivation lie at the heart of organizational advancement (Haslam et al., 2010; House & Aditya, 1997). Social support, positive interpersonal relationships, emotional expression, or support for others' ideas are also highlighted as particularly necessary processes for achieving organizational performance (Avolio et al., 2009; Senior & Swailes, 2004).

The communal nature of leadership has also been highlighted as the key factor that contrasts effective leaders from other forms of high performing individuals, as exemplified in the growing relevance of a communal repertoire of leadership behaviors including individualized consideration and ethical, servant or shared leadership (Avolio et al., 2009; Yukl, 2006). Also, research has shown that evaluations of leaders in terms of communal traits is strongly related with relevant leadership behaviors (e.g., Gartzia & van Engen, 2012; Kark et al., 2012) and outcomes such as cooperation in teams or employees' positive attitudes like satisfaction or loyalty (e.g., Eagly et al., 2012; Gartzia & Baniandres, 2019; Gartzia & van Knippenberg, 2015). Therefore, evidence is clear that employees and managers should endorse not only agentic but also communal traits to be fully effective at work.

## 2.1 | Agency and communion as sex-differentiated dispositions

Despite the relevance of agency and communion in organizations, social psychologists have repeatedly shown the gendered nature of these traits. Agency has generally provided a representation of socially desirable traits for men (Bem, 1974; Spence et al., 1974), including a set of attributes such as independent, ambitious, assertive, competitive, decisive, defender of own beliefs, self-sufficient, strong, willing to take risks, or self-reliant. Communion, in contrast, has generally provided a representation of socially desirable traits for women and reflects the participation in a larger social group of which the individual is part, including traits such as being devoted to others, understanding, helpful, kind, warm or aware of others' feelings (Bem, 1974; Spence et al., 1974). Consistent with these stereotyped associations, sex differences in the direction of gender stereotypes have traditionally emerged in different evaluations of communion and agency including self-reports (Bem, 1974; Spence & Buckner, 2000; see Wood & Eagly, 2009) and perceived traits of others (e.g., Fiske et al., 2002; Gartzia & Baniandres, 2019; Kark et al., 2012).

Social role theory (Eagly, 1987) has for long served to examine these dimensions from a gender perspective by elucidating how the adoption of different social roles by men and women is one of the most influential processes in the internalization of communal and agentic traits. Given that women have traditionally occupied interpersonally oriented social roles (e.g., taking care of children or building social relationships), they have developed interpersonally oriented, communal traits. In contrast, because men have traditionally occupied breadwinner roles associated with agentic functions, agentic traits have been traditionally more characteristic of men. In the last decades, however, gender roles have continued to change with the advances toward gender equality and changes in the division of labor (European Commission, 2019; Strough et al., 2007). Twenge's meta-analysis (1997) on changes in the BSRI and the PAQ in samples of undergraduates in the United States over a twenty-year period concluded that women's scores on agency had increased following transformations in women's roles, whereas men's communal scores had remained stable. A later meta-analysis that examined assertiveness from samples of American college and high school students showed similar results, demonstrating women's growing endorsement of agentic traits (Twenge, 2001).

Importantly, notable social transformations have continued derived from achievements of the feminist movement and the increasing presence of women in roles historically limited to men (Crompton, 2002; Kasen et al., 2006; Pickard & Strough, 2003). Also, the dynamics of occupational segregation based on gender have changed substantially and have increased the presence of women at paid labor (Crompton, 2002; Kasen et al., 2006; Pickard & Strough, 2003). In relation to labor force participation, although the gap between participation rates of women and men remains considerable in prime working ages it has narrowed substantially in the last decades as shown in United Nations reports (e.g., Mrkić et al., 2010;

United Nations Women, 2020). Similarly, increasingly more women have continued working and going to college and graduate school in most industrialized countries in the last twenty years (Casper & Bianchi, 2009; Kan et al., 2011; OECD, 2021). The educational attainment of women in the U.S., which opens doors to paid work and higher-quality employment (Aguilar & Hurst, 2007), is greater than 40 years ago, with 37% of women holding college degrees and only 7% having less than a high school diploma in 2011 compared with 11% and 34%, respectively in 1970.

Evidence that considerable progress has continued to be achieved over more recent decades in terms of more women entering the labor force is also provided specifically in Europe. Several reports by the European Commission show that, despite the fact that gender gaps remain, women make up nearly half the workforce and more than half of new university graduates in most EU Member States (European Commission, 2015, 2019). Furthermore, in the last decades, European corporate governance codes have very actively developed initiatives to improve women's career opportunities in male-dominated positions including management (European Commission, 2019). As a result, there is increasingly more acceptance of women in traditionally masculine occupations (e.g., see Sanchez de Miguel et al., 2015 for an analysis of female bus drivers). Among married-couple families, there are less couples in which only the husband works, with growing numbers of dual-earner family structures worldwide (Goldin, 2014; OECD, 2021).

Contrasting agentic advances of women, movement of men into counter-stereotypical roles associated with communal functions has been more limited. Croft et al. (2015) examined data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor statistics on crossing occupational gender boundaries over time and showed a marked incorporation into counter-stereotypical functions for women, but not for men, showing men's underrepresentation in communal jobs. One area in which men's incorporation is particularly limited is the domestic domain. Although men have slightly increased their contribution to domestic work in terms of caring for family members and housework, including preparation of daily meals and washing dishes, tidying and cleaning the house (Mrkić et al., 2010), domestic work patterns continue to be unequal in most Western societies. Average minutes spent per day on unpaid work (including routine housework, shopping, care for household members, care for non-household members volunteering, travel related to household activities and other unpaid activities for men and women aged 15–64 years) are smaller for men than women even in Nordic countries (e.g., 207 vs. 154 in Sweden or 215 vs. 184 in Finland, for women and men, respectively; Hausmann et al., 2014). Importantly, the bulk of family care and housework continues to rest on women even when they are employed full time (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2020; United Nations, 2010). Thus, working women still enter the labor market with the additional responsibility of domestic work, which means that on average working men have not taken on such roles even more recently (Bahn, Cohen, & Rodgers, 2020; Power, 2020).

Taken together, data provide evidence that women have remarkably moved into male-dominated roles and traditionally male

professions in Europe and other Western nations. Thus, following social role theory (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Steffen, 1984), the internalization of masculine-related functions in the form of both personality traits and gender stereotypes (other-reports) should have continued changing accordingly. However, working women still undertake a greater share of many communion-related activities such as housework and childcare than their full-time working male counterparts, suggesting that even in similar job positions and organizational contexts the communal sex difference may persist. Extending the meta-analytical findings of Twenge (1997) with female students to prospects regarding communal scores in the future, Twenge suggested that the communal sex difference that was present at that time would have lessened "in ten to twenty years". In contrast, the continued sharper movement into counter-stereotypical functions and organizational roles for women than men and men's lower engagement in domestic functions suggest that communion may continue to represent a "feminine" individual self and other reported dimension and be endorsed by full-time working men to a lower extent than by full-time working women, even when they hold similar job positions and responsibilities.

In principle, the prevalence of agency and communion may also vary depending on the way it is measured in terms of referring to oneself versus referring to others (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007). Perceptions of agency and communion are associated with a relevant number of evaluations for employees and particularly managers (Gartzia & Baniandres, 2019; Gartzia & van Engen, 2012; Gartzia & van Knippenberg, 2015; Kark et al., 2012). Thus, examining the magnitude of sex differences in communal and agentic traits at the level of both self-reports and social judgments can be informative to enhance our understanding of leadership effects and performance in organizations. The several meta-analysis conducted by Eagly and colleagues (Eagly et al., 2003; Eagly & Johnson, 1990) examining sex differences in perceptions of leadership styles—a proxy for communion and agency—showed only very small or null sex differences in agency-related dimensions, with average effect size of sex differences being more notorious in leadership styles with clearly communal components such as democratic styles (Cohen  $d = .25$ ) or individualized consideration (Cohen  $d = .19$ ). Consistent with this idea, previous research has emphasized the particularly dynamic nature of the female stereotype (the other-reported dimension) compared to the male stereotype (Diekmann & Eagly, 2000), suggesting that not only in relation to self-reports but also in evaluations of others' traits sex differences are stronger in relation to communion. We thus expect self and other-reported scores of communion to be higher for female than male targets. In contrast, we expect self and other-reported agency to be similar for men and women. It is proposed that:

**Hypothesis 1** *Sex differences among male and female full-time working adults' (employees and managers) will be stronger for self-reported communion than for self-reported agency; communion will be higher for women than men, whereas agency will be similar for both.*

**Hypothesis 2** *Sex differences among male and female full-time working adults (employees and managers) will be stronger for other-reported communion than for other-reported agency; female targets will be evaluated as more communal than male targets whereas evaluations of agency will be similar for both.*

## 2.2 | Moderating effects of occupational roles

We have argued that sex differences in self and other-reported communion and agency reflect the adoption of social gender roles, which define appropriate behavior for men and women through gender stereotypes and internalization of such roles (Eagly, 1987). Whereas gender has traditionally played a crucial role in the distribution of social functions, other social categories can also create individual differences in identification with communal and agentic traits, given that individuals define themselves in terms of the prototypical characteristics ascribed to the many social groups to which they belong (e.g., Turner et al., 1987; Turner & Oakes, 1989). Such incorporation of group prototypical features in the self-construal is linked to a process of social identification that ultimately lead people to assume prototypical traits as their own (Brewer, 1991; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). One influential category in the internationalization of social roles into personality is the occupational status of an individual. Because social identities emerge from identifications with self-relevant groups and one's social position in terms of professional roles constitutes a central dimension of the self (Tajfel, 1978, 1982; Turner et al., 1987), an individual's occupational position can be a relevant source of internationalization of socially shared expectations in personality. Consistent with this, some studies have shown that identification with agentic and communal traits is influenced by one's professional status or occupation (Agronick & Duncan, 1998; Echebarria & Gonzalez, 1999; Kasen et al., 2006).

Because personal and professional construals are closely interconnected (Turner et al., 1987), immersion into professional roles through full-time work in organizational settings provides the antecedents for changes at deeper, identity levels, which are not captured at earlier career stages. A question that emerges in this context is whether full-time working men and women in similar job positions and occupations differ in their endorsement of communion and agency and whether sex differences erode when men and women are in similar occupational roles and levels (Agronick & Duncan, 1998; Echebarria, 2010; Kasen et al., 2006). Consistent with this prediction, Echebarria (2010) demonstrated that, after making salient professional role identities in terms of professional occupation, sex differences in communal and agentic traits were lessened, with women working in agentic jobs perceiving themselves as more agentic than women engaged in communal jobs.

Managerial roles are a particularly relevant source of occupational status for individuals working in organizations in terms of agency and communion. On the one hand, there are obvious differences of relevance and power between managers and employees in

the organizational world associated with organizational responsibilities and achievement of goals, making managerial roles a relevant source of identification. On the other hand, although less marked than in the past, there is a remaining substantial prevalence of stereotypically masculine, agentic behaviors in managerial roles (Koenig et al., 2011). Thus, because individuals are likely to assume the prototypical features of the group they belong as their own (Tajfel, 1978; Turner & Oakes, 1989), one possibility is that both men and women in managerial roles are more likely to incorporate agency—and hinder communion—than in other organizational positions. In other words, managerial roles might override gender effects and be a stronger predictor of self and others' endorsement of agency and communion than gender.

