

INTERNALIZING SHIFTING GENDER LOGICS IN PROFESSIONAL WORK

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ABSTRACT

We study the process by which an organization reshaped its practices and beliefs over nearly two decades as it adapted to shifts in understandings of gender and work. Analyzing articles published over two decades in the U.S. business press, we trace shifts in the institutional logics structuring gendered beliefs and practices within the workplace. We find that presentations of gender and work shifted over time from a logic of bias, to a logic of underrepresentation, to a logic of work-family conflict. Analyzing archival data from a major professional service firm over the concurrent period, we show how the firm internalized the shifting logic of gender through iterated cycles of analysis and action. Within-firm discrepancies between beliefs, practices and outcomes coincided with major external shifts in gender logics, driving the organization's cycling between action and analysis. Outside experts and inside practices aided the firm's internalization of shifting gender logics: during analysis phases, outside experts provided credibility and inside practices signaled relevance; during action phases, outside experts provided accountability and inside practices signaled buy-in. We conclude with a model illustrating how the interplay between external and internal mechanisms sustains organizational adaptation to shifting institutional logics.

Keywords: Gender; institutional change; adaptation; qualitative methods

The growing representation of highly educated women in the workforce challenges widely held understandings about gender and work. By 2010, women earned the majority of degrees at the bachelor's, masters and doctoral levels in the United States (U.S. Department of Education, 2011) and comprised over half of the labor pool for professional level jobs. Law, accounting, and medicine in the 21st century employ women at rates that defy these professions' long-held reputations as male bastions, calling into question longstanding beliefs about man's role as breadwinner and woman's role as caregiver and housekeeper (Parsons, 1964; Wharton, 2005). This clash between the changing demographics of the professional workforce and traditional views of gender disrupts institutional logics and creates the impetus for change within organizations. How did the institutional logics around gender and work change as professional women entered the workforce in increasing numbers? And how do organizations employing professionals adapt to shifting institutional logics around gender and work?

Borrowing from Thornton and Ocasio, we define gender logics as "the socially constructed, historical pattern of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce" (1999: 804) gender at work. Gender logics influence individual beliefs and behavior, and gendered roles impinge on the beliefs and behaviors of those surrounding the individual at home, at play and at work. Critical to the study of professional work, gender logics are enacted in organizations, shaping workplace practices and beliefs that may not appear to be constituted by or even linked to gender (Ridgeway, 1991; Acker, 1992; Ely and Meyerson, 2000).

Gender is a social institution (Turner, 1997; Martin, 2004) in the realm of family, religion, democracy, the market and the state (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Like the social institutions of family and religion, gender manifests at the individual level as well as within interactions, organizations, and societies (Acker, 1992; Lorber, 1999; Martin, 2004). At the individual level, gender categorizes people into roles and legitimizes rules and norms guiding their behavior in those roles, thereby structuring and reproducing a gendered social order (Lorber, 1994). At the organizational level, gender plays out in interactions, formal hierarchies and informal status ordering (Ridgeway, 2011). While a gendered order endures across individuals, organizations and societies, the logics guiding the gendered order can be expected to evolve over time and context (Friedland and Alford, 1991). If

gender operates in keeping with other institutional logics (Lounsbury, 2007; Thornton, et al., 2012), shifts in gender logics should influence adaptations in values, beliefs, practices and interactions inside and outside organizations.

Scholars have called for longitudinal studies of organizational responses to institutional pressures (Greenwood, et al., 2010; Tilcsik, 2010; Greenwood, et al., 2011). In this vein, studies of adaptation within individual organizations reveal how social issues come to be reflected in local interpretations, actions, and events (Dutton and Dukerich, 1991), but studies focusing on internal adaptation do not explore temporal changes in the institutional issues underpinning the adaptations. Approaching from the level of the industry or institutional field, historical shifts in logics have been shown to have predictable consequences for organizational structure and practices such as executive selection (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999), downsizing (Greenwood, et al., 2010), organizational forms (Haveman and Rao, 1997), and mutual fund management practices (Lounsbury, 2007). But studies at this higher level of analysis leave unexamined how individual organizations manage their adaptation as the identified institutional shifts unfold. Studying organizations in isolation from their environment separates process from context (Pettigrew, 2003), while studying institutions without closely examining the process of adaptation within organizations ignores the role of agency in organizational change. Identifying the connections between shifting institutional logics and organizational change requires longitudinal research examining changes at the institutional level and the process of adaptation at the organizational level simultaneously.

Work on technological change offers a model for studying how individual organizations adapt—or fail to adapt—to pressures and opportunities present in the external environment. Focusing on periods of significant technological change and scouring tomes of internal records that document organizational decision making and practices during those periods, scholars of technology and organizational change have uncovered patterns of persistence followed by crises that typify failure during times of technological upheavals (Sull, 1999; Tripsas and Gavetti, 2000), and patterns of external exploration and internal exploitation that typify success (Sull, 1999; Tushman, et al., 2013). Detailed analyses of internal beliefs and practices during technological transitions have revealed, for example, the critical roles played by environmental scanning, new leaders, outside

expertise, bottom up support, and experimentation in successful adaptation to new technologies (Brown and Eisenhardt, 1997; Sull, 1999; Rosenbloom, 2000; Tushman, et al., 2013).

While the in-depth, longitudinal methods used to study organizational responses to technological change provide a model for the study of gender in organizations, shifts in the socially constructed understanding of gender and work are not as easily identified and time stamped as technological innovations. Acknowledging the likelihood that changes in social understandings of gender are contested, diffuse and gradual, our work adopts the societal level analysis, the broad scope, and the relatively long time horizon of studies of institutional change (Haveman and Rao, 1997; Fligstein and Sweet, 2002; Purdy and Gray, 2009). Simultaneously acknowledging that gender plays out within individual organizations, that organizations are the breeding ground for new practices, assumptions and beliefs as much as they are the guardians of the old, we adopt the relatively focused, organizational process perspective of studies of technological change. We apply an archival, longitudinal, historical and interpretive research design (Rabinow and Sullivan, 1979; Gioia and Chittipeddi, 1991; Suddaby and Greenwood, 2009), looking outside and inside one large American professional service firm over nearly two decades. Uncovering the interplay between changes in gender and work within one organization and shifts in gender logics within society allows us to address critical questions of temporality, sequence and process (Barley and Tolbert, 1997).

Our research contributes new perspectives to studies of gender, institutions and organizational change. First, we identify societal understandings of gender as institutional logics and empirically establish historical shifts in the logics underlying gendered beliefs and practices in the U.S. workplace over the twenty-year period surrounding the new millennium. Revelation of prevailing gender logics and their evolution over the past two decades sheds light on many of the intransigent problems slowing progress toward gender equality within the workplace. Second, we extend existing understandings of institutional pressures on organizations by exploring the temporal connections between shifts in gender logics and changes in practices and beliefs within one large firm. Third, we develop an internalization model of organizational adaptation, introducing enabling “outside-inside”

mechanisms that operate across institutional and organizational levels, illuminating one process through which organizations successfully change over time (Oliver, 1991).

In the next section, we develop the theoretical lenses of gender as a social institution and organizational change as adaptation to shifts in institutional logics. These theoretical lenses came into view during the initial stages of our inductive study and focused our analyses and understanding of the changes we observed at the societal and organizational levels. We identified gender logics through content coding of news articles written for the general public, business readers and industry participants. Within the firm, we relied on archival data to trace how, why and when internal practices and beliefs about gender and work changed (Barley, 1986; Barley and Tolbert, 1997; Langley, 1999; Feldman, 2000). After describing the organization we studied, we present our “outside” media data, the “inside” archival data from within the firm, and the qualitative methods used to code and analyze these data. We then describe findings from the temporal mapping we used to link shifts in gender logics with changes inside the firm. Last, we offer a conceptual model of organizational internalization of shifting institutional logics, detailing the mechanisms that underlie sustained internalization.

GENDER LOGICS AND PROFESSIONAL WORK

Turner identifies social institutions as those making up the “web” that underlies “fundamental problems in producing life-sustaining resources, in reproducing individuals, and in sustaining viable societal structures” (1997: 6). Family, religion and the state, for example, are social institutions. One may be a sibling or a spouse, a Muslim or a Christian, an American or an Argentinian, and these social roles, though sometimes latent, affect an individual’s beliefs, values, and interactions with others, as well as others’ reactions to that individual. At its core, a social institution is an embodied (acted out by people) social structure that differentiates roles for the actors within it. Each social institution offers its own logic for the material and symbolic order within organizations (Thornton, et al., 2012). The logic of the family, for example, not only establishes roles and interactions for parents, children, grandparents, and siblings within the home; it also guides employment practices within organizations, with some organizations favoring family above all other employees and others explicitly restricting the employment of family members. Individual and

organizational behavior is shaped by multiple institutional logics, all of which are intertwined conceptually and in practice (Friedland and Alford, 1991) .

Gender, “a multi-level structure, system or institution of social practices that involves mutually reinforcing processes at the macro-structural/institutional level, the interactional level and the individual level” (Ridgeway, 2009: 146), is a social institution akin to the social institutions of family and religion. Gender plays out in homes, organizations and societies in dynamic and conflicted ways (Parsons, 1990). The traditional gender logic privileging women in the private sphere and men in the workplace has been disrupted multiple times over history for reasons ranging from war to economics. Recently and locally, social, medical and legal changes in the U.S. in the second half of the twentieth century gave rise to growing numbers of women entering the workforce in jobs other than teaching, nursing and secretarial roles (Goldin, 1990), contesting the traditional gender logic (Parsons, 1964; Wharton, 2005). Though contested, institutionalized beliefs and practices around gender are slow to change. Ridgeway and colleagues offer multiple studies documenting the ways in which the traditional status system favoring males in entitlements, norms and roles is recreated within organizations (Ridgeway, 1991; Ridgeway, et al., 1994; Ridgeway and Bourg, 2004).

Competing logics, whether due to shifts in a single institution over time or to the conflict between multiple logics at a given point in time, provide the foundation for resistance and change within organizations (Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007). In the 20th century, changing workforce demographics created a clash between old and new understandings of gender, and between gender and other institutional logics. The clash between gender logics, market logics and occupational logics was especially notable among manual laborers, where physical demands previously inherent in the work were once synonymous with masculinity (Walter, et al., 2004; McGinn, 2007; Ely and Meyerson, 2010), and among professionals, where gendered assumptions about power and authority further separated institutionally prescribed roles for men and women (Epstein, 1970; Rhode, 2001; Bertrand, et al., 2008). By the 1980s, women made up roughly half of the pool of entry-level professionals (Goldin, 2006), but the organizations they entered maintained routines suited to the “ideal worker” embodied by married men with stay-at-home spouses (Acker, 1990; Bailyn, 1993; Williams, 2000). The growing presence of women in the

professional ranks and an evolving understanding of the relationship between gender and professional work called these routines into question, but the absence of proven alternatives offered little guidance for organizations attempting to adapt to the changes pressing in on them.