In a study examining gender-stereotyped traits and values of Spanish women in leadership positions (Cuadrado, 2004), female leaders were more likely than female subordinates to identify with agentic traits. Also, Gerber (1996) found in research with U.S. police officers that higher status officers perceived themselves having less communal traits than did lower status officers. Importantly, potential asymmetries in how sex differences in communion and agency differently operate across managerial levels were not elucidated in these studies. Finally, in a series of experimental studies manipulating male leaders' communal orientations and looking at subsequent salience of communion on employees, Gartzia and van Knippenberg (2016) showed that sex differences in communion among male-dominated and female-dominated groups lessened only in experimental situations in which male leaders were presented as an example of successful enactment of communion in their managerial roles.

Consistent with our prediction that in our society gender is still a stronger predictor of communion than agency and occupational status, an alternative possibility is that women's higher endorsement of communal traits is less role-dependent than men's endorsement of agentic traits. We should expect this if communion, but not agency, is more strongly determined by gender roles and therefore not merely dependent on other occupational influences. This would point to the stronger influence of occupational roles on agency than communion. A few studies have given preliminary support for this idea. Two decades ago, Moskowitz and colleagues (1994) monitored behaviors related to communion (i.e., quarrelsomeness and agreeableness) and agency (i.e., submissiveness and dominance) for 20 days with Canadian workers and found that situational variables influenced agency-related behaviors, but not those related to communion—both men and women displayed more agentic behaviors when they were in a high status position, but women were more communal than men regardless of the context. Moskowitz and colleagues operationalized agency and communion as a combination of broader traits and furthermore framed items in terms of behavior, so their findings only partially account for communion and agency as identified in most gender trait measures. Abele (2003) showed that career success had a stronger effect on agency than family roles (i.e., a proxy for communal orientations) influenced communion, as measured with the PAQ. They relied on a sample of graduate students

without immersion in actual occupational roles and concluded that further research was necessary to establish a relationship between role variations, agency and communion.

Taken together, these studies suggest that occupational and social roles can alter sex differences in communion and agency in multidimensional and complex ways. In particular, managerial occupational roles have revealed a particularly relevant source of influence in employees' endorsement of agentic and communal traits. We incorporated these concerns by examining the moderating effect of occupational and in particular managerial roles in our analysis of sex differences in communion and agency of full-time working employees. In view of the extensive evidence showing the generally agentic definition of management (Eagly et al., 1992; Schein, 2001), we expect identification with agentic traits to be stronger in such roles than in the role of a subordinate. In contrast, in view of the general remaining differences in communion between men and women, we expect sex differences in communion to have remained similar across organizational levels.

**Hypothesis 3** *The impact of occupational (i.e., managerial) roles on sex differences differs across trait dimensions, such that having a managerial position will have a stronger influence on the agentic than communal sex difference (in relation to both self and other reports).*

## 2.3 | Overview of studies

We conducted five studies with different samples combining self and other reports of communion and agency. Study 1 was a preliminary exploratory study with matched data of business administration students providing both self and other reported communion and agency. It aimed to test the magnitude of differences in communal and agentic traits with variations in measurement types (self-reports vs. evaluations of others). Study 2 investigated the basic sex differences posed in Hypothesis 1 with a sample of actual employees in service-providing occupations rating themselves (self-reports). Study 3 introduced the analysis about moderating effects of occupational roles in a more diverse range of organizational settings by asking full time working employees at different organizational levels (employees vs. managers) to provide self-reports of agency and communion. Study 4 aimed at replicating Study 2 findings in a sample of diverse organizational settings and with other-reported evaluations (employees rating managers). Finally, Study 5 examined moderating effects of occupational roles by asking full time working employees to provide evaluations of agency and communion of managers at slightly different organizational levels (middle managers vs. top managers). Additionally, Study 5 included an analysis of potential differences between how sex differences operate in relation to other-reported evaluations that are either descriptive (how their managers are) or prescriptive (how their managers should be; Eagly & Karau, 2002). These analyses allow capturing potential differences between *actual* perceived traits of male and female leaders and the

*ideal* endorsement of communal and agentic traits that is expected for these same leaders.

In all studies, we first examined sex differences with a simple mean comparison (using an independent-samples *t*-test comparing men and women), which would serve to confirm that there is a difference in communal ratings, but not agency. To test our hypothesis that sex differences are indeed stronger in communal than agentic traits, mixed-design analyses of variance were also performed, with sex as the between-subjects variable and gendered traits the within-subjects variable. An interaction term in this type of mixed analysis indicates that sex differences are indeed greater in one dimension (communion) than in the other (see Murrar & Brauer, 2018). The moderating effects of measurement type (self vs. other report in Study 1) and occupational role (leader vs. subordinate in Study 3 and middle manager v. top manager in Study 5) were examined in an additional set of analyses with a mixed three-factor design. These analyses indicate whether sex differences are indeed greater for communal than for agentic traits across several domains (see Bosak et al., 2011 for a similar methodological design). To address concerns that evaluations of traits might be influenced by other factors associated with characteristics of employees or their companies, we included control variables available in the data sets that could influence agency and communion scores, such as age or organization type (Eagly & Wood, 2009). For the studies including employees' evaluation of leaders, raters' sex and length of the employee-leader relationship were also included given their potential effect on leadership evaluations (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007; Martin et al., 2010; Spence & Buckner, 2000).

## 3 | STUDY 1

As an initial test of whether scores in communion and agency vary depending on the type of measurement (self-reports vs. evaluations of others), we analyzed matched data from a sample of business administration students who were about to enter the labor market rating both themselves and other students in the classroom. Following Hypotheses 1 and 2, we predicted that sex differences would be stronger in communion than agency in both self and other reported measures. This preliminary analysis with exploratory purposes aimed to capture the magnitude and nature of potential differences between measurement types (self vs. other reported traits). Thus, the matched nature of Study 1 allowed additional explicit comparisons between self-reports and other-reports.

### 3.1 | Method

#### 3.1.1 | Participants

In Study 1 we collected matched data with a sample of 109 (40 women, 55 men) business students in the final year of their degree rating both themselves and other students in their classroom units,

generating a matched sample of ratings. And 14 students did not provide information about their sex. Following considerations about other-reported aggregated measures in previous research (see Bono & Judge, 2004; Bono et al., 2012), each participant received an average of 4 evaluations of agency and communion from the other students, which were aggregated to create a composite of other-reported communal and agentic traits.

### 3.1.2 | Measures

*Personal attributes questionnaire (Spence & Helmreich, 1978)*

Communion and agency were measured with 16 items from one of the most commonly used measures in prior empirical work, the personal attributes questionnaire (PAQ) (8 for communion and 8 for agency). For self-reports, the original wording was used, where participants had to indicate at the beginning of the course to what extent they defined themselves in relation to agentic (e.g., active or independent) and communal (e.g., helpful or kind) traits. Responses were evaluated with a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (not at all characteristic) to 5 (Totally characteristic). Cronbach's alpha was .75 for communion and .79 for agency. For other-reports, the same Likert scale was used but the wording was adapted to reflect participants' perceptions of other students' traits. Each participant was asked to indicate to what extent they defined other particular students in their classroom unit as possessing the same agentic and communal traits. Examples of other-reported communal traits are "[Student name] is *helpful*" or "[Student name] is *independent*". For other-reports, we collected an average of four evaluations of agency and communion. Following indications of previous research suggesting that aggregated scores through a group mean would represent the best estimate of a target's true behavior and provide the greatest degree of generalizability (Bono & Judge, 2004; Bono et al., 2012), we calculated an aggregated score of communion and agency for each student. Cronbach's alpha was .80 for communion and .90 for agency.

## 3.2 | Results

We first examined sex differences in both self-reported and other-reported agency and communion with simple mean comparisons using independent-samples *t*-tests. Regarding communion, sex differences were statistically significant and in the Hypotheses 1 and 2 expected direction in both self-reports ( $M = 3.68$ ,  $SD = .86$  for women and  $M = 3.03$ ,  $SD = .69$  for men;  $t(92) = 4.02$ ,  $p < .000$ ; Cohen's  $d = .83$ ) and other-judgments ( $M = 4.01$ ,  $SD = .62$  for women and  $M = 3.59$ ,  $SD = .83$  for men;  $t(88) = 2.67$ ,  $p = .009$ ; Cohen's  $d = 0.57$ ). Regarding agency, sex differences were not significant in other-judgments ( $M = 3.94$ ,  $SD = .46$  for women and  $M = 3.87$ ,  $SD = .42$  for men;  $t(88) = 0.765$ ,  $p = .446$ ; Cohen's  $d = 0.16$ ). Surprisingly, women's scores were higher than men's in self-reported agency ( $M = 3.49$ ,  $SD = .59$  for women and  $M = 3.26$ ,  $SD = .46$  for men;  $t(92) = 2.13$ ,  $p = .036$ , Cohen's  $d = .43$ ).

These comparisons were qualified with a 2 (men vs. women)  $\times$  2 (self-reported vs. other-reported communion)  $\times$  2 (self-reported vs. other-reported agency) mixed-design analysis of variance, with sex tested between subjects and communion/agency tested within subjects. Only the interaction term of sex  $\times$  communion was statistically significant,  $F(1,88) = 6.753$ ,  $p = .011$ ;  $\eta_p^2 = .071$ , indicating that sex differences were greater for other-reported than self-reported communion (see descriptives above). The effect size associated with sex differences in other-reported communion was slightly higher (Cohen's  $d = .57$ ) than for sex differences in self-reported agency (Cohen's  $d = 0.43$ ). For agency, a main effect of factor 2 emerged, indicating that regardless of sex other-reported agency was higher than self-reported agency,  $F(1,88) = 59.39$ ,  $p < .001$ ;  $\eta_p^2 = .403$ .

## 4 | STUDY 2

Study 2 was conducted on a sample of full-time working adults with a more specific focus on self-reported measures of communion and agency. In particular, we relied on self-reports from employees working full-time in service providing organizations with social workers, to test whether we could assess the asymmetric effects found in Study 1 with a sample of actual employees in a different organizational setting and a self-reported measure of communal and agentic traits.

### 4.1 | Method

#### 4.1.1 | Participants

Participants were 135 employees at service-providing social institutions (social workers in public services) who took part voluntarily as part of a broader training program for workers in organizations. This organizational setting represents an interesting background for the analyses of sex differences in communion and agency as it is a highly feminized occupational domain and thus communal traits can be seen as more essential for success than in other male-dominated occupations (Cejka & Eagly, 1999). 67.4% were female, 32.6% were male. Participants were aged between 18 and 66 years, with a mean age of 32.35 years ( $SD = 10.97$ ).

#### 4.1.2 | Measures

Gender identity questionnaire (Willemssen & Fischer, 1999)

The gender identity questionnaire (GIQ) is a multifaceted measure of identification with communal and agentic traits. Even though this measure has not been frequently used when compared with other questionnaires such as the BSRI (Bem, 1974) or the PAQ (Spence & Helmreich, 1978), it includes similar and updated gender stereotypic traits. In particular, it examines self-perceptions of communion and

agency with 30 adjectives, 15 of which are assigned to Agency (for example, “ambitious” or “independent”) and 15 to Communion (for example, “empathetic” or “caring”). Responses vary from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree). Previous work has shown satisfactory content validity and construct validity (Willemsen & Fischer, 1999). Also, criterion validity regression analyses showed that higher agency scores for women predicted outcomes such as lower participation in household tasks and more hours of paid work; for men, higher communion scores predicted more participation in household tasks (Willemsen & Fischer, 1999). In our study, the coefficient alpha for the two subscales were .82 for communion and .84 for agency, indicating that reliability was acceptable.

## 4.2 | Results

We first examined sex differences in agency and communion with a simple mean comparison using an independent-samples *t*-test. There was a significant difference in communion, with scores being higher for women ( $M = 3.53, SD = .50$ ) than men ( $M = 3.34, SD = .38$ ) conditions;  $t(132) = 2.13, p = .035$ , Cohen's  $d = .43$ . For agency, differences were not significant ( $M = 3.22, SD = .67$  for women and  $M = 3.35, SD = .41$  for men;  $t(131) = -1.17, p = .245$ ; Cohen's  $d = .23$ ). To further study these asymmetries and test whether sex differences are indeed stronger in one dimension than the other, a 2 (men vs. women)  $\times$  2 (agency vs. communion) mixed-design analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used, with sex as the between-subjects variable and gendered traits the within-subjects variable. The interaction term was statistically significant,  $F(1, 131) = 9.36, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .067$ , indicating that sex differences were substantially greater for communal than for agentic traits (see descriptive statistics in Table 1). These findings give support for Hypothesis 1.

## 5 | STUDY 3

To provide additional evidence for our hypotheses, Study 3 relied on self-reports of full-time working employees from a different sample with a wider and more diverse range of organizational settings than Study 2. Study 3 also aimed to extend Study 1 to 2 designs by evaluating whether the observed pattern of differences held across occupational roles—managers versus subordinates. As a measure for traits we used self-reported responses to the PAQ (Spence &

Helmreich, 1978). Thus multi-trait measure has been repeatedly used in research as an indicator of communion and agency, which allows direct comparisons with prior empirical work.

## 5.1 | Method

### 5.1.1 | Participants

Participants were 348 employees with either a managerial/supervisory (35.9%) or subordinate role (64.1%) who were employed full time in several organizations. They were contacted via their human resource department to voluntarily take part in the study, and represented a good variety of organizational backgrounds (55.8% indicated being working at an industrial organization, 13.7% at a service-providing organization, 8% at technology-based companies, 5.7% at banks, 10% at social services, 4.3% at schools and 2.6% indicated working at other types of organizations). Before responding to the questionnaire, which was distributed either online or in paper, participants were reassured of the confidentiality and anonymity of their responses through emails from the human resources department. Participants were aged between 20 and 62 years, with a mean age of 39.17 years ( $SD = 10.01$ ). 64.1% were men and 35.9% were women. The average age of the employees was 37.57 years ( $SD = 10.13$ ), and most of them were male (56.1%). The average age of the managers was 42.01 years ( $SD = 9.18$ ), and most were also male (78.4%).

### 5.1.2 | Measures

*Personal attributes questionnaire* (Spence & Helmreich, 1978)

This is, after the BSRI, the most widely used instrument for the measurement of identification with agentic and communal traits, and that which has the best psychometric properties (Beere, 1990). As in the BSRI, respondents must indicate to what extent they define themselves as possessing instrumental or communal traits. In the present work we used the communion and agency factors, each one made up of 8 items. Examples of communal traits are “aware of feelings of others” or “understanding of others”. Examples of agentic traits are “active” or “competitive”. The same analytical procedure than in Study 2 was used. Cronbach's alpha was .73 for both communion and agency.

|              | Women |       | Men   |       | Correlations |       |
|--------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------------|-------|
|              | Mean  | SD    | Mean  | SD    | 1            | 2     |
| 1. Agency    | 3.22  | .67   | 3.35  | .41   | (.70)        |       |
| 2. Communion | 3.53  | .50   | 3.34  | .38   | .34**        | (.72) |
| 3. Age       | 31.78 | 10.63 | 33.18 | 11.53 | .16          | -.20* |

TABLE 1 Means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations among variables (Study 2)

Note:  $N = 135$  employees. Scale reliabilities are on the diagonal.

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ .

## 5.2 | Results

We first examined sex differences in agency and communion with a simple mean comparison using an independent-samples *t*-test. There was a significant difference in communion, with scores being higher for women ( $M = 4.10$ ,  $SD = .44$ ) than men ( $M = 3.90$ ,  $SD = .43$ ) conditions;  $t(345) = 4.278$ ,  $p < .001$ , Cohen's  $d = .46$ . Contrasting our predictions, differences were also significant for agency ( $M = 3.611$ ,  $SD = .54$  for women and  $M = 3.81$ ,  $SD = .45$  for men;  $t(344) = -3.662$ ,  $p < .000$ ; Cohen's  $d = .40$ ). A 2 (men vs. women)  $\times$  2 (agency vs. communion) mixed-design analysis of variance was used for all participants, with leader sex tested between subjects and gendered traits tested within subjects. We controlled for organization type in these analyses. The interaction term was statistically significant,  $F(1,343) = 34.794$ ,  $p = .001$ ;  $\eta_p^2 = .092$ , indicating that sex differences were greater for communal than for agentic traits (see descriptive statistics in Table 2), thereby confirming Hypothesis 2.

### 5.2.1 | The moderating effect of occupational roles

We used a mixed three-factor design with leader's sex (male vs. female), occupational role (i.e., leader vs. subordinate), and trait dimension (communion vs. agency), with the last factor being within-subjects. Although the expected trait dimension  $\times$  leader's sex  $\times$  occupational role interaction was in the expected direction of Hypothesis 3, it was not statistically significant,  $F(1, 341) = .801$ ,  $p = .371$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .002$ . Instead, there was a trait dimension  $\times$  occupational role interaction,  $F(1, 341) = 9.769$ ,  $p = .002$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .028$ , whereby leaders ( $M = 3.92$ ;  $SD = .44$ ) and subordinates ( $M = 3.99$ ;  $SD = .45$ ) were equally communal,  $t(346) = -1.606$ ,  $p = .109$ , Cohen's  $d = .16$ , and leaders ( $M = 3.87$ ;  $SD = .65$ ) were more agentic than subordinates ( $M = 3.66$ ;  $SD = .48$ ),  $t(346) = 3.892$ ,  $p = .001$ , Cohen's  $d = .37$  (Figure 1).

Consistent with Studies 1 and 2, Study 3 demonstrated that sex differences are stronger in communion than agency, and also provided some evidence that communion is less dependent on other social roles (occupational status) than agency—leaders displayed more agency but similar communion as employees. The difference in the magnitude of these effects, however, was moderate.

## 6 | STUDY 4

In our fourth study, we used other-reported data from a sample of employees working full-time with a similar range of organizational

settings to Study 3 but evaluating their direct supervisors, to test whether we could replicate the asymmetric effects found in Studies 1, 2 and 3 with an other-reported approach of communion and agency. We focused on employees' perception of their direct supervisors and examined whether male and female leaders are perceived as equally agentic whereas male leaders are perceived as less communal than female leaders. Additionally, because there is some conceptual overlap of the dimensions of agency and communion with task and people-oriented behaviors of leaders (see Gartzia & Baniandres, 2019 for a discussion), measures of leadership styles were collected for a subsample of participants and controlled in the analyses.

## 6.1 | Method

### 6.1.1 | Participants

Subordinates numbering 201 under the direct supervision of a manager were contacted to participate in the study. They were employed full-time in several organizations located in Spain with a variety of backgrounds (25.6% industrial organizations, 32% service-providing organization, 17.6% technology-based companies, 9.6% banks, 3.2% social services, 4% hospitals/health care, 7.2% schools/education; 0.8% indicated working at other types of organization). A paper-and-pencil questionnaire was distributed to participants using two different procedures. Some participants were contacted via their organization to voluntarily respond to a questionnaire that was distributed in paper through the human resources department. Participants were provided with an empty envelop to assure the confidentiality and anonymity of their responses. Additionally, a snowball-sampling procedure was used whereby business administration students were asked to pass out the questionnaire to their personal or professional contacts in exchange for partial credit. Only those who met the following criteria were allowed to participate: be older than 18 years of age, be employed full-time and be under the direct supervision of a manager with whom they regularly interacted. Participants who agreed to collaborate were 201 employed individuals (109 men, 87 women) who were under the direct supervision of either a male (65.1%) or a female (34.9%) manager. And 5 participants did not report their sex, and 9 participants who did not report leaders' sex were excluded from the analyses. Participants were aged between 21 and 62 years, with a mean age of 36.97 years ( $SD = 10.48$ ). Most of their supervisors (50.4%) were placed in a

TABLE 2 Means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations among variables (Study 3)

|              | Women |      | Men   |      | Correlations |       |
|--------------|-------|------|-------|------|--------------|-------|
|              | Mean  | SD   | Mean  | SD   | 1            | 2     |
| 1. Agency    | 3.61  | .54  | 3.81  | .45  | (.73)        |       |
| 2. Communion | 4.10  | .44  | 3.89  | .43  | .08          | (.73) |
| 3. Age       | 35.69 | 9.65 | 41.12 | 9.70 | .08          | -.03  |

Note:  $N = 343$  employees/managers. Scale reliabilities are on the diagonal.

mean age range between 36 and 55 years old. The mean range of number of subordinates was between 7 and 25 and the average time of the employees and their managers working together was 6.34 years ( $SD = 5.33$ ).

## 6.1.2 | Measures

### Personal attributes questionnaire (Spence & Helmreich, 1978)

Communion and agency of the leader as perceived by the employee were measured with the same 16 items of the PAQ that were used in Study 3 (8 for communion and 8 for agency). The wording was adapted to reflect employees' perceptions of their subordinate's traits. Thus, employees were asked to indicate to what extent they defined their supervisors as possessing agentic or communal traits. Examples of communal traits are [my supervisor is....] "aware of feelings of others" or "understanding of others". Examples of agentic traits are [my supervisor is....] "active" or "competitive". Reliability for the

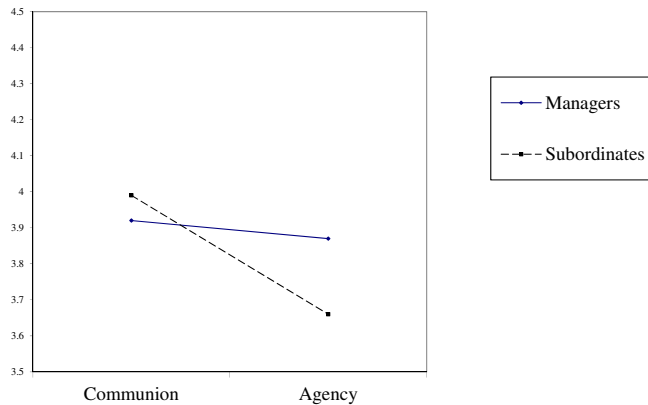


FIGURE 1 Agency and communion scores as a function of social roles (Study 3)

two resulting dimensions was acceptable (Cronbach's alpha was .72 for communion and .87 for agency; Table 3).