Past studies that explore the influence of institutional logics within organizations document longitudinal shifts in logics within society or institutional fields, *or* they document the influence of a discrete institutional change, *or* they document how competing logics play out within organizations at a single point in time. Studies that document shifts in institutional logics across time have exposed the evolution of major institutions, but leave unexamined the process of adaptation inside organizations (Haveman and Rao, 1997; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Greenwood, et al., 2002; Lounsbury, 2002; Zilber, 2006). In contrast, organizational studies investigating local responses to discrete discontinuities in the environment, such as the introduction of a new technology (Barley, 1986; Attewell, 1992; Orlikowski, 1996) or passage of new legal requirements (Ingram and Simons, 1995; Kellogg, et al., 2006) offer valuable insights into the processes through which organizations adapt to changes in the environment. Tracing changes in legal requirements or technology is relatively straightforward—while the potential for a new law or technology may be undefined and incumbent leaders often fail to grasp the import of the change, the emergence of a technological innovation or legal change is often treated as *a priori* fact forming the backdrop for the exploration of organizational processes. In cross-sectional studies investigating how competing logics play out within organizations, scholars find that idiosyncratic factors influence whether and how institutional pressures are imported in “whole cloth,” modified, or resisted (Glynn, 2000; Greenwood, et al., 2002; Townley, 2002; Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007; Kellogg, 2009; Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Hallett, 2010). Organizational agents have been shown to use meaning, interpretation and framing (Festinger, 1957; Dutton and Dukerich, 1991; Inkpen and Crossan, 1995; Czarniawska and Joerges, 1996), often in the form of providing a vision and intention, to align and coordinate change within organizations (Gioia and Thomas, 1996; Balogun and Johnson, 2004; Tushman, et al., 2013). While all of these approaches to studying institutions and organizations provide useful perspectives on change, revelation of the active interplay between shifting institutional logics and organizational adaptation requires longitudinal

research examining changes at the institutional and organizational level simultaneously. Complementing and building on past research, we offer an exploration of temporal shifts in institutional logics around gender and work and the concurrent process of adaptation within one large and influential organization.

RESEARCH SETTING

Our research setting and design opened up the possibility of discovering “process embedded in a context” (Pettigrew, et al., 2001: 698). A process study designed to reveal the interplay between beliefs and practices around gender and work at the institutional and organizational levels required a time period sufficiently long to capture a meaningful change in the social institution of gender, the organization’s recognition of that change, some internal response to the shift in logics and time for the response to spread through the organization (Pettigrew, et al., 2001). Following recommendations for in-depth qualitative research when studying longitudinal change processes (Van de Ven and Poole, 1990; Greenwood and Hinings, 1996), we explored the process through which one professional service firm integrated shifting gender logics into its beliefs and practices over the course of nearly two decades. We studied changes in gender logics between 1991 and 2009, and the adaptation to those changes at an international accounting and consulting firm we call BigAC. BigAC is the U.S. member of an international professional service firm. Through its member organizations, which are separate legal entities serving particular geographical areas, the firm offers audit, consulting, financial advisory, risk management and tax services to companies across the globe. Throughout much of the period studied, BigAC was an acknowledged leader in addressing gender equity among professionals, meeting Pettigrew’s admonishment to go for extreme cases “where progress is transparently observable” (1990: 275). Our setting also responds to Davis and Marquis’ call for research to provide “a natural history of the changing institutions of contemporary capitalism” (2005: 333).

Between 1980 and 2010, the accounting industry in the U.S. experienced significant consolidation and growth. Most accounting firms divested their consulting practices after the passage of the Sarbanes Oxley Act of 2002, which set new requirements and

restrictions on the activities of publicly held accounting firms. In spite of the restrictions, BigAC consulting practice grew significantly in the period studied. In FY 2009, BigAC's revenues were almost evenly split between consulting and accounting services, with the remainder of firm revenue coming from tax and financial advisory services.

Accompanying consolidation and growth in the industry and changes in the organization's revenue structure, BigAC also faced significant changes in the demographics of its workforce. In 1960, less than five percent of those graduating with accounting majors from U.S. colleges were female; by 1990, women comprised the majority of entry-level accounting professionals (see Figure 1). This change in the pool of entry-level professionals met a coincident change in demand for audit, consulting and tax services.

Insert Figure 1 About Here

In 1991, BigAC's CEO, noting that female professionals were leaving the firm at much higher rates than their male colleagues and only four of the 50 candidates up for partnership were women, announced that he was creating a task force to study the gender gap in professionals exiting the firm. The task force was comprised of high-level male and female partners and reported directly to the CEO. Their mission was to find out why women were leaving the firm and recommend actions to increase women's tenure and likelihood of promotion. The task force's findings and recommendations led to the establishment of a firm-wide women's initiative (the Initiative). Over the next 20 years, the Initiative became an integral part of the organization, affecting the firm's relationships with clients, internal practices and internally and externally held beliefs about the organization.

In our findings, we document changes in the symbolic construction of gender within the firm, as well as substantive accomplishments in the firm's practices and outcomes. Dramatic changes in the firm's advancement and retention of women occurred during the period of our study: BigAC completely eliminated the gender gap in turnover and the percentage of partners who were female more than quadrupled. To view these accomplishments in relative terms, peer firms started at comparable numbers of female partners in 1991 and increased their percentage of female partners by a factor of three by 2009. BigAC was also the first to elect a female Chairman of the Board, and received numerous awards and recognition for successes in retaining and promoting women throughout this time period (e.g., American Society of Women Accountants, Catalyst,

Working Mother). These accomplishments document the success of BigAC's evolving approach to gender and work, and the top-down initiation of attention to the need for change, followed by grass roots involvement across the organization are consistent with successful change efforts during times of technological upheaval (Tushman, et al., 2013). We sought to understand possible linkages between external gender logics and the changes inside BigAC and, if such linkages existed, the process through which external gender logics were integrated into the changes taking place inside the organization.

METHODS AND DATA

Our research relied on two facets of inside-outside methods. First, we collected and analyzed data from outside and inside the organization. At the societal level, we collected news articles on gender and work published in seven prominent press outlets between 1991 and 2009. We refer to these articles as the *outside data*. The outside data provided a lens into gender logics. At the organizational level, we collected all of the available materials on BigAC's women's Initiative from 1992 through 2009, including publicly available data and confidential organizational archives. We refer to these materials as the *inside data*. The inside data allowed us to explore the process through which the organization's practices and beliefs around gender and work evolved over the eighteen-year period. Together, the outside and inside data allowed us to explore connections between shifts in institutional logics of gender and the evolution of practices and beliefs within the organization.

The second facet of inside-outside methods involved the makeup of our research team, comprised of one "insider" researcher and two "outsider" researchers (Gioia, et al., 2010). The insider, though not a BigAC employee, worked closely with leaders in the firm from 1998 to 2010. Over the period of collaboration, the insider conducted interviews, surveyed professionals in the firm, designed and delivered a leadership program for high potential women in the firm¹ and had broad access to the firm's professionals and archival materials.

¹ See Tushman, O Reilly, Fenolosa, Kleinbaum, & McGrath, 2007 on the links between executive education and research.

Qualitative, inductive fieldwork requires both personal involvement in the field setting to provide deep insight into how field participants view their world, and professional distance to maintain a critical perspective (Anteby, forthcoming). Our insider-outsider authorship provided a balance between involvement and distance. The insider provided access to the organization and a historical perspective that was critical in interpreting the internal change process. The outsiders limited self-presentation and relationship biases, and provided external interpretation and validation (Bartunek and Louis, 1996; Gioia, et al., 2010). To minimize dependence on the insider's interpretation of the organizational data, the insider coauthor was involved in preliminary discussions about the data and all of the discussions on conceptual issues, but did not participate in the detailed data coding of the inside data.

We supplemented and triangulated our inside-outside perspective by reviewing 130 news articles published over the time period of our study and containing the keyword "BigAC." These articles provided external (though not necessarily objective) documentation of how BigAC managed its people, did its work, and interacted with the government and the accounting profession. The insights gained from the articles provided instructional background and a deeper contextual understanding of the field setting as we analyzed our data and developed our interpretation of the process and content of change at BigAC.

The Outside Data Set

To collect data on historical shifts in gender logics, we gathered news articles mentioning gender and work published in national newspapers and the business press between 1991 and 2009, inclusive. News articles both reflect and affect societal, legitimated beliefs, and attitudes (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Shoemaker and Reese, 1996; Pollock and Rindova, 2003; Zilber, 2006; Bottom and Kong, 2012). The media acts as fashion setter for management trends (Abrahamson, 1996), influences the legitimacy and content of management decisions (Pollock and Rindova, 2003) and leads the academic press in the study and documentation of business practices (Barley, et al., 1988). Our approach is similar to that taken by Edelman and colleagues (Edelman, et al., 2001), who based their study of the "managerialization" of civil rights laws on 286 articles published across 17 professional management periodicals over a nine-year period. It also echoes

Zilber (2006), who culled from 106 articles published in one national newspaper over an 8-year period to examine societal-level constructions of myths regarding high-tech in Israel. In line with these scholars who use media data to understand institutional environments, we take a critical-constructivist approach, treating articles published in national newspapers and the business press as markers of institutional logics. Our media data do not constitute an objective picture; rather, they reflect shifts in the “symbolically grounded, organizationally structured, politically defended, and technically and materially constrained ... set of material practices and symbolic constructions” (Friedland and Alford, 1991: 248-249) of gender and work in American society.

We searched for articles on gender and work published in the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *BusinessWeek*, *Fortune*, *Forbes*, *Accounting Today* and *CPA Journal*. All seven outlets are top tier publications, influential within the industry we were studying. The outlets vary on two important dimensions. First, they range in occupational specificity from general news outlets (*NYT*, *WSJ*) to general business outlets (*Business Week*, *Fortune*, *Forbes*) to accounting trade outlets (*Accounting Today*, *CPA Journal*). Second, they vary in their political perspectives. The *New York Times*, for example, is known for its liberal viewpoint, while the *Wall Street Journal* is reputedly conservative. Because each media outlet controls the messages it conveys (Gamson, et al., 1992), competing constructions of gender are more likely to be present across, rather than within, specific outlets. Including outlets ranging in specificity and political orientation increased the likelihood that our data would contain the complexity present in the institutional logics of gender.

To create the outside data set, we searched for the keyword “work” *plus* either “women/woman” or “gender” in all articles published in the seven listed media outlets between 1991 and 2009, inclusive. We then skimmed the titles and lead paragraphs and dropped articles not substantively about gender and work (for example, articles on clothing styles). We also removed articles primarily relating to countries outside the U.S., since we were studying gender and work in a U.S. organization. We excluded articles that

contained the word “BigAC” to eliminate overlap in our inside and outside data. Our final data set included 288 articles, ranging from nine to 22 annually.²

The Inside Data Set

Our inside data set included all of the available internal documentation on BigAC’s women’s Initiative from 1992 to 2009, including publicly available and confidential sources.³ We attained the confidential data through our insider’s contacts in the firm. Over time, BigAC came to position the Initiative competitively, so its mission, plans, actions and accomplishments were communicated widely inside and outside the organization. Examples of publicly available data include the Initiative’s annual reports and on-line versions of the Initiative’s timeline. Examples of confidential data include internal survey results and firm leaders’ presentations at executive education programs. Together, the publicly available and confidential materials account for over 1000 pages documenting BigAC’s beliefs and practices over the eighteen years studied. As in prior historical research on change within a single organization (e.g., Tripsas, 2009; Gioia, et al., 2010), we combined the different types of internal data to gain a rich understanding of the organization’s evolving approach to gender and professional work.

In the first stage of analysis, we analyzed the outside and inside data sets separately, each in four steps: 1) chronological narrative overview; 2) inductive generation of first-order codes and coding all articles according to these categories; 3) clustering first-order codes into second-order, conceptual themes; and 4) analyzing patterns over time. After analyzing each data set separately, we assembled both sequences onto a single timeline. This allowed us to assess the relationship between shifts in gender logics and changes in the organization’s approach to gender and professional work. Below, we first present the analyses and findings for the outside data, followed by the analyses and findings for the inside data. We then present the findings emerging from the juxtaposition of outside and inside sequences. We follow the longitudinal analyses and findings with an empirically-based model of internalization.

² A complete list of articles is available from the first author.