### Control variables

Several variables associated with demographic characteristics of both the follower (i.e., participant sex) and the leader (i.e., number of subordinates and leader age) have been argued to influence followers' perceptions of leaders' behavior (e.g., Organ & Ryan, 1995). Therefore, these variables were controlled for in all analyses, as well as the length of the leader-follower relationship (i.e., number of years working together).

### Leadership styles

For the subsample of participants contacted through the snowball technique we used a short measure of leadership styles to control for leadership behaviors. In particular, 4 items that captured people orientation from the "mentor" subscale developed by Quinn (1988) (e.g., "Listen to personal problems of employees" and "Show empathy and concern when dealing with employees") and 4 items that captured task orientation from the "producer" subscale (e.g., "maintain a 'results' orientation" and "see that the group delivers on stated goals"). Reliabilities for the two dimensions were acceptable (Cronbach's alpha = .90 for people orientation and .85 for task orientation).

## 6.2 | Results

We first examined sex differences in agency and communion with a simple mean comparison using an independent-samples *t*-test. There was a significant difference in communion, with scores being higher for women ( $M = 3.73$ ,  $SD = .73$ ) than men ( $M = 3.35$ ,  $SD = .70$ ) conditions;  $t(188) = -3.455$ ,  $p = .001$ , Cohen's  $d = .53$ . For agency, differences were not significant ( $M = 3.44$ ,  $SD = .54$  for women

TABLE 3 Means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations among variables (Study 4)

|                                    | Female leaders |       | Male leaders |       | Correlations |       |      |       |      |       |
|------------------------------------|----------------|-------|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|
|                                    | Mean           | SD    | Mean         | SD    | 1            | 2     | 3    | 4     | 5    | 6     |
| 1. Agency                          | 3.44           | .55   | 3.51         | .60   | (.72)        |       |      |       |      |       |
| 2. Communion                       | 3.73           | .73   | 3.35         | .70   | .15*         | (.87) |      |       |      |       |
| 3. Employee sex                    | -              | -     | -            | -     | .07          | .01   |      |       |      |       |
| 4. Employee age                    | 36.48          | 11.11 | 37.37        | 10.13 | -.11         | -.08  | -.04 |       |      |       |
| 5. Leader age <sup>1</sup>         | 3.30           | 1.18  | 3.27         | 1.33  | -.14         | -.08  | -.12 | .33** |      |       |
| 6. Task orientation <sup>2</sup>   | 3.64           | .70   | 3.54         | .74   | .57**        | .46** | .13  | -.21* | .17  |       |
| 7. People orientation <sup>2</sup> | 3.60           | .77   | 3.21         | .94   | .09          | .81** | .02  | -.18* | -.03 | .57** |

Note:  $N = 197$  employees.

<sup>1</sup>Leader Age: 1 = 18-25, 2 = 26-35, 3 = 36-45, 4 = 46-55, 5 = 56-65, 6 = 65 or more. Scale reliabilities are on the diagonal.

<sup>2</sup>Means, standard deviations and correlations provided for task and people orientation are based on a smaller subsample,  $N = 121$ .

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ .

and  $M = 3.50$ ,  $SD = .60$  for men;  $t(182) = .745$ ,  $p = .457$ ; Cohen's  $d = .11$ . Subsequently, a 2 (male vs. female leader)  $\times$  2 (agency vs. communion) mixed-design analysis of variance (ANCOVA) was used controlling for leader-employee time together and participant sex, with leader sex tested between subjects and gendered traits tested within subjects. The interaction term was statistically significant,  $F(1,175) = 14.551$ ,  $p < .001$ ;  $\eta_p^2 = .077$ , confirming Hypothesis 2 that sex differences were substantially greater for communal than for agentic traits. All other analyses controlling for task and people-oriented leadership behaviors remained significant and in the same direction,  $F(1,119) = 4.677$ ,  $p = .033$ ;  $\eta_p^2 = .038$  (Table 4).

## 7 | STUDY 5

In our fifth study, we tested our hypotheses in a different organizational setting: the bank industry. Because gendered organizational dynamics and prescriptions vary across organizational settings (Cejka & Eagly, 1999), it is useful to examine whether we can replicate our results in a context with somehow different organizational values and norms. In particular, because the bank industry represents a particularly masculine and agentic organizational environment (Knights & Tullberg, 2014; Larreina & Gartzia, 2017), for comparison purposes it can suitably complement the more communal background of Study 2 and the more heterogeneous background of Studies 3 and 4. Data from a single sector afforded us the opportunity to control for the organizational context in a similar way to Study 2, which relied on organizational settings with a clearly social orientation. Extending these analyses, Study 5 included an other-reported measure of agency and communion capturing employees' stereotyped judgments of communion and agency of their managers. In particular, we used other-reported responses from employees rating their direct managers in the firm on a set of items developed by Diekmann and Eagly (2000) to capture potential sex

differences in stereotyped judgments of communion and agency. To test the generalizability of the moderating effect of occupational roles in Study 3, we tested perceptions of communion and agency across different managerial levels (middle management vs. top management). With the use of these different measurement and occupational types, as well as analysis of a different sector, we can assess the degree of generalizability of our hypotheses across studies, and whether the observed pattern of differences in self-reports generalizes to other-reported data. To the extent that we are able to observe greater sex differences in communal than agentic trait scores using different measures and samples, we can assess the extent to which our studies show convergent validity in the empirical test of our predictions.

### 7.1 | Method

#### 7.1.1 | Participants

Employees in a bank industry provided their perceptions of communal and agentic traits of their direct supervisors. A confidential online survey was distributed to all employees via their organization (through the human resources department) to voluntarily respond to a questionnaire. A total of 508 employees agreed to collaborate (246 men, 252 women) who were under the direct supervision of either a male (71.7%) or a female (28.1%) manager. Their average tenure in the organization was 17.19 years ( $SD = 8.22$ ). Ten participants did not report their sex, but only participants who did not report leaders' sex were excluded from the analyses. Participants were aged between 27 and 61 years, with a mean age of 45.11 years ( $SD = 7.02$ ). Most of their supervisors (85.1%) were placed in a mean age range between 36 and 55 years old. Average time of the employees and their managers working together was 3.49 years ( $SD = 2.94$ ).

TABLE 4 Means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations among variables (Study 5)

|                             | Female leaders |      | Male leaders |      | Correlations |                   |       |                   |       |       |
|-----------------------------|----------------|------|--------------|------|--------------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|-------|
|                             | Mean           | SD   | Mean         | SD   | 1            | 2                 | 3     | 4                 | 5     | 6     |
| 1. Agency (Descriptive)     | 3.06           | .71  | 3.03         | .73  | (.94)        |                   |       |                   |       |       |
| 2. Communion (Descriptive)  | 3.69           | 1.14 | 3.37         | .94  | .13**        | (.70)             |       |                   |       |       |
| 3. Agency (Prescriptive)    | 3.29           | .49  | 3.20         | .51  | .49**        | .11*              | (.61) |                   |       |       |
| 4. Communion (Prescriptive) | 4.30           | .52  | 3.98         | .60  | .13**        | .50**             | .19** | (.86)             |       |       |
| 5. Employee sex             | -              | -    | -            | -    | .02          | -.05              | .02   | -.12 <sup>†</sup> | -     |       |
| 6. Employee age             | 42.81          | 7.78 | 45.99        | 6.52 | -.06         | -.04              | -.10* | -.18**            | .17** | -     |
| 7. Leader age <sup>1</sup>  | 4.00           | 1.47 | 5.00         | 1.21 | -.08         | -.09 <sup>†</sup> | -.09  | -.13**            | .10*  | .46** |

Note:  $N = 508$  employees.

<sup>1</sup>Leader Age: 1 = <30, 2 = 31-35, 3 = 36-40, 4 = 41-45, 5 = 46-50, 6 = 51-55, 7 = 56-60, 8 = 61-65, 9 = 65 or more. Scale reliabilities are on the diagonal.

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ .

## 7.1.2 | Measures

### *Gender-stereotypic traits (Diekmann & Eagly, 2000)*

Communion and agency were measured with a version of gender-stereotypic traits developed by Diekmann and Eagly (2000) and factor analytically derived by Cejka and Eagly (1999), which included 6 traits for communion and 6 traits for agency components capturing the traditional female and male stereotypes. The wording was adapted to reflect employees' perceptions of their direct supervisors' traits on a 5-point scale ranging from not at all characteristic to completely characteristic of their supervisor. Thus, employees were asked to indicate to what extent they defined their supervisors as possessing several traits that included 6 communal descriptors (*affectionate, sympathetic, gentle, sensitive, supportive and kind*) and 6 agentic descriptors (*competitive, daring, adventurous, aggressive, courageous, and dominant*). Reliability for the two resulting dimensions was acceptable (alphas = .94 for communion and .70 for agency). To finish, employees were asked to indicate to what extent they believed that their supervisors should possess traits in the same communal and agentic scales (the prescriptive dimension). Reliability for the resulting dimension of prescriptive traits was acceptable for communion (alpha = .86). Agency resulted in lower reliability (.61), but was maintained in the analyses for comparison purposes.

### *Control variables*

Followers' perceptions of leaders' behavior can be influenced by demographic characteristics of employees such as sex or factors such as the length of the leader-follower relationship (i.e., number of years working together; see Organ & Ryan, 1995), so as in Study 4 these variables were controlled for in all analyses. Additional analyses testing also for employees' tenure resulted in similar results (see Berneth & Aguinis, 2016 for usage of control variables).

## 7.2 | Results

We first examined sex differences in agency and communion with a simple mean comparison using an independent-samples *t*-test. There was a significant difference in communion, whereby female leaders were rated as more communal ( $M = 3.70$ ,  $SD = 1.12$ ) than male leaders ( $M = 3.37$ ,  $SD = .93$ );  $t(491) = 3.15$ ,  $p = .002$ . For agency, differences were not significant ( $M = 3.05$ ,  $SD = .68$  for women and  $M = 3.03$ ,  $SD = .74$  for men;  $t(484) = -.413$ ,  $p = .680$ ). Subsequently, a 2 (male vs. female leader)  $\times$  2 (agency vs. communion) mixed-design analysis of variance (ANCOVA) was used controlling for leader tenure, leader-employee time together and participant sex, with leader sex tested between subjects and gendered traits tested within subjects. Confirming Hypothesis 2, the interaction term was statistically significant,  $F(1,461) = 4.02$ ,  $p = .046$ ;  $\eta_p^2 = .009$ , indicating that sex differences were substantially greater for communal than for agentic traits. The effect size associated with sex differences in communion was substantially higher (Cohen's  $d = .32$ ) than for sex differences in agency (Cohen's  $d = .03$ ).

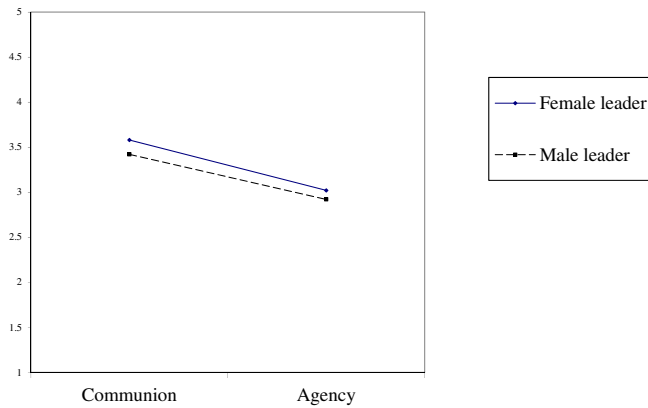
## 7.2.1 | The moderating effect of occupational roles

To test moderating effects of occupational roles on sex differences in communion and agency, we used a mixed three-factor design with leader's sex (male vs. female), occupational role (i.e., top vs. middle management), and trait dimension (communion vs. agency), with the last factor being within-subjects. The expected communal-agentic traits dimension  $\times$  leader's sex  $\times$  occupational role interaction was in the expected direction (Figure 2) and statistically significant,  $F(1, 441) = 4.60$ ,  $p = .033$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .010$ . Consistent with Hypothesis 3, additional analyses within each occupational role dimension showed the expected leader sex  $\times$  leader traits interaction for managers with lower rank positions,  $F(1, 193) = 5.12$ ,  $p = .025$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .03$ , whereby female leaders ( $M = 3.90$ ;  $SD = 1.06$ ) were more communal than male leaders ( $M = 3.33$ ;  $SD = .92$ ),  $t(207) = 3.71$ ,  $p < .001$ , Cohen's  $d = .60$ , but showed similar levels of agency ( $M = 3.18$ ;  $SD = .72$  for male leaders and  $M = 3.10$ ;  $SD = .68$  for female leaders),  $t(202) = -.42$ ,  $p = .679$ , Cohen's  $d = .07$ . For leaders in top management, the leader sex  $\times$  leader traits interaction was not statistically significant,  $F(1, 246) = .25$ ,  $p = .615$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .001$ , whereby male and female leaders were equally agentic ( $M = 3.02$ ;  $SD = .69$  for female leaders and  $M = 2.92$ ;  $SD = .73$  for male leaders,  $t(260) = .93$ ,  $p = .352$ , Cohen's  $d = .14$ ) and communal ( $M = 3.58$ ;  $SD = 1.15$  for female leaders and  $M = 3.42$ ;  $SD = .94$  for male leaders,  $t(260) = .76$ ,  $p = .451$ , Cohen's  $d = .15$ ).

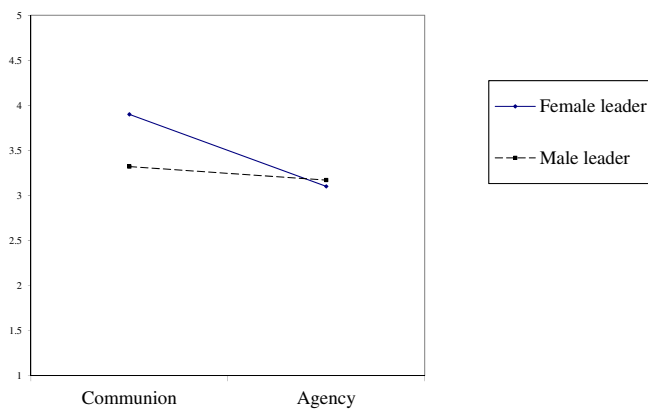
## 7.2.2 | Ideal representations of agency and communion (prescriptive traits)

With exploratory purposes and to more specifically look at the prescriptive function of stereotypes (the ideal rather than actual perception of communion and agency from men and women across occupational roles), in a second set of analyses we examined sex differences in prescribed (ideal) levels of agency and communion for the same male and female leaders at their different managerial levels. First, a simple mean comparison using an independent-samples *t*-test showed a significant sex difference in prescribed communion, with scores being higher for women ( $M = 4.34$ ,  $SD = .51$ ) than men ( $M = 3.96$ ,  $SD = .57$ );  $t(200) = 4.09$ ,  $p < .001$ , Cohen's  $d = .70$ . For prescribed agency, differences were not significant ( $M = 3.35$ ,  $SD = .55$  for women and  $M = 3.23$ ,  $SD = .50$  for men;  $t(193) = 1.20$ ,  $p = .231$ ; Cohen's  $d = .23$ ). Subsequently, a 2 (male vs. female leader)  $\times$  2 (agency vs. communion) mixed-design analysis of variance (ANCOVA) was used controlling for leader tenure, leader-employee time together and participant sex, with leader sex tested between subjects and gendered traits tested within subjects. The interaction term was statistically significant,  $F(1,432) = 8.13$ ,  $p = .005$ ;  $\eta_p^2 = .018$ , indicating that sex differences were substantially greater for communal than for agentic traits (Figure 3).

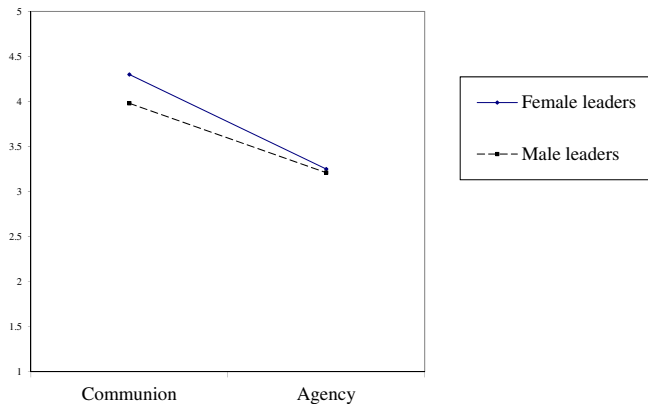
To examine the moderating effect of occupational roles, we used a mixed three-factor design with leader's sex (male vs. female), occupational role (i.e., top vs. middle management), and prescriptive traits



**FIGURE 2** Other-reported agency and communion of top managers (Study 5)



**FIGURE 3** Other-reported agency and communion of middle managers (Study 5)



**FIGURE 4** Prescribed agency and communion as a function of leader sex (Study 5)

(communion vs. agency), with the last factor being within-subjects. The traits dimension  $\times$  leader's sex  $\times$  occupational role interaction was not statistically significant,  $F(1, 416) = .19, p = .668, \eta_p^2 = .001$ , suggesting that sex differences in prescribed agency and communion were similar across managerial groups (Figure 4).

## 8 | GENERAL DISCUSSION

This article provides substantial evidence of lower communion of full-time working men compared to full-time working women across different samples, occupational levels and measurement types (self and other reported). Across four studies with samples of employees ranging from social work to financial settings, and an additional sample of BA students, communion of men was generally lower than communion of their female counterparts, whereas in all cases (with the exception of Study 3) men and women were equally agentic. Importantly, the magnitude of our effect sizes in relation to communion (ranging from .28 to .60) was in most cases higher than the average of effect sizes in the gender literature, which is relatively low (with studies that considered .26 as moderate, such as Ickes et al., 2000, or .35 as big; Cano, 2000). In the exploratory context of Study 1, sex differences proved to be higher in communion than agency beyond measurement type (self-perceptions vs. evaluations of others). In Studies 2 and 3, sex differences in self-reported communion of full-time employees in different organizational setting were substantially bigger than sex differences in self-reported agency. In Studies 4 and 5, differences in evaluations of male and female managers' communion were substantially bigger than sex differences in evaluations of agency.

In relation to judgements of others, effect sizes were relatively big for the communal sex difference in all samples (Cohen's  $d = .57$  in Study 1, Cohen's  $d = .53$  in Study 4 and Cohen's  $d = .60$  in Study 5) and small in relation to agency (Cohen's  $d = 0.16$  in Study 1, .11 in Study 4 and .03 in Study 5). These findings suggest that men's perceived communal scarcity is substantial across a number of organizational settings, roles and measures. Importantly, the communal sex difference showed the biggest magnitude of all (Cohen  $d = .70$ ) in relation to the prescriptive dimension of communion in Study 5, capturing employees' ideal descriptions of their male and female managers. These results point to particularly strong stereotypical demands and communal standards for female leaders. Interestingly, the biggest effect size in women's greater self-reported communion (Cohen  $d = .83$ ) was found in Study 1 (i.e., the only sample of students, in BA majors), compared to employees in Study 2 (Cohen  $d = .43$ ) and Study 3 (Cohen  $d = .46$ ). The stronger effects in the sample of younger adults in their early career are in line with findings that sex differences in gender-related traits tend to be stronger when evaluated in undergraduate samples than in organizational settings (e.g., Eagly & Johnson, 1990). Yet, the fact that these female students were also more agentic than their male colleagues points to generally higher scores in both dimensions likely consistent with female undergraduates more demanding self-representations.

Confirming our hypotheses, there was partial support for the prediction that occupational roles have a stronger impact on sex differences in agency than communion. In particular, Studies 4 and 5 examined whether sex differences in agency, but not in communion, vary across managerial levels of men and women. One possibility was that managerial roles would reduce sex differences in both communion and agency, given the particularly agentic nature

of managerial roles (Koenig et al., 2011). Because women are also exposed to these agentic (low communal) organizational influences, a possibility was that engagement in these occupational roles is strong enough to override the influence of gender, resulting in similar communal attributions for male and female leaders. This trend of results only emerged in the subsample of top managers in the banking sector assessed in Study 5. In this study, female leaders in middle management were perceived as more communal (and equally agentic) than male leaders. Yet, there was no support for the prediction of sex differences in communion in top management, where male and female top managers in the board of directors were perceived as equally agentic and communal. In Study 3 all managers displayed more agency but similar communion as employees. In all cases, women's scores were higher. All in all, the communal sex difference persisted across most types of samples and occupational roles assessed in our studies, pointing altogether to a relatively stable and strong communal sex difference.

## 8.1 | Theoretical implications

Our work advances current management and organizational research by providing an updated account of how men and women in different organizational settings and occupational roles are described by themselves and others in relation to communal (e.g., warm, empathetic, aware of other's feelings) and agentic (e.g., independent, ambitious, assertive) traits. Because communion comprises a critical set of traits for organizational functioning (Gartzia & Baniandres, 2019; Gartzia & van Engen, 2012; Gartzia & van Knippenberg, 2016; Kark et al., 2012; Rehbock et al., 2021), the confirmation of a persistent communal scarcity of men compared to women in these traits for both self and other reports strongly suggests that a gender perspective should more seriously be incorporated as a critical mechanism that influences organizational traits and behavior across different work roles. These findings also call for a greater theoretical acknowledgment of gender effects on organizational behavior and leadership (e.g., Avolio et al., 2009; Haslam et al., 2010; Yukl, 2006; Zaccaro, 2007) and self and social judgement literature (Abele et al., 2021; Abele & Wojciszke, 2007). If communion (but not agency) is a gendered dimension of self-analysis and social evaluations of others at work, bringing gender theory to the forefront of trait analyses in organizational behavior and pointing to communal traits as fundamentally gendered dimensions of self and social judgment is worthy of more serious consideration.

The current findings altogether indicate that compared to men female employees and managers are generally more communal but equally agentic. These findings contribute to female advantage theoretical proposals (e.g., Eagly et al., 2012) in several important ways. First, our analyses incorporated explicit and comparative examination of both communion and agency in relation to both self-reports and evaluations of others. The effect sizes of sex differences in communion had a very high range over our study's samples and measures, pointing to different relative importance of communion

versus agency across organizational roles and functions. Second, by focusing on men's limited communion across different occupational roles we reverse the female advantage approach turning it into a male-focused approach, which is a necessary perspective to more explicitly focus on the negative effects that traditional forms of masculinity can produce at work (Gartzia & van Engen, 2012; Gartzia & van Knippenberg, 2016). Third, our findings suggest that female leaders' greater disposition to display communal traits compared to men (the female advantage—or male disadvantage) might only decline as they advance through their professional career to the top. These trends are also consistent with research showing that, whereas gender stereotypes about communality persist, agency characterizations are more complex (Hentschel et al., 2019).