³ We verified with several different firm leaders that we had the full set of documents, but it is possible that other documents do exist.

OUTSIDE DATA ANALYSES AND FINDINGS

Chronological overview. In the first step, the three authors read through the 288 articles identified through our keyword search and discussed the ways in which the media portrayals coincided with or diverged from understandings of gender and work presented in academic scholarship. We then created a narrative timeline of the temporal shifts in gender logics conveyed in the articles. The timeline and our knowledge of constructs presented in academic work illuminated a small set of “sensitizing concepts” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) that grounded our theory development and shaped our detailed coding and analysis.

First-order analysis. In the second step, each author inductively coded a randomly selected sample (10%) of the articles, independently identifying the specific ways in which the media reported on the “material practices and symbolic constructions” (Friedland and Alford, 1991) around gender, women and work. We refined these themes in discussion, reading through additional articles until no further themes emerged. Examples of the emergent first-order codes in our data include harassment, stereotypes, the exclusion of women from organizational networks, statistics of women in leadership positions, and work-non-work conflicts.

Two research associates blind to the purpose of the study were trained by one of the authors and then coded the articles according to the first-order coding scheme. Each article could be assigned multiple codes, but any single code could only be assigned once per article. Each research associate coded two-thirds of the articles, randomly assigned, resulting in an overlap on one-third of the articles. The inter-rater agreement on the overlapping articles was 85 percent. Disagreements were settled in favor of including an instance of a code if either coder identified it.

Aggregating to Gender Logics. The three authors reviewed the assignment of first-order codes and discussed the conceptual clustering of the codes to identify the institutional logics conveyed in the media. Three logics of gender and work emerged: *Bias*, *Underrepresentation*, and *Work-family conflict*. Table 1 presents our first-order codes organized into the three gender logics, with examples from the outside data.

Insert Table 1 About Here

The gender logic of *Bias* situates women and men at work as fundamentally conflicted—men are understood to be dominant, powerful players in the workplace, while women in the workplace are constructed as victims of differential treatment—intentionally unequal in some cases and unintentionally unequal in others. First-order codes of gender stereotypes, harassment and exclusion, for example, clustered into *Bias*. The *Bias* logic frames gender issues at work as resulting from explicit harassment as well as more implicit practices through which women are blocked from or afforded less access to activities critical to success. For example, *The Wall Street Journal* reported,

Many women contend that when considering promotions, top managements often judge a man by how they think he will perform in the future but judge a woman on how well she has performed in the past. (Karr, 1992).

A more explicit example appeared in the *CPA Journal*.

In a 1993 survey conducted by the New York State Society of CPA's Advancement of Women in the Accounting Profession, almost 40 percent of managing partner respondents felt "firms should not change to accommodate and retain women CPAs." Survey respondents also made the following comments: "women are incapable of coping with the profession's demands and stress;" "the majority of clients prefer men servicing their account;" and "women are less likely to stand pressure in the high season" (Coolidge and D'Angelo, 1994).

The gender logic of *Underrepresentation* presents women as stuck at lower levels in organizations, unable to reach top leadership positions. First-order codes included statistics on the representation of women and mentions of unequal promotion or compensation rates. For example,

Even today, the inequalities are well documented -- for every \$1 earned by American men, women earn just 76 cents, and half of law-school graduates are women, but only 8% are partners (Thomas, 1999).

Under the logic of *Underrepresentation*, gender inequities are evidence of more complex processes than overt bias towards women. *Underrepresentation* often portrays fundamental inequalities between men's and women's opportunities, leadership and

compensation in the workplace as both the result of past inequalities and the cause of ongoing disparities.

The gender logic of *Work-family conflict* portrays the major problem stymieing women's advancement in the workplace as childbearing and the accompanying responsibility at home. Women's, and sometimes men's, retreat from the workplace reflects the incompatibility of family, especially young children, and work, especially professional work. This excerpt from *Business Week* illustrates the symbolic construction of gender at work through the logic of *Work-family conflict*:

There are few women CEOs and a disproportionately small number of women senior executives because women have babies. And despite what some earnest but misguided social pundits might tell you, that matters. Because when professional women decide to have children, they often also cut back their hours at work or travel less. Some women change jobs entirely, taking staff positions with more flexibility but much lower visibility. Still more women leave the workforce entirely (Welch and Welch, 2006).

Analyzing patterns over time. We used a temporal bracketing strategy (Langley, 1999), organizing the data by year so that we could discern shifts over time in the institutional logics around gender and work. Each article was assigned 0 or 1 for each of the three gender logics. If an article received any of the first-order codes associated with a given logic, the article was assigned 1 for that logic; otherwise, it was assigned 0 for that logic. For each year, we assessed the relative prevalence of each of the gender logics by counting the number of times a given logic appeared in the articles for that year, and dividing that number by the total number of 1s assigned across the three logics to articles published that year (Van de Ven and Poole, 1990). For example, to calculate the prevalence ratio for "bias" in 1992, we counted the number of times "bias" was assigned to any article published in 1992 (11), and divided that count by the total number of logic assignments in 1992 (25). This calculation told us that 44 percent (11/25) of the practices and symbolic representations around gender, women and work reported in the business press in 1992 fit into a bias logic. We calculated this ratio for each of the three logics across each of the 19 years in our media database.

Insert Figure 2 About Here

All three logics were present in the outside data throughout our study period, but there are differences in their relative prevalence over time, as shown in Figure 2. We interpreted changes in ratios over time as evidence of shifts in gender logics. Through the 1990s, the media held dual logics of bias and underrepresentation; over 70 percent of the codes from the press articles between 1991 and 2000 fit into one of these logics. *Bias* peaked in 1991,⁴ accounting for 53 percent of the codes that year. The logic of *Bias* then faded over time, temporarily rising again in 2000-2001. *Underrepresentation* dominated the social discourse in the late 1990s, peaking in 1998 at 47 percent of the logic codes. In the dawn of the 21st century, the discourse around problems of gender and work shifted dramatically as the logic of work-family conflict captured the media stage. *Work-family conflict* became dominant in 2002, peaking the following year. Descriptions of work-family conflict comprised 57 percent of the media's presentation of gender and work in 2003. This portrayal of gender as a social role situated both at work and at home holds in the media for almost a decade, accounting for an average of 47 percent of the problems mentioned between 2001 and 2009. The framing of gender and work as an issue of work-family conflict was challenged toward the end of our period of study. As the millennium began its second decade, the institutional logic around gender and work continued its uneven and contested evolution.

Social institutions are interwoven in history (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Economic and social factors occurring during our period of study are evident in the shifts we observe in gender logics. In 1991, at the peak of *Bias*, the country was going through a major recession and Anita Hill testified about sexual harassment in Clarence Thomas' judicial confirmation hearings. From 1992 to 2000, as *Underrepresentation* peaked in our data, there was a steady decline in unemployment, falling to four percent with the dot-com boom in the late 1990s. In 2002, *Work-family conflict* rose as the dominant gender logic, reflecting the return to traditional, conservative values prompted by the burst of the dot com bubble in 2000 and the 9/11 attacks.

⁴ We looked at the simple moving average with various time windows including the years just before and after (such as plus 1, minus 1, plus and minus 2, etc.) to ensure we were not simply capturing a single-year fluctuation. The peaks remain within a two-year window (see Pettigrew, et al., 2001).

INSIDE DATA ANALYSES AND FINDINGS

Chronological overview. After independently reading all the inside documents, the three authors jointly created a narrative timeline documenting the evolution of practices and beliefs around gender and work at BigAC. This timeline revealed a cyclical pattern in which practices focused on information collection and analysis alternated over time with practices focused on new activities, policies and structures. Our observation of this cyclical pattern shaped the coding process used in the next two steps.

First-order analysis. The two outsider authors developed a set of first-order codes, informed by the observations in the narrative timeline. We combed through materials from different types of data sources (e.g., annual reports, interviews, survey results) at different periods of time, searching for mentions of practices with discrete temporal and spatial boundaries (Barley, 1990). Our conceptualization of practices includes any “socially meaningful” activities (Thornton, et al., 2012: 128) associated with the Initiative. For coding purposes, we defined “practices” as any structural changes, programs, activities or policies connected in any way to the Initiative, carried out by individuals, groups or the organization. Examples of data coded as “practices” include mentions of creating task forces, hiring consultants, conducting surveys, establishing mentoring programs, delivering leadership programs, publishing internal reports and creating new evaluation policies.

As we read through the internal materials to identify practices, we observed five categories that appeared repeatedly in the inside data but did not denote practices, *per se*. The categories included: references to the Initiative’s mission, aspirations and goals (“mission”); information suggesting assumptions underlying practices (“assumptions”); leadership transitions within the Initiative and at the firm level (“leadership”); data on the representation of women in the firm (“inside representation”); and external awards and recognition (“outside recognition”).

After iterating through the materials several times, we added a final category that we labeled “discrepancies.” The simplest description of a discrepancy is any mention of disgruntlement or dissatisfaction with the Initiative’s progress. Evidence of discrepancies sometimes rose in the form of unanswered questions, such as the search for reasons underlying women’s exit from the firm. More formally, discrepancies involved evidence of disagreements around the Initiative’s mission or working assumptions, or divergence

between the Initiative's stated aspirations or assumptions and actual implementation or outcomes. For example, in 2000, a newly formed taskforce proposed a set of policies and programs pertaining to flexible work practices. The proposal was motivated by the Initiative's mission to gain equal representation for women at all levels. The operating assumption underlying the new flexible work policies was a belief that with greater choice and flexibility in work location and hours, women would come to be represented proportionately at all levels. The new policies and programs were formally rolled out over the next few years, but actual use was limited. The female professionals most in need of flexible work did not take part in the flexibility programs because they believed uptake would negatively affect partners' decisions around assignments and promotions. These outcomes directly contradicted the beliefs underlying the new policies, creating discrepancies that were voiced in discussions, surveys and interviews.

Using the inductively derived coding categories, one author trained a research associate on the first-order coding. The author and the research associate then independently coded all of the internal materials. After training, the inter-coder agreement rate was 79 percent. A category was coded as present if either coder identified an occurrence in the data. When the coders assigned different categories to the same occurrence in the data, the difference was resolved through discussion. To capture the order in which events occurred, rather than the order in which they were recorded, codes were linked with the year in which the practice initially took place, regardless of the year in which the practice was mentioned in the written materials. For instance, a survey carried out in 1992 was first mentioned in a report published in 2000; the survey was coded as "Practices: Survey of women, 1992." Because the Initiative gathered momentum as time passed, documenting more of its activities and referring back to activities and data from the inception of the Initiative, coding by date of occurrence also allowed us to fill in details for periods when Initiative materials were scarce.⁵ Each practice, mission, assumption, leadership event, inside or outside recognition, and discrepancy was coded as occurring within a given year if it was mentioned at least once; if the same event or occurrence was

⁵ There is very little mention in the data of Initiative activities in 1996 and 1997, so we extrapolate in the temporal maps and otherwise withhold analysis for this two-year period.

associated with a given year in multiple documents, it was still coded as occurring only once that year.

Second-order, conceptual themes. In the third step, the three authors reviewed the first-order codes and assigned conceptually linked data to second-order, thematic categories. Two conceptual categories emerged from the first-order “practice” codes: *analysis* and *action*. Analysis practices focused on *understanding* the issues of gender and work within the firm. Analysis consisted of any practices that supported learning about the issues women were facing within the organization and how those issues were affecting the organization’s broader objectives. Codes aggregated into Analysis included internal data collection and analysis, such as interviews, surveys and task forces, and external data collection and analysis, such as hiring academics and consultants to learn about gender and work.