Note also that previous studies have shown that people often evaluate leaders based on the attributes they hold (e.g., Gartzia & Baniandres, 2016; Lord & Maher, 1991; Zaccaro, 2007), which have important effects on their ability to influence followers. Indeed, organizational research often relies on subjective ratings as an indicator of effectiveness (e.g., Avolio et al., 2009; Bass, 1990; Bass & Yammarino, 1991; Nilsen & Campbell, 1993). Leaders are perceived as effective when they are attributed agentic qualities like achieving job-related needs and goals (Bass & Avolio, 1997; Rothman et al., 2014). What is more, there is evidence that perception that leaders are communal can have a surprisingly negative effect on evaluations of effectiveness in relevant organizational tasks (Gartzia & Baniandres, 2019). Extending this literature, our study provides an exciting opportunity for more theoretical development of what types of organizational contexts and roles can facilitate agency and communion as a more salient variable in self-reports and evaluations of others, and translate into different organizational outcomes. Consistent with contextual analyses of gender roles (Eagly et al., 2020) and the idea that sex differences mitigate as individuals escalate in organizational roles (Eagly & Johnson, 1990), we confirmed that individuals' limitations to display communal traits is especially marked for those engaged in relevant organizational positions like top management. This pattern of results makes sense in light of the think-manager-think male stereotype (Koenig et al., 2011) showing that as women escalate in the managerial ladder pressures to display stereotypically masculine profiles (i.e., high agency, low communion) to be perceived an effective leader become stronger.

A final theoretical avenue to develop is the conceptualization of communion and agency, which often relies on socially desirable descriptions of stereotypically masculine and feminine traits. In the gender literature, there is evidence that agentic and communal orientations underlie both a socially desirable and an extreme version of such traits that can have different effects (Helgeson, 1994; Spence et al., 1974). Agency taken to its extreme is referred to as unmitigated agency, and includes agentic traits not mitigated by communion such as being aggressive, dominant, boastful, arrogant, egotistical, or domineering (Helgeson, 1994). Our studies included results measured with different instruments of communion and agency—the GIQ (Willemsen & Fischer, 1999), the BSRI (Bem, 1974), the PAQ (Spence & Helmreich, 1978) and Diekman

and Eagly's measure of Gender-Stereotypic Traits (2000). Some of these scales included measurement of unmitigated traits (e.g., the Diekmann and Eagly's 2000 agency scale in Study 5 including traits such as aggressive, competitive or dominant), which may help to explain the rather low reliability scores of these dimensions. Communion taken to the extreme (unmitigated communion) includes socially undesirable communal traits that typically reflect focus on others to exclusion of the self, such as being whiny, gullible, complaining, sensitive or nagging, which are generally not included in regular scales of communion. Because our studies generally relied on the non-extreme, socially desirable version of these traits, it is not clear to what extent sex differences exist in the unmitigated versions of communion and agency as well as their variations across occupational roles. Despite increasing presence of women in traditionally masculine roles, there are still significantly greater proportions of women in communally demanding female-dominated occupations, so it is theoretically likely that they have not substantially increased their identification with unmitigated agentic traits. Similarly, it is likely that sex differences in unmitigated communion are stronger than in the non-extreme version of communion—which would exacerbate the communal sex difference even more. Future theoretical development of the mechanisms that account for these associations and studies looking at these variations differentiating between both versions of communion and agency would be necessary to better address these research questions.

## 8.2 | Practical implications

Gender action at work should consider providing further support in the development and strengthening of (men's) communal traits. Communion is associated with a relevant number of effective organizational behaviors particularly for men including effective leadership, teamwork, cooperation, or emotional intelligence (Gartzia & van Engen, 2012; Gartzia & van Knippenberg, 2015). Therefore, stereotypically masculine characterizations of male employees and managers at work consistent with lower self and other-reported communion may hinder workplace behaviors and attitudes that are critical for performance. The endorsement of an agentic rather than a communal personality on the part of men is also associated with more sexist attitudes (Lameiras, 2007; Spence & Buckner, 2000), less disposition to caring for other people (Blazina, 2001; O'Neil et al., 1986), and less acceptance of the equality of women and men (Morgan, 2006), so men's limited communion may also have negative consequences for the promotion of gender equality at work.

Although communal traits are key for organizational functioning (Eagly et al., 2014; Gartzia & van Engen, 2012; Gartzia & van Knippenberg, 2015; Gartzia & Baniandres, 2019; Kark et al., 2012), our findings of higher attributions of communion to women should not necessarily translate into higher attributions of competence. In fact, based on experimental evidence that communion leads to

lower perceived competence in task-related functions (Gartzia & Baniandres, 2016), perceptions of higher communion in women targets could result in negative performance evaluations, resulting in negative effects in their career. Also, consistent with the backlash literature pointing to penalties for counter stereotypical behaviors (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Moss-Racusin et al., 2010), questions emerge about whether men's limited communion may ironically result in advantageous situations at work. Adding to these concerns, Study 5 results provided evidence that the asymmetric pattern of sex differences generalize to prescriptive forms of communion—women were not only described as more communal but were also required to show more of such communal traits than their male counterparts as part of their organizational role. These results point to particularly demanding communal standards for female leaders that may result in substantially stronger career penalties compared to male leaders. Note finally that communion is generally more desirable when judging other people (Abele et al., 2021; Abele & Wojciszke, 2007). Thus, the fact that women are perceived to require more communal traits (more demanding ideals) when they are actually perceived to display communion to a greater extent than men can be another implicit factor of discrimination at work with potentially negative effects in their career that warrants systematic research.

On a more positive note about the complexities and obstacles that women face, with the exception of Study 3 we found no statistically significant differences between men's and women's agency. Although evaluations of women's competences at work often continue to be biased (Eagly et al., 1992; Eagly et al., 2014), thinking of agency as a set of traits that is *not* more characteristic of men or incongruent with the feminine gender role may help reduce the idea that women are less competent in relevant organizational domains where agentic orientations are necessary. Therefore, a likely implication from our findings is that future organizational efforts to improve performance at work should focus more on increasing men's communion, rather than simply increasing women's agency. Note also that, as suggested in previous research a balanced endorsement of agency and communion (i.e., androgyny) would be necessary to successfully accomplish different organizational tasks (e.g., effective teamwork, emotional labor, stress management) that are critical particularly in managerial roles (Gartzia & van Engen, 2012; Gartzia et al., 2018; Kark et al., 2012; Korabik, 1990). This approach has generally taken agency and communion as rather independent dimensions but in the literature (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007; Criger, 2015; Gartzia & Baniandres, 2019) and in our studies correlations between both dimensions varied substantially, suggesting that the interconnected relations between communion and agency remain a largely unanswered question.

## 8.3 | Limitations and future research

Our studies were conducted in the European country of Spain, which can be a strength as well as a limitation. Relying on Spanish samples may no doubt limit the generalization of our results to

other cultures and countries. Yet, the fact that our results confirm our predictions (which were mostly based on findings derived from research conducted in Anglo-Saxon countries) is in itself a demonstration that such theoretical foundations can be generalized. Note that this European member state has a particularly active set of gender equality codes developed in the last two decades (see López-Zafra & Gartzia, 2014, 2016). The promotion of gender equality has been a political priority for Spanish left-handed parties during the last decades and as a result it has been identified as an example of rapid change from a traditionalist regime to egalitarian democratic principles for international research (López-Zafra & Gartzia, 2014; Rudy et al., 2011). In this context, also, communion has gained more relevance than in the past, particularly in organizational settings, whereby a growing number of social policies and private firms are more than ever incorporating socioemotional and interpersonal dimensions as a relevant set of resources for employees and managers. Thus, the pattern of results found here in relation to trends in communal and agentic traits may be representative of the social changes that are taking place in other societies and countries. Note, moreover, that as Twenge (2009) explained, changes in women's greater endorsement of agency (that is not corresponded by men's greater endorsement of communion) is consistent with general cultural trends in many Western nations, which have generally emphasized competition and placed importance on individualistic and agentic values.

Longitudinal studies testing the effect that different organizational cultures and occupational roles can have in people's self and other reported endorsement of communion and agency over time, as well as experimental assessments contrasting effects of occupational roles and gender, would be valuable to further understand these multidimensional influences on self and other reported traits. Consistent with the think-manager-think male stereotype literature (Koenig et al., 2011), our studies suggest that engagement in managerial roles can hinder communal orientations. Note however that the effects of managerial roles differed for communion and agency (the greater sex differences in communion than agency were stronger when comparing employees vs. managers in Study 4 than when comparing middle managers vs. top managers in Study 5). Also, in most of our studies absolute values of communion were higher than absolute values of agency. Therefore, it could be that threats to display communal traits are stronger for men than women at all occupational levels but for women are only more marked at the top. Although there is evidence about these particular pressures in top management (Eagly et al., 2012), the specific ways in which communal traits are excluded from top managerial practices and the specific ways in which the think-manager-think male phenomenon differently influences communal and agentic dispositions of actual leaders warrants further examination. Likewise, an examination of whether and how other influences in working adults' lives can determine their communion and agency at work would be worthwhile. Future studies looking at moderating effects of other work-related variables such as tenure, work centrality or organizational culture may also be worth studying.

## 8.4 | Conclusion

All in all, our findings clearly suggest that, contrasting a relatively consistent pattern of similarities in women's and men's self and other reported agency, men's lower communion is substantial across several roles, organizational settings and measurement forms. The findings of five studies with different types of participants suggest that agency constitutes a set of traits similarly endorsed by working men and women, whereas communion remains a stereotypically feminine set of traits mainly endorsed by women across samples. These findings suggest that gender plays a larger role in communal dimensions of organizational behavior than has been previously recognized in the OB and management literature, and encourage the need to design interventions and programs that better capture refinements of the effects of gender in organizational functioning. In particular, our results hold an important lesson for practitioners in organizational contexts and management positions, indicating that their efforts to incorporate stereotypically feminine dimensions such as empathy, concern for others, or emotional attention may be hindered if interventions are not also aimed at promoting less stereotyped dispositions from men. Without such critical gender perspective, organizations will hardly move forward.

## CONFLICT OF INTEREST

I have no potential conflicts of interest (financial or non-financial).

## ORCID

Leire Gartzia  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8837-3888>

## REFERENCES

- Abele, A. E. (2003). The dynamics of masculine-agentic and feminine-communal traits: Findings from a prospective study. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 85(4), 768–776. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.85.4.768>
- Abele, A. E., & Wojciszke, B. (2007). Agency and communion from the perspective of self versus others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93(5), 751–763. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.93.5.751>
- Abele, A. E., Ellemers, N., Fiske, S. T., Koch, A., & Yzerbyt, V. (2021). Navigating the social world: Toward an integrated framework for evaluating self, individuals, and groups. *Psychological Review*, 128, 290–314. <https://doi.org/10.1037/rev0000262>
- Agronick, G. S., & Duncan, L. E. (1998). Personality and social change: Individual differences, life path, and importance attributed to the women's movement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(6), 1545–1555. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.74.6.1545>
- Aguar, M., & Hurst, E. (2007). Measuring trends in leisure: The allocation of time over five decades. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 122(3), 969–1006. <https://doi.org/10.1162/qjec.122.3.969>
- Ashkanasy, N. M. (2004). Emotion and performance. *Human Performance*, 17(2), 137–144. [https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327043hup1702\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327043hup1702_1)
- Avolio, B. J., Walumbwa, F. O., & Weber, T. J. (2009). Leadership: Current theories, research, and future directions. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 60, 421–449. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.60.110707.163621>
- Bahn, K., Cohen, J., & Rodgers, Y. (2020). A feminist perspective on COVID-19 and the value of care work globally. *Gender Work*

- and Organization, 27(5), 695–699. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12459>
- Barrick, M. R., & Mount, M. K. (1991). The Big Five personality dimensions and job performance: A meta-analysis. *Personnel Psychology, 44*(1), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.1991.tb00688.x>
- Bass, B. M. (1990). From transactional to transformational leadership: Learning to share the vision. *Organizational Dynamics, 18*(3), 19–31. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0090-2616\(90\)90061-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/0090-2616(90)90061-5)
- Bass, B. M., & Avolio, B. J. (1997). *Full range leadership development: Manual for the multifactor leadership questionnaire*. Mindgarden.
- Bass, B. M., & Yammarino, F. J. (1991). Congruence of self and others' leadership ratings of naval officers for understanding successful performance. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 40*(4), 437–454. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.1991.tb01002.x>
- Beere, C. A. (1990). *Gender roles: A handbook of tests and measures*. Greenwood Press.
- Bem, S. L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 42*(2), 155–162. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0036215>
- Benet-Martínez, V., & Waller, N. G. (1997). Further evidence for the cross-cultural generality of the Big Seven Factor model: Indigenous and imported Spanish personality constructs. *Journal of Personality, 65*(3), 567–598. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.1997.tb00327.x>
- Berneth, J. B., & Aguinis, H. (2016). A critical review and best-practice recommendations for control variable usage. *Personnel Psychology, 69*(1), 229–283. <https://doi.org/10.1111/peps.12103>
- Blazina, C. (2001). Analytic psychology and gender role conflict: The development of the fragile masculine self. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training, 38*(1), 50–59. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-3204.38.1.50>
- Block, J. (2001). Millennial contrarianism: The five-factor approach to personality description 5 years later. *Journal of Research in Personality, 35*, 98–107. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jrpe.2000.2293>
- Bono, J. E., Hooper, A. C., & Yoon, D. J. (2012). Impact of rater personality on transformational and transactional leadership ratings. *The Leadership Quarterly, 23*(1), 132–145. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2011.11.011>
- Bono, J. E., & Judge, T. A. (2004). Personality and transformational and transactional leadership: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 89*(5), 901–910. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.89.5.901>
- Bosak, J., & Sczesny, S. (2011). Gender bias in leader selection? Evidence from a hiring simulation study. *Sex Roles, 65*(3), 234–242. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-0012-7>
- Brewer, M. B. (1991). The social self: On being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 17*(5), 475–482. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167291175001>
- Cano, F. (2000). Gender differences in learning strategies and styles. *Psicothema, 12*, 360–367.
- Casper, L. M., & Bianchi, S. M. (2009). The stalled revolution: Gender and time allocation in the United States. In *Women, feminism, and femininity in the 21st Century: American and French perspectives* (pp. 55–77). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cejka, M. A., & Eagly, A. H. (1999). Gender-stereotypic images of occupations correspond to the sex segregation of employment. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 25*(4), 413–423. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167299025004002>
- Chemers, M. M. (2001). Leadership effectiveness: An integrate review. In M. Hogg & R. Tindale (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of social psychology: Group processes* (pp. 376–399). Blackwell.
- Craig, L., & Churchill, B. (in press). *Dual-earner parent couples' work and care during COVID-19*. Gender Work & Organization.
- Criger, B. (2015). *The role of agency and communion in attitudes toward smart drugs* (Doctoral dissertation). <http://hdl.handle.net/1974/13823>
- Croft, A., Schmader, T., & Block, K. (2015). An underexamined inequality: Cultural and psychological barriers to men's engagement with communal roles. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 19*(4), 343–370. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868314564789>
- Crompton, R. (2002). Employment, flexible working and the family. *British Journal of Sociology, 53*(4), 537–558. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0007131022000021470>
- Cuadrado, I. (2004). Valores y rasgos estereotípicos de género de mujeres líderes. *Psicothema, 16*(2), 270–275.
- DeRue, D. S., Nahrgang, J. D., Wellman, N., & Humphrey, S. E. (2011). Trait and behavioral theories of leadership: An integration and meta-analytic test of their relative validity. *Personnel Psychology, 64*, 7–52. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.2010.01201.x>
- DeYoung, C. G., Quilty, L. C., & Peterson, J. B. (2007). Between facets and domains: 10 aspects of the Big Five. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 93*(5), 880–896. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.93.5.880>
- Diekman, A. B., & Eagly, A. H. (2000). Stereotypes as dynamic constructs: Women and men of the past, present, and future. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 26*(10), 1171–1188. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167200262001>
- Digman, J. M. (1997). Higher-order factors of the Big Five. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 73*(6), 1246–1256. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.73.6.1246>
- Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex differences in social behavior: A social interpretation*. LEA.
- Eagly, A. H. (2020). Do the social roles that women and men occupy in science allow equal access to publication? *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 117*(11), 5553–5555. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2001684117>
- Eagly, A. H., Gartzia, L., & Carli, L. L. (2012). Female advantage: Revisited. In S. Kumra, R. Simpson, & R. Burke (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of gender in organizations*. (pp. 153–174). Oxford University Press.
- Eagly, A. H., Johannesen-Schmidt, M. C., & van Engen, M. L. (2003). Transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire leadership styles: A meta-analysis comparing women and men. *Psychological Bulletin, 129*(4), 569–591. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.129.4.569>
- Eagly, A. H., & Johnson, B. T. (1990). Gender and leadership style: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 108*(2), 233–256. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.108.2.233>
- Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review, 109*(3), 573–598. <https://doi.org/10.1037//0033-295X.109.3.573>
- Eagly, A. H., Makhijani, M. G., & Klonsky, B. G. (1992). Gender and the evaluation of leaders: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 111*(1), 3–22. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.111.1.3>
- Eagly, A. H., & Steffen, V. J. (1984). Gender stereotypes stem from the distribution of women and men into social roles. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 46*(4), 735–754. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.46.4.735>
- Eagly, A. H., & Riger, S. (2014). Feminism and psychology: Critiques of methods and epistemology. *American Psychologist, 69*(7), 685–702. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037372>
- Eagly, A. H., & Wood, W. (2009). Sexual selection does not provide an adequate theory of sex differences in aggression. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 32*(3–4), 276–277. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X09990951>
- Echebarria, A. (2010). Role identities versus social identities: Masculinity, femininity, instrumentality and communality. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 13*(1), 30–43.
- Echebarria, A., & Gonzalez, J. L. (1999). The impact of context on gender social identities. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 29*, 287–304. [https://doi.org/10.1002/\(SICI\)1099-0992\(199903/05\)29:2<3:287::AID-EJSP928>3.0.CO;2-5](https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1099-0992(199903/05)29:2<3:287::AID-EJSP928>3.0.CO;2-5)

- European Commission. (2015, April 24). *New start to address the challenges of work-life balance faced by working*. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu>
- European Commission (2019). *2019 Report on equality between women and men in the EU*. [https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/aid\\_development\\_cooperation\\_fundamental\\_rights\\_annual\\_report\\_ge\\_2019\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/aid_development_cooperation_fundamental_rights_annual_report_ge_2019_en.pdf)
- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*(6), 878–902. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878>
- Gartzia, L., & Baniandrés, J. (2016). Are people-oriented leaders perceived as less effective in task-related activities? Surprising results from three experimental studies. *Journal of Business Research, 69*(2), 508–516.
- Gartzia, L., & Baniandres, J. (2019). How feminine is the female advantage? Incremental validity of gender traits over leader sex on employees' responses. *Journal of Business Research, 99*, 125–139. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2018.12.062>
- Gartzia, L., & López-Zafra, E. (2016). Gender research in Spanish psychology, part II: Progress and complexities in the European context. *Sex Roles, 73*, 11–12. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0567-9>
- Gartzia, L., Pizarro, J., & Baniandres, J. (2018). "Emotional androgyny: A preventive factor of psychosocial risks at work? *Frontiers in Psychology, 9*, 2144. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.02144>
- Gartzia, L., & van Engen, M. (2012). Are (male) leaders "feminine" enough? Gendered traits of identity as mediators of sex differences in leadership styles. *Gender in Management: An International Journal, 27*, 296–314.
- Gartzia, L., & van Knippenberg, D. (2015). Too masculine, too bad: Effects of communion on leaders' promotion of cooperation. *Group & Organization Management, 41*(4), 458–490. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1059601115583580>
- Gerber, G. L. (1996). Status in same-gender and mixed-gender police dyads: Effects on personality attributions. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 59*(4), 350–363. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2787076>
- Goldin, C. A. (2014). Grand gender convergence: Its last chapter. *American Economic Review, 104*(4), 1091–1119.
- Halpin, A. W., & Winer, B. J. (1957). A factorial study of the leader behavior descriptions. In R. M. Stogdill & A. E. Coons (Eds.), *Leader behavior: Its description and measurement* (pp. 39–51). Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University.
- Haslam, S. A., Reicher, S. D., & Platow, M. J. (2010). *The new psychology of leadership: Identity, influence and power*. Psychology Press.
- Hausmann, R., Tyson, L., Bekhouche, Y., & Zahidi, S. (2014). *The global gender gap report 2014*. World Economic Forum.
- Heilman, M. E., & Okimoto, T. G. (2007). Why are women penalized for success at male tasks?: The implied communality deficit. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*(1), 81–92. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.92.1.81>
- Helgeson, V. S. (1994). Relation of agency and communion to well-being: Evidence and potential explanations. *Psychological Bulletin, 116*(3), 412–428. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.116.3.412>
- Hentschel, T., Heilman, M., & Peus, C. (2019). The multiple dimensions of gender stereotypes: A current look at men's and women's characterizations of others and themselves. *Frontiers in Psychology, 10*(11). <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00011>
- Hersey, P., & Blanchard, K. H. (1982). *Management of organizational behavior: Utilizing human resources*. Prentice-Hall.
- Hersey, P., & Blanchard, K. H. (1993). *Management of organizational behavior: Utilizing human resources* (6th ed.). Prentice-Hall Inc.
- Hogan, R., Curphy, G. J., & Hogan, J. (1994). What we know about leadership: Effectiveness and personality. *American Psychologist, 49*(6), 493–504. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.49.6.493>
- House, R. J., & Aditya, R. N. (1997). The social scientific study of leadership: Quo vadis? *Journal of Management, 23*(3), 409–473. <https://doi.org/10.1177/014920639702300306>
- Ickes, W., Gesn, P. R., & Graham, T. (2000). Gender differences in empathic accuracy: Differential ability or differential motivation? *Personal Relationships, 7*(1), 95–109. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6811.2000.tb00006.x>
- Jordan, P. J., & Troth, A. (2011). Emotional intelligence and leader member exchange: The relationship with employee turnover intentions and job satisfaction. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal, 32*(3), 260–280. <https://doi.org/10.1108/01437731111123915>
- Judge, T. A., Bono, J. E., Ilies, R., & Gerhardt, M. W. (2002). Personality and leadership: A qualitative and quantitative review. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 87*(4), 765–780. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.87.4.765>
- Judge, T. A., Piccolo, R. F., & Ilies, R. (2004). The forgotten ones? The validity of consideration and initiating structure in leadership research. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 89*, 36–51. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.89.1.36>
- Judge, T. A., Piccolo, R. F., & Kosalka, T. (2009). The bright and dark sides of leader traits: A review and theoretical extension of the leader trait paradigm. *The Leadership Quarterly, 20*(6), 855–875. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2009.09.004>
- Kan, M. Y., Sullivan, O., & Gershuny, J. (2011). Gender convergence in domestic work: Discerning the effects of interactional and institutional barriers from large-scale data. *Sociology, 45*(2), 234–251.
- Kark, R., Waismel-Manor, R., & Shamir, B. (2012). Does valuing androgyny and femininity lead to a female advantage? The relationship between gender-role, transformational leadership and identification. *The Leadership Quarterly, 23*(3), 620–640. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2011.12.012>
- Kasen, S., Chen, H., Sneed, J., Crawford, T., & Cohen, P. (2006). Social role and birth cohort influences on gender-linked personality traits in women: A 20-year longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 91*(5), 944–958. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.91.5.944>
- Kirkpatrick, S., & Locke, E. (1991). Leadership: Do traits matter? *The Executive, 5*, 48–60. <https://doi.org/10.5465/ame.1991.4274679>
- Knights, D., & Tullberg, M. (2014). Masculinity in the financial sector. In S. Kumra, R. Simpson, & R. Burke (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of gender in organizations* (pp. 499–518). Oxford University Press.
- Koenig, A., Eagly, A., Mitchell, A., & Ristikari, T. (2011). Are leader stereotypes masculine? A meta-analysis of three research paradigms. *Psychological Bulletin, 137*(4), 616–642. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023557>
- Korabik, K. (1990). Androgyny and leadership style. *Journal of Business Ethics, 9*(4), 283–292. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00380328>
- Lameiras, M., Rodriguez, Y., Calado, M., Foltz, M., & Carrera, M. V. (2007). Expressive/instrumental traits and sexist attitudes among Spanish university professors. *Social Indicators Research, 80*, 583–599. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-006-0008-9>
- Larreina, M., & Gartzia, L. (2017). Human and social capital gone into the dark side: The case of XXI century's financial system. In M. Russ (Ed.), *Human capital and asset in the networked world* (pp. 219–277). Emerald.
- López-Zafra, E., & Gartzia, L. (2014). Perceptions of gender differences in self-report measures of emotional intelligence. *Sex Roles, 70*(11–12), 479–495. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-014-0368-6>
- Lord, R. G., & Brown, D. J. (2004). *Leadership processes and follower identity* (Vol. 7). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Lord, R. G., & Maher, K. J. (1991). *People and organizations, Vol. 1. Leadership and information processing: Linking perceptions and performance*. Unwin Hyman.
- Martin, R., Epitropaki, O., Geoff, T., & Topakas, A. (2010). A review of leader-member exchange (LMX) research: Future prospects and