In contrast to the focus on understanding in analysis practices, action practices focused on *doing*, on resolving or at least managing the issues associated with gender and work in the firm. Action involved mobilizing to actively address problems women were facing within the firm. Codes included in action related to initiating or creating internal policies, programs, practices and structures under the umbrella of the Initiative. Examples included mentoring programs, creating new human resource policies, and organizational structures.

The data coded under the first-order codes “mission” and “operating assumptions” reflected shared understandings and ambitions regarding what needed to be done about women and professional work in the firm. We aggregated these data under the second-order theme *beliefs*. The first-order codes “inside representation” and “outside recognition” represented internal and external assessments of outcomes, respectively, and we assigned them to the second-order theme *outcomes*. We left two first-order codes, “leadership” and “discrepancies”, as separate second-order categories.

Analyzing patterns over time. In the final step of analyzing the inside data, we counted and recorded the frequencies of occurrences coded into each second-order category, by year. This allowed us to use a temporal bracketing strategy (Langley, 1999) to identify break points or shifts in the pattern of practices. We had initially observed in our narrative timeline that periods of intense analysis seemed to alternate with periods of

internal mobilization and action. To assess the extent of systematic switching between analysis and action versus simultaneously engaging in both types of practices, we calculated the sum of analysis and action practices by year⁶ and ordered the annual sums as sequence data to reveal temporal patterns across the practices (Van de Ven and Poole, 1990). Plotting these practices over time, as shown in Figure 3, revealed stark swings between distinct analysis phases and equally distinct action phases.

Insert Figure 3 About Here

Over 18 years, we observed three full cycles in which short (12 – 18 months) analysis phases preceded longer (4-5 years) action phases. To understand the nature of these phases, we created summaries of the substance of leadership, analysis practices, action practices, beliefs, outcomes and discrepancies at each phase of analysis and action across the three cycles. Tables 2a-2f presents the summaries for each of the analysis and action phases, presented in chronological order. The summaries of the phases revealed the nature of the iterated cycles of analysis and action, and allowed us to identify what triggered switches from analysis to action and action to analysis.

Insert Tables 2a-2f About Here

LINKING INSTITUTIONAL GENDER LOGICS TO ORGANIZATIONAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

In the final step in our analyses, we simplified the outside and inside timelines and assembled the sequences into one timeline to investigate the relationship between shifting gender logics and changes in the firm's approach to gender and work. This juxtaposition revealed systematic timing and content linkages between gender logics and organizational change. The linkages suggested that shifts in gender logics triggered switches within and across internal cycles of change, from analysis to action and *vice versa*, by activating discrepancies and disrupting beliefs within the firm. Each new phase of inside *analysis* began as discrepancies rose within the firm following a change in the dominant gender logic outside the firm; each new phase of inside *action* put into practice the new beliefs

⁶ *Analysis* ratio = Frequency of *Analysis* codes for Year_t / Frequency of *Analysis* + *Action* codes Year_t;
Action ratio = Frequency of *Action* codes for Year_t / Frequency of *Analysis* + *Action* codes Year_t

about gender and work generated in the preceding analysis phase. A graphic representation of the three cycles of analysis and action that we observed in the inside data and the links to shifts in the gender logic observed in the outside data is presented in Figure 4.

Insert Figure 4 About Here

Discrepancies Trigger Analysis. Internal discrepancies accumulated during periods of notable shifts in gender logics. Within-firm practices and beliefs that were consistent with a prevailing logic came to be questioned under a new logic. Each time a new logic came to dominate the outside media representations of gender and work, discrepancies rose in the inside data, and attention to the disconnect between beliefs, actions and outcomes sparked the onset of a new internal analysis phase. Across the eighteen years studied, analysis was the firm's consistent response to shifts in gender logics and to the accompanying challenges to prevailing internal beliefs about gender and work.

In 1991, as the gender logic of bias dominated outside, inside discrepancies between hiring rates and promotion rates for women came to the surface and drew attention to a gender gap in the rate of exit for professionals in the firm. An annual report several years later noted that "In 1991, only four of the 50 newly admitted partners were women ... though the firm had been hiring men and women in equal numbers since 1980" (Internal Document #7, Annual Report). The first analysis phase began in 1992 in response to the rising discrepancies and continued through the early months of 1993. Analyses in this cycle focused on the question, "Why are women leaving?" The 1992 task force found that many women were still working and some "were having children and returning to the workforce, but not to our firm" (Internal Document #7, Annual Report).

As new understandings emerged out of the first analysis phase in 1992, discrepancies disappeared; the inside data reflect no discrepancies between 1993 and 1997. In 1998, however, as the logic of underrepresentation rose in prominence in the media, discrepancies rose sharply inside the firm. The discrepancies in this period centered on the dearth of women in leadership roles, even though women were being promoted to partners. The CEO in 1998 commented in an interview that, "I don't see [women having a representative number of positions in the partnership] happening ... but it's the right time to figure out if there is something infinitely wrong here" (Internal

Document # 29, Interview, CEO). In a focus group with female partners at the time, women voiced beliefs that their path to leadership was blocked. “It’s a political game that I can’t win; leaders pick leaders and there are no women there (Internal Document #55, Focus Group Transcript).”

The second analysis phase began in 1998 in response to the rising discrepancies and continued through 1999. The analyses investigated why women were not becoming leaders.

After eight years, [the Initiative] had stalled, and our hard won cultural advantage was beginning to slip away. The task force convened to identify the reasons why women weren’t advancing to leadership positions in proportionate numbers. (Internal document #6, Newsletter)

Reflecting a new understanding coming out of this second analysis phase, discrepancies dropped but remained present in 2000 through 2002, only to begin spiking again in 2003 as the underrepresentation logic was contested by a new logic of work-family conflict. This time, discrepancies pointed to the mismatch between assumptions about flexible work arrangements and the actual usage of these policies. Flexible work arrangements, viewed through the lens of a logic of underrepresentation in the second action phase (2000 – 2003), were intended to create attractive work options and thereby increase the retention of women. Viewed through the lens of a work-family conflict logic, however, options for flexible work forced women to negotiate at home *and* at work and created a “can’t cut it” stigma for women who chose to use FWAs.

I would go every once in a while to these [initiative] things but it was because you should be there because you are female partner and there are so few female partners ... It was more a social cause than a business cause within the organization ... it was numbers, it was perceived by many as affirmative action. (Internal document #30, Interview, Female Partner)

In a 2003 survey of professionals using flexible work arrangements, five percent of respondents agreed with the statement, “I continue to be offered challenging assignments and expect to be promoted once FWA ends.” In contrast, 95 percent of them agreed with the statement, “FWA helps me meet personal and family responsibilities.” (Internal document #41, Survey)

As the discrepancies rose, a new phase of analysis began. The third analysis phase began in 2004 and lasted through the year. The analysis explored whether the Initiative should continue and whether men also needed help dealing with conflicts between the way work was organized and the demands of their lives outside work. A female partner interviewed at the time noted the need for new analyses: “It was appropriate to reflect on where the [initiative] was and to take stock and ask the question around whether people believed the initiative was still important” (Internal document #31, Interview, Female Partner).

New Beliefs Trigger Action. The firm examined and revised its beliefs about gender and work during analysis phases, engaging in broad data collection and intense testing of competing hypotheses. The beliefs that solidified over the course of each analysis phase mirrored the gender logic that dominated at the onset of the analysis period. As beliefs stabilized toward the end of each analysis phase, they were formalized in a new Initiative mission statement. The mission statement provided an answer to the question that had driven the analysis phase. In each cycle, shared beliefs, formalized in Initiative mission statements and stated in internal documents, directed new practices around gender and work in the following action phase. These practices were connected to positive outcomes and improvements in the advancement and retention of women.

The beliefs growing out of the first analysis phase in 1992 suggested that the answer to the question of why women were leaving was that the firm was the obstacle. The mission statement driving the action phase that began in 1993 reflected these beliefs and challenged the firm to “*reduce obstacles to women’s advancement and retention.*” An example of a practice in this first action phase from 1993-1997 was the implementation of 2-day gender awareness training workshops with mandatory attendance by professionals throughout the firm.

It was an interesting [workshop on] changes and shifts in the workplace ... behaviors and patterns and things to say ... just to be conscious and aware of how others relate to us ... I think that was a positive thing. (Internal document #30, Interview, Female Partner)

Practices in the first action phase resulted in several women being named to the Board of Directors, leading peer firms in the percentage of women partners, substantial decreases in the gender gap in turnover and numerous accolades and awards from industry observers.

As the outside gender logic shifted from *Bias* to *Underrepresentation* in the late 1990s, and discrepancies regarding the limited number of women in leadership rose inside the firm, a second cycle of change began. The answers emerging from the second analysis phase were that the barriers to the advancement of women to leadership were quite complex and more subtle than those encountered in 1992. Barriers cited in internal documents included the informal nature of the promotion process, the lack of role models, the firm's culture and gender-based assumptions regarding leadership. These new beliefs regarding the obstacles women faced on the path to leadership were formalized in a new mission statement in 2000, "*Within a supportive flexible culture women will be represented proportionately at all levels and hold significant leadership and client service roles.*" An example of practices in this action phase was the integration of Initiative goals with firm-wide policies on regional goals, performance evaluation, promotion, compensation, and career planning. The CEO commented on the Initiative's activities in an annual report.

We've completely aligned our initiative goals with our HR process. This means we now consider our goals for the proportional representation of women when we make decisions about professional development and planned leadership succession.
(Internal document #7, Annual Report)

The practices carried out during the second cycle led to important outcomes coinciding with the Initiative's mission. For example, the percentage of women in leadership positions in the firm almost doubled between 2000 and 2005.

Yet, as the outside gender logic shifted from *Underrepresentation* to *Work-Family Conflict*, discrepancies arose again and the third cycle of change began. The third phase of analysis—examining whether the initiative should continue as it was, be revised or be retired—gave rise to new beliefs that mirrored the new gender logic of work-family conflict. For instance, firm leaders stated in their annual report that, in order to serve clients and grow the business, the firm had to make it easier for women and increasingly men to choose to stay in the workforce rather than opt out. These beliefs were formalized in a revised Initiative mission statement, stating that the firm's employment practices

should be “*driving marketplace growth and creating a culture where the best women choose to be.*” This mission guided practices in the third action phase, from 2005-2009. Examples of practices in this phase included workshops focused on understanding female clients and a personalized career planning process.

The career planning program provides a framework and systemic approach that will allow us to correlate people’s talents, career aspirations and changing life circumstances in ways that match our organization’s markets and corresponding needs for talent. This kind of innovation – and our commitment to sharing our experience – is one reason for our continued and growing prominence on issues concerning women in the workforce (Internal document #18, Annual Report).

Practices in cycle 3, aimed at driving market share and building an inclusive culture, drove positive outcomes for the firm, eliminating the gender gap in turnover, increasing the percentage of female partners, and continued awards from prominent industry bodies for innovation in workplace practices. At the close of our study, a new gender logic had not yet arisen, and the firm had not yet entered a new cycle of change.

To summarize, the firm adapted to shifting gender logics through institutionally linked cycles of analysis and action: shifting gender logics outside triggered discrepancies inside; discrepancies sparked analyses; analyses led to new or revised beliefs about gender and work; and new beliefs directed subsequent action. Action led to positive outcomes, but as gender logics shifted outside, discrepancies between current reality and new aspirations rose inside and a new cycle of change began.

An illustration of a full cycle of analysis and action. A description of the first full cycle of change within the firm illustrates the time and content linkages between institutional gender logics and organizational beliefs and practices. As *bias* was at its peak in 1991, leaders in the firm first called attention to a *discrepancy* between men and women in terms of retention. The CEO of BigAC observed that only a few of the partner candidates were women. This was in stark contrast to representation at the entry level, where for over a decade more than half the professionals hired were women.