- directions. In G. P. Hodgkinson & J. K. Ford (Eds.), *International review of industrial and organizational psychology* (Vol. 25, pp. 35–88). Morgan, G. (2006). *Images of organization* (updated edition). SAGE.
- Moskowitz, D. S., Suh, E. J., & Desaulniers, J. (1994). Situational influences on gender differences in agency and communion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 66, 753–761. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.66.4.753>
- Moss-Racusin, C. A., Phelan, J. E., & Rudman, L. A. (2010). When men break the gender rules: Status incongruity and backlash against modest men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 11(2), 140–151. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018093>
- Mrkić, S., Johnson, T., & Rose, M. (2010). *The world's women 2010: Trends and statistics*. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs.
- Murrar, S., & Brauer, M. (2018). Entertainment-education effectively reduces prejudice. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 21(7), 1053–1077. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430216682350>
- Nilsen, D., & Campbell, D. P. (1993). Self-observer rating discrepancies: Once an overrater always an overrater. *Human Resource Management*, 32(2–3), 265–281. <https://doi.org/10.1002/hrm.3930320206>
- Northouse, P. (2016). *Leadership theory and practice* (7th ed.). Sage.
- OECD. (2021). *OECD family database*. Retrieved September 9 from <https://www.oecd.org/els/family/database.htm#structure>
- O'Neil, J. M., Helm, B., Gable, R., David, L., & Wrightsman, L. (1986). Gender role conflict scale (GRCS): College men's fears of femininity. *Sex Roles*, 14, 335–350.
- Organ, D. W., & Ryan, K. (1995). A meta-analytic review of attitudinal and dispositional predictors of organizational citizenship behavior. *Personnel Psychology*, 48(4), 775–802. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.1995.tb01781.x>
- Patzelt, H., Gartzia, L., Wolfe, M. T., & Shepherd, D. A. (2021). Managing negative emotions from entrepreneurial project failure: When and how does supportive leadership help employees? *Journal of Business Venturing*, 36(5), 106129. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusvent.2021.106129>
- Perra, M., & Ruspini, E. (2013). Men who work in “non-traditional” occupations. *International Review of Sociology*, 23, 265–270. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03906701.2013.804288>
- Pickard, J., & Strough, J. (2003). The effects of same-sex and other-sex contexts on masculinity and femininity. *Sex Roles*, 48(9), 421–432.
- Power, K. (2020). The COVID-19 pandemic has increased the care burden of women and families. *Sustainability: Science, Practice and Policy*, 16, 1, 67–73.
- Quinn, R. E. (1988). *Beyond rational management: Mastering the paradoxes and competing demands of high performance*. Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Reevy, G., & Maslach, C. (2001). Use of social support: Gender and personality differences. *Sex Roles*, 44(7), 437–459.
- Rehbock, S. K., Knipfer, K., & Peus, C. (2021). What got you here, won't help you there: Changing requirements in the pre- versus the post-tenure career stage in academia. *Frontiers in Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.569281>
- Reskin, B. F., & Roos, P. A. (1990). *Job queues, gender queues: Explaining women's inroads into male occupations*. Temple University Press.
- Rosenberg, S., Nelson, C., & Vivekananthan, P. S. (1968). A multidimensional approach to the structure of personality impressions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 9(4), 283–294. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0026086>
- Rothman, N. B., Wheeler-Smith, S., Wiesenfeld, B. M., & Galinsky, A. (2014). Gaining power but losing status: Why unfair leaders are selected over fair leaders. *Paper presented at the International Society for Justice Research Conference, New York, NY*.
- Rudy, R. M., Popova, L., & Linz, D. G. (2011). Contributions to the content analysis of gender roles: An introduction to a special issue. *Sex Roles*, 64, 151–159. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-9937-0>
- Sanchez de Miguel, M., Lizaso, I., Larranaga, M., & Arrospe, J. J. (2015). Women bus drivers and organizational change. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 28(1), 117–133. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JOCM-07-2013-0120>
- Schein, V. E. (2001). A global look at psychological barriers to women's progress in management. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(4), 675–688. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00235>
- Senior, B., & Swailes, S. (2004). The dimensions of management team performance: A repertory grid study. *International Journal of Productivity and Performance Management*, 53(4), 317–333. <https://doi.org/10.1108/17410400410533908>
- Spence, J. T., & Buckner, C. E. (2000). Instrumental and expressive traits, trait stereotypes, and sexist attitudes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 24(1), 44–62.
- Spence, J. T., & Helmreich, R. L. (1978). Comparison of masculine and feminine personality attributes and sex-role attitudes across age groups. *Developmental Psychology*, 15(5), 583–584. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0078091>
- Spence, J. T., Helmreich, R., & Stapp, J. (1974). Ratings of self and peers on sex role attributes and their relation to self-esteem and conceptions of masculinity and femininity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 32(1), 29–39. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0076857>
- Stogdill, R. M. (1948). Personal factors associated with leadership; a survey of the literature. *The Journal of Psychology: Interdisciplinary and Applied*, 25, 35–71.
- Strough, J., Leszczynski, J. P., Neely, T. L., Flinn, J. A., & Margrett, J. (2007). From adolescence to later adulthood: Femininity, masculinity, and androgyny in six age groups. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 57(5–6), 385–396. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9282-5>
- Tanquerel, S., & Grau-Grau, M. (2020). Unmasking work-family balance barriers and strategies among working fathers in the workplace. *Organization*, 27(5), 680–700. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508419838692>
- Tajfel, H. (1978). *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. Academic Press.
- Tajfel, H. (1982). Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 33, 1–59. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.33.020182.000245>
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relation* (pp. 7–24). Hall Publishers.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Basil Blackwell.
- Turner, J. C., & Oakes, P. J. (1989). Self-categorization theory and social influence. In P. B. Paulus (Ed.), *Psychology of group influence* (pp. 233–275). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.
- Twenge, J. M. (1997). Changes in masculine and feminine traits over time: A meta-analysis. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 36(5–6), 305–325. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02766650>
- Twenge, J. M. (2001). Changes in women's assertiveness in response to status and roles: A cross-temporal meta-analysis, 1931–1993. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81(1), 133–145. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.81.1.133>
- Twenge, J. M. (2009). Generational changes and their impact in the classroom: Teaching generation me. *Medical Education*, 43(5), 398–405. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2923.2009.03310.x>
- United Nations. (2010). *The world's women 2010. Trends and statistics*.
- United Nations Women. (2020, May 9). *The world for Women and girls*. <https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/un-women-annual-report-2019-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=3903>
- Van Iddekinge, C. H., Ferris, G. R., & Heffner, T. S. (2009). Test of a multistage model of distal and proximal antecedents of leader performance. *Personnel Psychology*, 62(3), 463–495. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.2009.01145.x>

- Wiggins, J. S. (1991). Agency and communion as conceptual coordinates for the understanding and measurement of interpersonal behavior. In D. Cicchetti & W. M. Grove (Eds.), *Thinking clearly about psychology: Essays in honor of Paul E. Meehl*, Vol. 1. *Matters of public interest*; Vol. 2. *Personality and psychopathology* (pp. 89–113). University of Minnesota Press.
- Willemsen, T. M., & Fischer, A. H. (1999). Assessing multiple facets of gender identity: The gender identity questionnaire. *Psychological Reports*, 84(2), 561–562. <https://doi.org/10.2466/pr0.1999.84.2.561>
- Wong, C. S., & Law, K. S. (2002). The effects of leader and follower emotional intelligence on performance and attitude: An exploratory study. *Leadership Quarterly*, 13(3), 243–274. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843\(02\)00099-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(02)00099-1)
- Yukl, G. (2006). *Leadership in organizations* (6th ed.). Pearson Education.
- Zaccaro, S. J. (2007). Trait-based perspectives of leadership. *American Psychologist*, 62(1), 6–16. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.62.1.6>

**How to cite this article:** Gartzia, L. (2022). Self and other reported workplace traits: A communal gap of men across occupations. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 52, 568–587. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12848>