In 1991 some troubling data came to the attention of the CEO, only four out of the 50 candidates for partner were women, even though the firm had been hiring men and women in equal numbers since 1980. In addition, women were leaving at a

significantly greater rate than men and not staying long enough to make it to partner (Internal document #7, Annual Report).

Discrepancies established old assumptions as problematic and laid out the questions to be addressed within that phase.

The CEO recognized and used changes in outside understandings of gender to generate attention to gender problems inside the firm. At the CEO's prompting and under his leadership, an *analysis* phase began to answer the question, "Why are women leaving?" A female leader voiced the prevailing beliefs in the firm, "A number of people assumed women were leaving the firm and the workforce to have children and stay home" (Internal document #58, Panel Discussion Transcript). To identify the underlying causes for women's exits, the CEO established a task force to study the issue, and the task force hired outside experts on gender issues in organizations for an independent perspective, and conducted internal surveys to search for a deeper understanding of the reasons women were leaving the firm at higher rates than their male colleagues.

For nearly a year, 19 men and women from the firm (mostly partners) worked closely with various outside experts in researching and gathering information. The Task force also met with corporations recognized as leaders in retaining and advancing women to identify best practices and determine results, conducted focus groups and individual discussions with our people to find out how they felt about working here, and later interviewed 40 of the high-potential women who had left the firm in recent years (Internal document #7, Annual Report).

The data collection and learning that took place during this *analysis* phase gradually established new *beliefs* spelled out in the Initiative's first mission statement and played out in the following *action* phase. The firm's annual report stated that the firm culture was inhospitable to women, that the problem was a "firm problem" not a "woman problem."

The results of the year-long research were eye-opening. Firm leadership had assumed that the women who left the firm did so to raise families and would not return to the work force. They assumed wrong. The majority of women who left were working elsewhere. In fact, less than 10 percent were staying home to raise children – and those women planned to return to the workforce. Some task force members described their experiences as a journey of discovery (Internal document #7, Annual Report).

This new belief within the firm echoed the gender logic prevalent in the business press at that time—*bias* negatively affected women within workplaces. With this new *belief* in place inside as well as outside, the firm moved into an *action* phase focused on reducing bias and changing the culture so that women would stay and advance. Practices between 1993 and 1997 included changes in organizational structure, new policies and activities such as the establishment of the external advisory board, the creation of the gender awareness training workshop, reduced days away from the office, and reviews of assignments to ensure gender neutrality. Firm members believed these practices would help shape the firm into a place where women could and would succeed.

In the short-term the workshops heightened awareness of gender-based assumptions and behaviors, and in the long-term they helped foster a work environment where all men and women are valued equally and have a level playing field for development and advancement (Internal document #7, Annual Report).

The practices appeared to have the intended effect. Several women were appointed to the firm's board of directors and the firm moved ahead of its competitors in terms of number of women partners. Among the many external accolades, the firm was named one of the 100 best companies for working mothers, one of the 100 best companies to work for, and one of the top 50 companies for diversity.

BUILDING A MODEL OF ORGANIZATIONAL INTERNALIZATION

The iterated cycles of shifting beliefs and attitudes driving changes in practice that we observed at BigAC reminded us of Kelman's description of the process of individual level change through internalization (Kelman, 1958; O'Reilly and Chatman, 1986). A distinguishing feature of internalization as a mode of attitude and behavior change is that internalization rests on "*one's own belief in the actual content* of available information or knowledge" (emphasis added) (Kelman, 1958: 53). Internalization results in lasting change because it pairs "public conformity with private acceptance" (Kelman, 1958: 51). With the image of internalization in mind, we went back to our data to explore *how* the firm internalized shifts in gender logics.

Our findings suggest that the process of organizational internalization begins when the organization recognizes a shift in the institutional logic. The dynamic and evolving

nature of institutional logics exposes the organization to discrepancies between its beliefs and practices and the outcomes it is achieving. Uncertainty and contestation among logics within an organizational field destabilize current beliefs inside the organization and open up the space for meaning creation (Fiss and Hirsch, 2005). In the case of gender, we propose that shifts in gender logics created opportunities for leaders in the firm to see how gender operates in ways other than that which was currently taken for granted within the organization. Shifts in gender logics supported new aspirations within the organization, setting up a gap between the present reality and the potentially brighter future. A former CEO voiced his hopes for the Initiative,

What's exciting to me is the notion that if we could figure it out, and then take and energize it, we would have a tremendous improvement among ourselves and a competitive advantage in relation to our colleagues in the profession (Internal document #29, Interview, CEO).

But internalization requires more than discontent with the current state. It also requires a *credible* alternative, and that the alternative be deemed *relevant* or useful to address the issue underlying the discontent (Kelman, 1958). New or disconfirming information is more likely to be viewed as credible when the source is viewed as trustworthy (Kelman, 2006). New or disconfirming information is more likely to be viewed as relevant if it is integrated with held values and seen as fitting the situation at hand (Bellg, 2003; Kelman, 2006). We propose that newly rising logics were made credible in the organization through links to high status outside experts and were made relevant through internal dialogue and interpretation (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986).

Credibility and Relevance. During analysis phases, the firm drew in gender logics through outside experts who provided *credibility* for newly emerging beliefs and expectations. For example, in the first analysis phase, the CEO-appointed task force hired a highly visible research and consulting organization to educate the task force on gender issues. Similarly, the third analysis phase began with an internal council listening to a select group of outside economists report on trends in professional employment practices. Speaking of the analysis undertaken by the task force for the third cycle, a female partner in the firm noted,

We framed the data [in terms of] what is going on in the general labor market, what is going on in our organization, what is going on in terms of our clients ... we had a speaker for the dinner, an economics professor, he had an economic formula for the value of a resource, it was interesting in terms of opening peoples' minds (Internal document #30, Interview, Female Partner).

Expertise is one commonly understood way of gaining credibility (Kelman, 1958; Chaiken and Maheswaran, 1994). An organization can begin to internalize new logics when acknowledged outside experts communicate the information to insiders. At each analysis phase, the firm we studied brought in external consultants, often academics or research-driven organizations, to foster a deeper and broader investigation into the issue of gender and work. These linkages to outside experts provided credibility to the new understandings of gender and work coming out of the analysis phases. Outside experts acted as “culturally legitimated theorists” (Strang and Meyer, 1993: 492) helping translate institutional logics into internal beliefs.

Importantly for internalization, credibility was paired with internal relevance. Inside-facing analyses provided evidence of the relevance of new ways of understanding gender at work, a sense of the issue as pertinent to the realities within the organization. As stated in an annual report,

Our leaders simply wanted to know why the number of women candidates for partner was so low and why the turnover for women was so high. In seeking answers the firm's task force learned some startling things ... men and women viewed our environment as male dominated, they perceived they had limited opportunities for advancement ... why was this data so compelling? In the world of professional services, the firm with the most intellectual capital wins, and we were losing a major component of ours at an alarming rate. The need for action was clear (Internal document #7 Annual Report).

Complementary inside-facing analyses assessed existing practices, beliefs and desired outcomes in the firm, providing a critical link between outside logics and internal realities, revealing why the outside expertise was *relevant* within the firm. Focus groups, surveys and interviews conducted during the second analysis phase, for example, asked why female partners were not becoming leaders in the firm. The findings from internal analyses revealed that both women and men could have greater career success only if the culture

shifted from a focus on hours to a focus on getting results, i.e., that underrepresentation at the top was not just a numbers problem—it was a problem that the firm needed to address through changes in structure and culture.

External calls for attention to an issue may be dismissed by organizational members because outsiders lack insider knowledge of what will be displaced, whereas calls for attention to an issue from within the organization are about “the right to decide for oneself, what is important” (Heimer, 2008: 30). Consultants did not just provide abstract information about gender and work in the world outside; they also helped gather and interpret information from inside the organization. Information gathered from inside provided evidence of and prompted reflection on internal experiences with gender, and links between gender and closely held organizational values and objectives were subjected to measurement and scrutiny. We found evidence of beliefs changing to reflect both bottom-up, deductive analyses of internally collected data and top-down integration of outside experts’ input (Greenwood, et al., 2002).

Accountability and Buy-in. At the individual level, internalization is effective because new beliefs lead to behavior change. Similarly, in organizations, actionable knowledge is internalized knowledge (Nonaka, 1994). New practices were essentially a widespread form of “learning by doing,” transforming the explicit knowledge articulated in the beliefs and mission statements into tacit, deeply held knowledge. During action phases, new practices were supported by *accountability*, “the expectation that one may be called on to justify one’s ... actions to others” (Lerner and Tetlock, 1999: 255) and *buy-in*, willing participation that turned new beliefs into new practices.

Our findings revealed that the firm turned to outside experts to hold itself *accountable* during action phases. For example, in the first action phase, the CEO named an external advisory board comprised of prominent women from government and industry who could scrutinize the changes within the firm. The chair of the external advisory board was quoted as saying, “The fact that [BigAC] has the courage to ask for outsider’s opinions is proof of the seriousness and sincerity of the firm’s commitment” (Internal document #7, Annual Report). Outside experts provided accountability for changes within the organization. Advisory boards and external evaluation bodies provided scrutiny and

evaluation during action phases, helping ensure that the new beliefs and mission were carried out according to publicly declared commitments (Schelling, 1980).

Complementary inside-facing practices ensured the changes were widespread and visible within the firm, creating *buy-in*. Critical to internalization, a broad base of employees observed and took part in new practices around gender and work. In line with the notion that “actions speak louder than words,” the doing of the change in action phases—activities such as establishing new reporting lines, recruiting requirements and career trajectories—provided internal evidence of the organization’s commitment to change. Change that invites openness, involvement and participation is likely to be seen as fair, generating buy-in (Schaubroeck, et al., 1994; Brockner and Wiesenfeld, 1996). A female leader reflected,

When we showcase women leaders in our communications they speak personally about why they love their work, how they advanced and how they find the time to do all the things that are important to them. That’s why so many of our people read, remember, relate to and learn from these stories. If we reach and engage people on that level, the [initiative] becomes their initiative, and that’s powerful (Internal document#58, Panel Discussion Transcript).

In summary, the full model of organizational internalization involves shifting gender logics and paired outside-inside mechanisms at each phase of analysis and action. During analyses, new beliefs informed by institutional logics are made credible through outside experts and made relevant to the organization by links to organizational experiences, values and objectives. During action phases, new behaviors are sustained through outside experts who provide accountability and widespread inside practices that generate buy-in. Figure 5 presents our emergent conceptual model.

Insert Figure 5 About Here

DISCUSSION

Our study sheds light on how organizations use cycles of analysis and action to successfully restructure internal beliefs and practices as institutional logics shift externally. Shifts in gender logics destabilize beliefs about gender and work inside the firm, breaking down assumptions and motivating the voicing of discrepancies, triggering each new phase

of analysis. New beliefs take shape during analysis phases, through internal reflection on practices and outcomes under the light of shifting institutional logics. As analyses lead to new beliefs, the organization updates its objectives and revises internal practices and an action phase begins. An action phase continues until institutional logics shift anew, opening up the space for discrepancies and triggering a fresh phase of analysis.

Through iterated cycles of analysis and action, the organization we studied internalized the shifting logic of gender. Analysis phases provided opportunities to gain new understanding about the relationship between gender and professional work. Action phases involving doing—creating or changing structures, policies, programs, or other activities in keeping with beliefs realized in the previous phase of analysis. Our findings reveal that outside experts and inside practices aided the firm’s internalization of shifting gender logics: during analysis phases, outside experts provided credibility while inside inquiry assessed the relevance of new information and ideas; during action phases, outside experts provided accountability while real changes in practices and outcomes inside the firm drove buy-in. Within the firm, transitions between analysis and action were triggered by changes in beliefs and a growing awareness of discrepancies between beliefs, practices and outcomes. These discrepancies incorporated external shifts in gender logics, keeping the organization cycling between action and analysis in rhythm with changes in the social institution.

Recent advances in institutional theory suggest that organizations dynamically translate and adapt institutions within their boundaries (Kellogg, 2009; Battilana and Dorado, 2010), although few scholars have examined such changes within single organizations over time (Tilcsik, 2010; Greenwood, et al., 2011). Our emergent model of organizational internalization expands this nascent view by illustrating how the interplay between external and internal mechanisms sustains organizational adaptation to shifting institutional logics over time. Institutional theorists also point to the role of external experts (Strang and Meyer, 1993) and external audiences (Greenwood and Hinings, 1996; Greenwood, et al., 2002) in legitimating change. Our multi-level analysis allowed us to delve deeply into *how* outside experts help spark and sustain change within organizations. Institutional theorists have described how experts play a role in making the organization legitimate in its broader social field, but our study inverts this notion. By providing

credibility, outside experts may facilitate the legitimacy of institutional logics *within* the organization. We theorize that experts help shift internal beliefs when their credibility is merged with internal inquiry that makes the new logic relevant within the organization. We also theorize that outside experts help sustain internal practices when accountability due to their scrutiny and evaluation is merged with internal buy-in to make the new beliefs actionable within the organization.

Scholars debate whether beliefs or practices are the primary drivers of organizational change (Gioia and Chittipeddi, 1991; Orlikowski, 1996; Weick and Quinn, 1999; Feldman, 2000). Researchers proposing practices as the primary driver model change as a series of ongoing activities and improvisations; those championing beliefs suggest organizational change occurs through the creation of new meaning when action is disrupted. Our findings move away from the question of whether practices or beliefs drive change to reveal how the interplay between them directs the pace and course of organizational change over time. In periods of internal stasis in the face of external change, organizational leaders can turn to the outside to compel the construction of new beliefs, and revised beliefs then propel new practices (Tushman, et al., 2013). If examined during a single point in time, changes would appear to be driven primarily by shifts in either beliefs (during analysis phases) *or* practices (during action phases), but examining change over nearly two decades reveals a dynamic model of organizational change as iterated cycles of beliefs and practices reflecting shifts in institutional logics.

One of the compelling issues in organizational change efforts is how to sustain change over time (Beer, et al., 1990). Alternating between an emphasis on understanding and an emphasis on doing may be ideally suited to sustained, adaptive organizational change. One implication of our model is the importance of outside facing activities in sustaining change inside organizations. Buy-in, or alignment and coordination, is common to many models of organizational change (e.g., Dutton and Dukerich, 1991; Gioia and Thomas, 1996; Balogun and Johnson, 2004); our study complements this work, suggesting that buy-in paired with external accountability may effectively create sustained attention to ongoing adaptation and change. Organizational leaders can call attention to and legitimate the need for internal analysis by referring to institutional forces, such as shifting logics, and relying on external experts and audiences. During an extended action phase, when

practices could become taken for granted, organizational leaders can turn to external accountability to reduce the likelihood that complacency will replace buy-in to the mission and meaning behind the action (Vaughan, 1996; Ashforth and Anand, 2003).

Limitations

We study one organization's adaptation to one social issue within a limited geography and during a particular period in time. BigAC's idiosyncratic size, history, personnel, leadership and industry position, along with unique features of the social institution of gender in the United States during the period studied could all limit the generalizability of our findings. For instance, as a consulting and accounting firm, it is possible that the way in which the firm approached internal issues of gender was similar to how it approached work with its' clients. The accounting side of the organization was able to focus on numbers and measurement as indicators of progress or lack thereof, and the consulting side of the organization was able to prompt solutions and practical responses. Other organizations, depending on the way they approach their own work, may have a tendency to languish in analysis (e.g., Academia) or jump straight to action (e.g., Armed Forces). The work of the firm may also be critical in how gender manifested in terms of professional work: for accountants, the culture of the profession was highly masculine although work conditions were benign, while for consultants, the work conditions of travel and long-hours were arduous although the culture of collaborative teams was more feminized. We assert that the change within this firm was successful partially because it was targeted at both shifting beliefs (culture) *and* practices (work conditions and structure). Studies of diversity practices in organizations suggest that creating structures with accountability are critical to the advancement of women and minorities in organizations (Kalev, et al., 2006), this study sheds light on complementary changes in beliefs and the recursive nature of beliefs and practices. Last, the organization we studied had a particular mission that highlighted the desire to improve and that linked people (inside) and clients (outside). We recognize the need for future studies involving other organizations in other institutional fields, facing pressures from other social institutions in different cultures at different periods in history to examine causal relationships and variation rather than process.

Contributions to Understandings of Gender and Work

Our study speaks to the challenges of organizational adaptation to shifting institutional logics broadly, but also to gender more specifically. Scholars have framed the issues around gender and work in three different ways: 1) gender as an individual difference; 2) gender as differential treatment; and 3) gender as embedded in organizational practices and cultures. The gender as individual difference perspective sees gender as an essential social category driven by socialization and differences in social roles and experiences (Ruddick, 1982; Eagly, 1987). The gender as differential treatment perspective highlights how organizational structures and practices position and treat women and men differently, playing out gendered stereotypes, and resulting in unequal patterns in hiring, promotion and opportunity structures (e.g., Reskin, et al., 1999; Rhode, 2003; Heilman and Parks-Stamm, 2007). The gender as embedded in work and culture perspective considers observed differences between women and men—for example, the proclivity for certain styles of communicating, leading and ways of working—as created and sustained through formal and informal social processes institutionalized in society and organizations (Meyerson and Kolb, 2000; Acker, 2006; Ely and Padavic, 2007). According to this last perspective, changing the socially constructed nature of gender within an organization involves engaging, challenging and revising work practices and the discourse about these practices, so that their connection to gender inequities can be disrupted (Rapoport, et al., 2002; Rhode, 2003; Bailyn, 2006). Change involves considering the ways that gendered practices affect not just women, but also constrain men and limit the effectiveness of the organization itself (Martin, et al., 1998; Perlow and Porter, 2009). Researchers examining gains for women in organizations have also suggested that organizational practices can only do so much, and that larger societal change is critical to a fundamental change in gender and work (Goldin, 1990; Goldin and Katz, 2000; Bowles and McGinn, 2008). In the United States for example, scholars have shown that formal institutional commitments to gender equality in the labor market, such as anti-discrimination laws are important, but state services that assist women with paid work (e.g., state-sponsored child care) are limited, leaving men and women to manage the complexities of paid work and family life as individuals (Chang, 2000).

“In order to dismantle the institution you must first make it ... visible” (Lorber, 1994: 10). Our paper builds on past research and suggests that gender scholars move

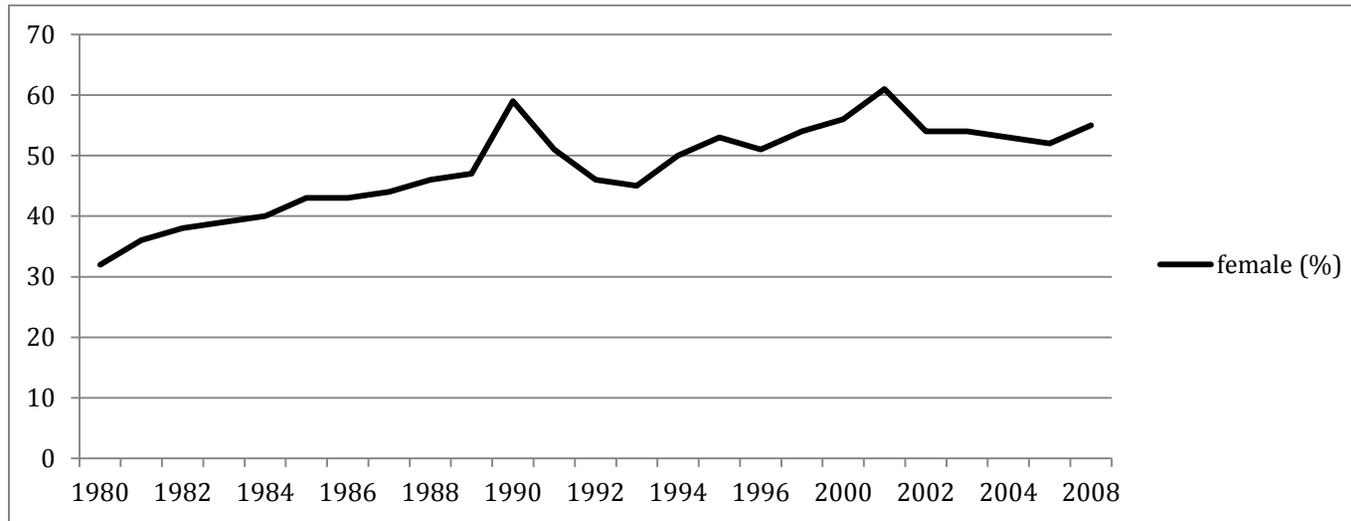
beyond individuals, treatment and practices, and move toward the study of gender as a social institution playing out across multiple levels of analysis over time (Martin, 2004). We propose that gender is produced and reproduced across levels in society through the “material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules” (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999: 804) that comprise gender logics. By tracing shifts in the logics of gender over two decades, we offer an empirical demonstration of gender as an evolving social institution. Our research makes visible the evolution of the collective, institutional nature of gender. We find that presentations of gender and work shifted over time from a logic of bias, to a logic of underrepresentation, to a logic of work-family conflict. We shed light on how the “practices of gender” inside and outside of organizations transform the understandings of gender reciprocally over time.

Scholars of gender argue that power and history are central to understanding how gender constitutes in society (Connell, 1987; Butler, 2004; Lorber, 2010; Ridgeway, 2011). Yet political theorist Wendy Brown argues that discourses around gender, race and sexual orientation in the U.S. are progressively eschewing power and history in the representation of difference (Brown, 2006). The shifts we document in the logics of gender and work in the business press buttress this depoliticization argument. The dominant gender logic in the early 1990s concerned bias. The logic of bias squarely takes on the notion of power, however paternalistically, positing men as powerful and women as victims. Under this logic, society, organizations and individuals share the blame for allowing and perpetrating stereotypes, exclusion and harassment. By the late 1990s, the dominant logic shifted to underrepresentation. The evolution from bias to underrepresentation is compatible with research on the “managerialization” of diversity within organizations—a shift from a power-based, civil rights logic to a logic of diversity as an organizational resource and responsibility (Edelman, et al., 2001). By the early 2000s, the gender logic of work-family conflict seemed to eschew both societal and organizational responsibility, leaving the onus of change to individual professionals and their families.

Though shifts in gender logics over the two decades surrounding the turn of the century suggest a depoliticization of gender and work, they also suggest a path to addressing the conundrum of women not rising as quickly or in as great a number as expected, desired or perhaps feared. The gender logic of work-family conflict shines light

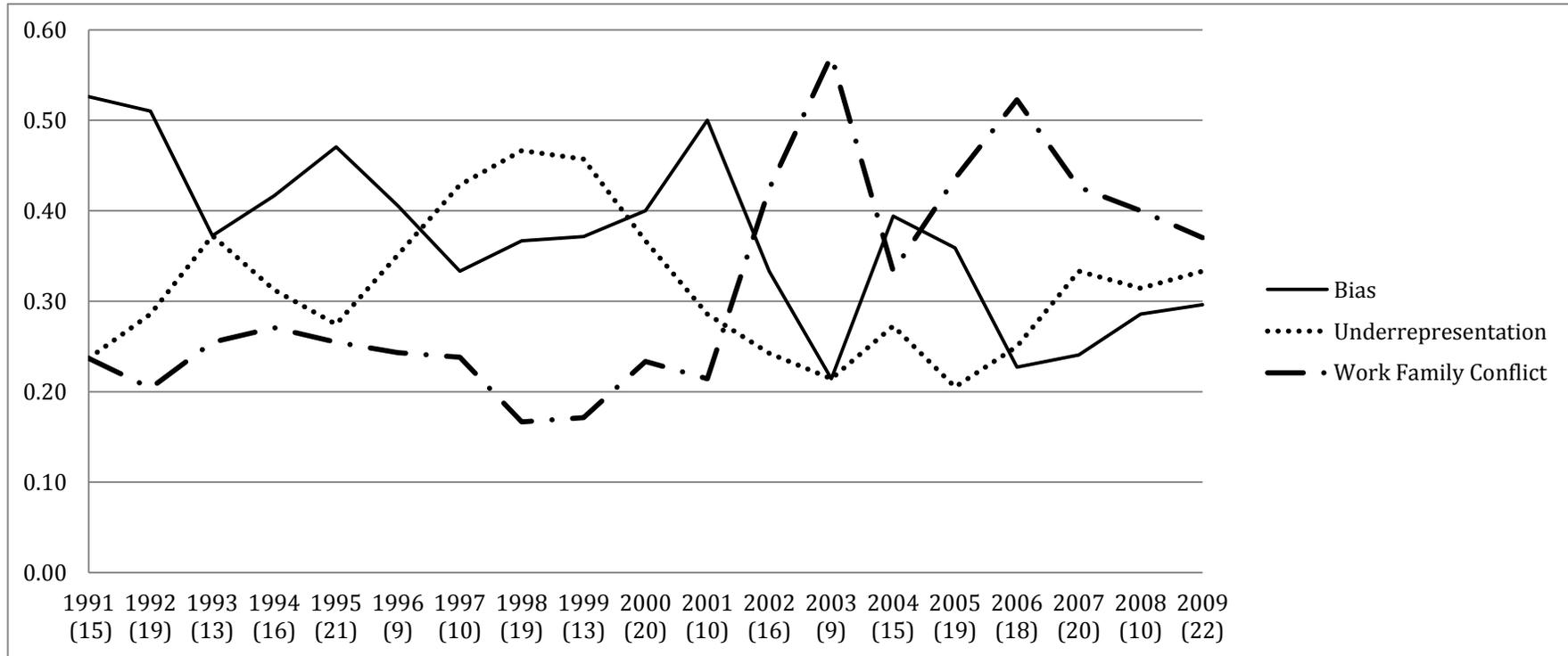
on the inherent incompatibility between work as currently structured and the gendered distribution of responsibilities within households. The gradual shift to a gender logic of work-family conflict implies that gender equality in the workplace will not naturally follow from erasing bias in organizations, as suggested by the logic of bias, though eliminating bias is necessary; nor is equality a natural consequence of celebrating women in organizations, as suggested by the logic of underrepresentation, though celebration is valuable; the logic of work-family conflict asserts that gender equality can only be achieved by tackling simultaneously the way workplaces and homes are organized and run.

Figure 1. Female percentage of graduates hired by accounting firms, 1980 – 2008



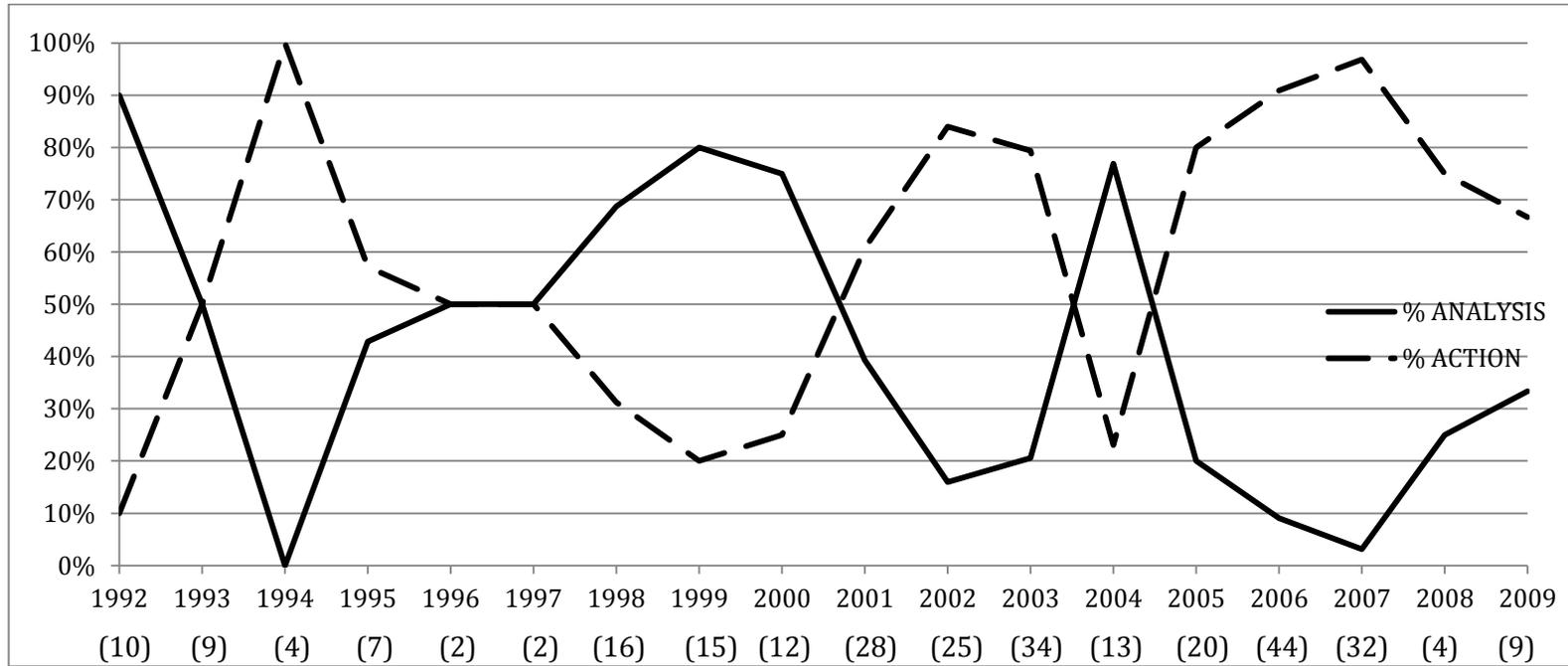
Source: AICPA, Supply of Accounting Graduates and the Demand for Public Accounting Recruits (1979-2005) and Trends in the Supply of Accounting Graduates and the Demand for Public Accounting Recruits (2006 – 2009)

Figure 2. Shifting logics of gender and work in business press, 1991 – 2009



(Note: Total number of articles/year appears in parentheses. Relative prevalence of logic per year is based on the 2 year simple moving average).

Figure 3. Phases of Analysis and Action: Percentage of inside practices devoted to analysis and action, by year.



(Note: Total number of practices/year appears in parentheses. 1996 and 1997 are reported here, but there is very little data available about practices during these two years.)

Figure 4. Empirical model of outside shifts in gender logics and subsequent inside changes in beliefs and practices.

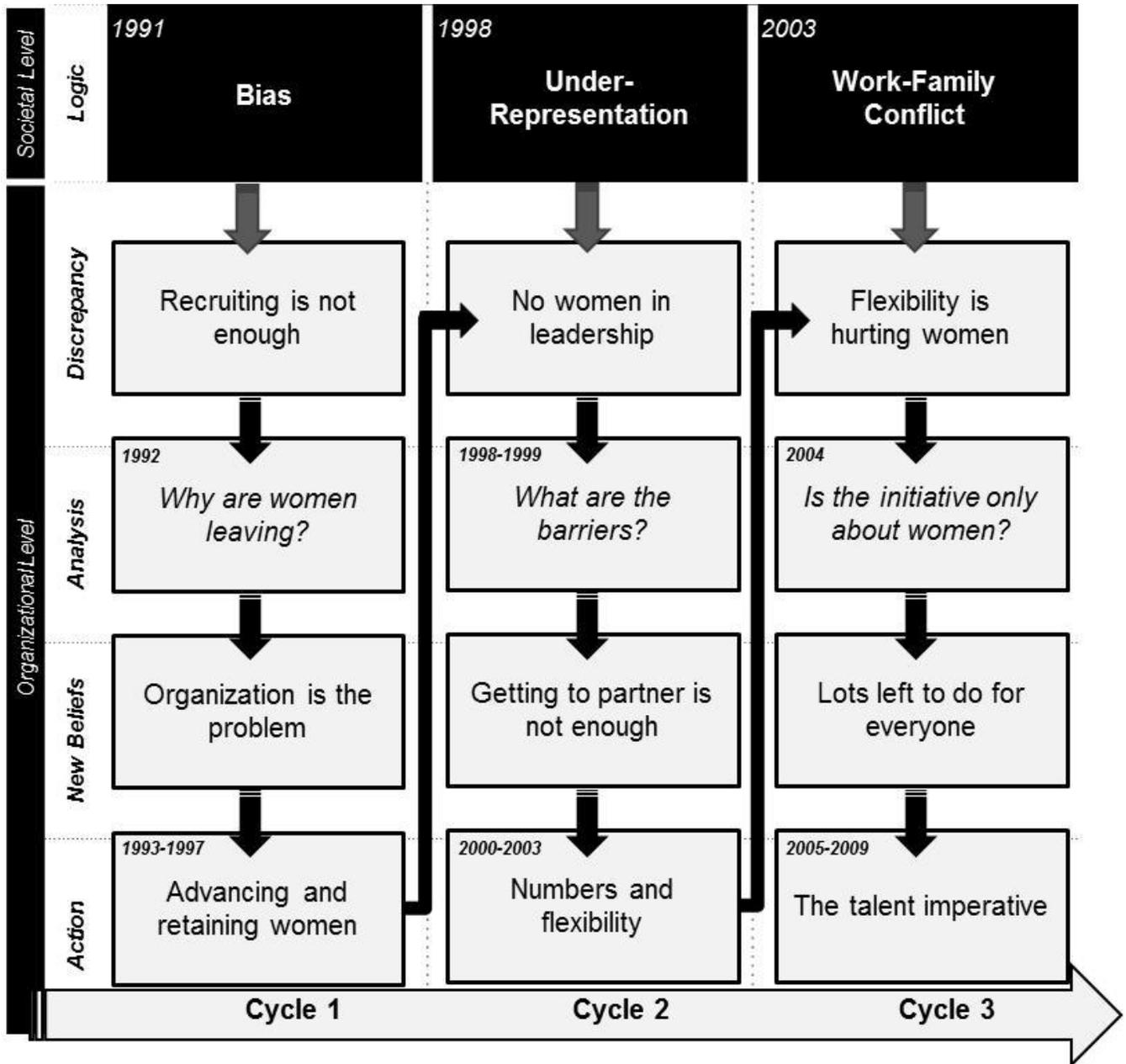


Figure 5: Conceptual model of organizational internalization of shifting institutional logics

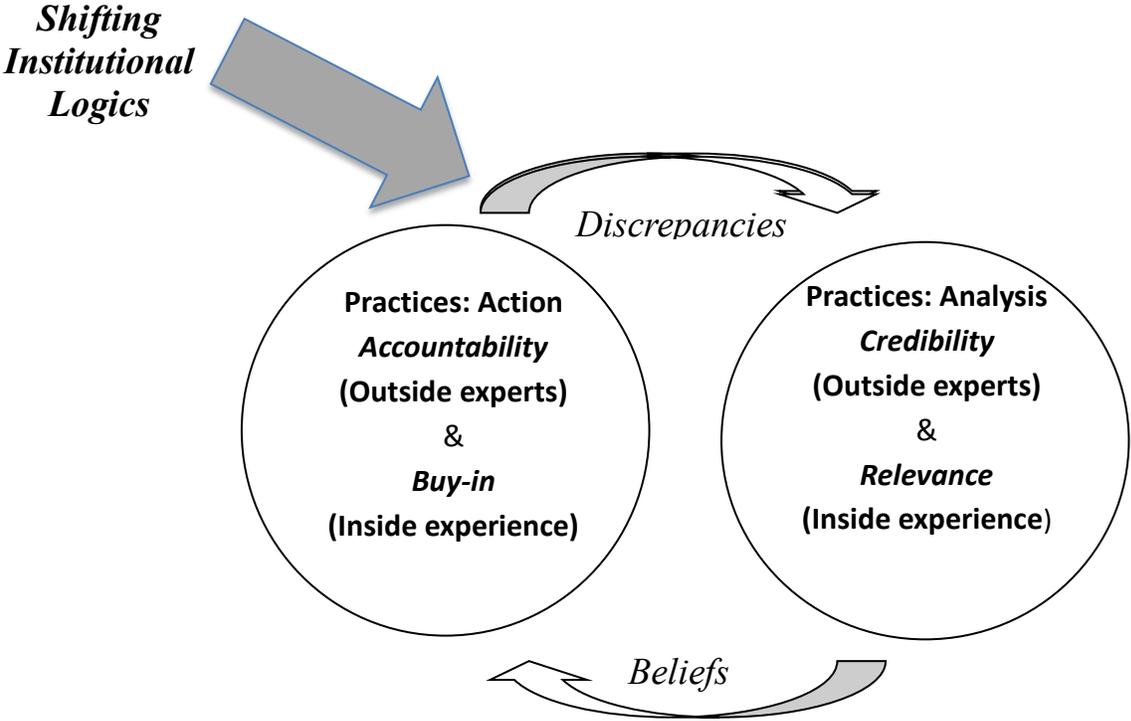


Table 1. Outside data from business press: First-order Codes and Gender Logics, with Representative Quotes

<p style="text-align: center;">Gender Logics</p> <p>- First-order Codes</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Representative Quotes</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Bias</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Harassment - Bias - Differential treatment based on sex - Men reestablish themselves as women succeed - Opposition to benefits for women - Excluding women 	<p><i>She was repeatedly skipped over during a meeting because the men assumed that she was an office assistant. (Julie Cresswell. New York Times, 17 Dec 2006)</i></p> <p><i>Consider the case of a male supervisor who, in the midst of a conversation with a female employee about an assignment, asked her out of the blue, "Are you wearing panties?" and then blithely continued the conversation seemingly pleased that he had left her rattled. (Daniel Goleman. New York Times, 22 October 1991)</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Underrepresentation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women aren't in leadership positions - Women aren't in pipeline - Women promoted at different rates than men - Statistics about inequality in pay, under-representation, or sex segregation 	<p><i>Women accounted for only 15.7% of corporate-officer positions and 5.2% of top earners. (Carol Hymowitz. Wall Street Journal, 3 February 2004)</i></p> <p><i>The National Research Council, an arm of the National Academy of Sciences, convened a conference a year ago to determine why women make up 45 percent of the work force but only 12 percent of the scientists and engineers working in industry. (Women Scientists Lagging in Industry Jobs, New York Times, 1994)</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Work-family conflict</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Balance - Work – life issues - Work-non-work conflicts 	<p><i>But in the American workplace and home, the private alternatives—changing the demands of fast-track jobs to accommodate mothers or changing the responsibilities of men in childcare—don't seem to be happening. Men and women may now be equal, but apparently one sex remains more equal than the other. (Peter Passell. New York Times, 7 September 1995)</i></p> <p><i>For six years, Danielle Davis, a 32-year-old mother of two and senior public-relations counselor at Richardson, Myers & Donofrio Inc., fantasized about being home with her kids. If she quit her job, she thought, she'd obliterate her constant regrets about being out of the house all day and then blowing in at six to get dinner started. (M. Conlin. Business Week, 17 September 2000)</i></p>

Table 2a. Description of 1st and 2nd Order Codes in Inside Data, Key Examples from 1992 (First Analysis Phase)

Leadership	Practices: Analysis	Practices: Action	Beliefs	Outcomes	Discrepancies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO leads task force to study women's retention issues 	<p>Outside experts:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • External Gender Experts hired • Task force meets with leading companies on women's issues <p>Inside data collection:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Task force to study retention issues formed • Task force interviews 40 individual women who left the firm • Focus groups with women Partners • Task force presents findings to Firm leaders • Work-Life Survey 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Task force presents vision and recommendations for change 	<p>Assumption pre-task force:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women leaving for family reasons <p>Assumption rising out of Task force:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Firm culture inhospitable to women; it's a firm problem, not a woman problem 	<p>Inside representation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • >5% gender gap in turnover 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Having women in the pipeline is not leading to women partners <p>Unanswered Question:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why are women leaving the firm?

Table 2b. Description of 1st and 2nd Order Codes in Inside Data, Key Examples from 1993 -1997 (First Action Phase)

Leadership	Practices: Analysis	Practices: Action	Beliefs	Outcomes	Discrepancies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO appoints first initiative leader 	<p>Inside data collection:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human Resource Survey • Work Family Survey • Mentoring Study • Initiative benchmarks developed and released • Women at Work survey • Report to Management Committee 	<p>Structure:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Form external advisory board • Management committee formed • National and local initiative infrastructure established • Partner implementation committee • Initiative network formalized <p>Programs: Inside facing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vision communicated (1,3, and 7 year goals) • Gender awareness training • Career planning for all women at senior manager level or above • First Initiative annual report • Mentoring Program <p>Programs: Outside facing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Executive women's breakfast forum • External advisory council chair visits offices <p>Policies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Woman on every major committee • Annual review of assignments to ensure 	<p>Mission:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To reduce obstacles to women's advancement • Retaining & advancing women as a competitive advantage 	<p>Inside representation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More women become Partners, Principals & Directors (PPDs) • Women appointed to Board of Directors <p>Outside representation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awards/Recognition re: initiative-led efforts • CEO recognized for leading efforts to retain and promote women 	

		<p>gender neutrality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Flexible work arrangements (FWAs) & guidelines introduced nationally• Parental leave introduced• Changes in consultant scheduling			
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Table 2c. Description of 1st and 2nd Order Codes in Inside Data, Key Examples from 1998 - 1999 (Second Analysis Phase)

Leadership	Practices: Analysis	Practices: Action	Beliefs	Outcomes	Discrepancies
	<p>Outside Experts:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engages external gender and leadership scholar • External advisory council listens to partners' leadership aspirations <p>Inside data collection:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Task force convened • Interviews with CEO, functional and management leaders, and partners. • Six Focus Groups: High potential partners, older and younger female partners • Survey of matched group of men and 	<p>Programs: Inside facing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women's Leadership Program • Flexible work program introduced <p>Programs: Outside facing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sponsored Women's CEO and Senior Mgt summit <p>Policies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Client Service Assessment Criteria for Partners 	<p>Assumption Pre-Task Force:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Making partner ensures women will become leaders of the firm <p>Assumption rising out of task force:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informal process creates barriers to leadership for women • Gender-based assumptions regarding leadership • Workplace culture needs to shift from focus on hours worked to getting results and client satisfaction so that both men and women can succeed 	<p>Inside Representation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase in number women partners, directors, sr. mgrs., and mgrs. • More women join Board of Directors • Leads Big 5 in % women partners <p>Outside Recognition:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continued major awards/recognition • Ranked in top 20 Best Companies to work for in America 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No role models • Leadership is homogenous • Path to leadership is unclear <p>Unanswered Question:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the barriers to getting women into leadership?

	women partners re: leadership readiness & aspirations • Survey of high potential leaders				
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Table 2d. Description of 1st and 2nd Order Codes in Inside Data, Key Examples from 2000-2003 (Second Action Phase)

Leadership	Practices: Analysis	Practices: Action	Beliefs	Outcomes	Discrepancies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO appoints new initiative leader 	<p>Inside data collection:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with senior leadership • Annual surveys on FWA, commitment, diversity, and inclusion 	<p>Structures:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Task Force formed to create new vision • National group created to formalize leadership selection and development process • Initiative roles integrated with functional leadership roles <p>Programs: Inside facing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New vision communicated • New web-based Knowledge Creation Center launched • Executive coaching program • Leadership development program • High talent mentoring program <p>Programs: Outside facing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Annual Business Summit for Powerful Women • Women’s Success Forum • Annual CEO and Senior Mgt Summits <p>Policies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • List of most important 	<p>Mission:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Within a supportive, flexible culture, women will be represented proportionately at all levels and hold significant leadership and service roles. 	<p>Inside representation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highest % of PPDs among Big 4 • Gender gap nearly eliminated • Overall turnover rate down by >10% • Ongoing increases in # of women Bd Dir, Mg Partners, industry leaders, PPDs, managers <p>Outside recognition:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continued Awards/recognition re: initiative-led efforts • Named among top 10 companies for training for professionals • Initiative leader named one of the 100 Most Influential People in the Accounting Profession 	

		leadership positions created			
		<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Firm and functional leaders held accountable for proportional representation goals• New recruiting strategy			

Table 2e. Description of 1st and 2nd Order Codes in Inside Data, Key Examples from 2004 (Third Analysis Phase)

Leadership	Practices: Analysis	Practices: Action	Beliefs	Outcomes	Discrepancies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CEO appoints leader to chair internal council to take stock of the initiative 	<p>Outside experts:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Internal council invites academic experts on labor and employment Academic chair for the study of Women and Leadership External advisory council listens to professionals experience with flexible work <p>Inside data collection:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Internal council convenes FWA survey to former female employees Focus Group of High Potential Women Collect data on how female employees' experience 	<p>Structure:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initiative leader appointed to Executive Committee <p>Programs: Inside-facing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Leadership Development Skills program created 	<p>Assumption pre-council:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initiative is not relevant to many in the firm Initiative is hurting women <p>Assumptions rising out of the council:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initiative is still relevant but needs new vision for next generation Women still face challenges in the firm, but the issues are broader than just women – it is a question of talent Initiative should tightly integrate gender with the business imperative Men and women both have challenges in their lives 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many administrative leadership roles, but emphasis should be on leadership roles with revenue generation opportunities Few firm leaders are role models for dual career couples Should consider inviting men <p>Unanswered question:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is the initiative only about women? Is the initiative still needed and relevant?

Table 2f. Description of 1st and 2nd Order Codes in Inside Data, Key Examples from 2005-2009 (Third Action Phase)

Leadership	Practices: Analysis	Practices: Action	Beliefs	Outcomes	Discrepancies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO appoints new initiative leader 	<p>Inside data collection:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global commitment survey • Year-long research for men and women as buyers program • WIMAC/WISMAC studies 	<p>Structure:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Created internal advisory councils • Integrated structure with diversity and inclusion reporting to CEO • Initiative extended to international offices <p>Programs: Inside facing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workshop for gaining female clients • 2nd women’s leadership program launched • 400+ activities reached >1200 participants • Women’s Conference with >600 PPDs • Website and blog <p>Programs: Outside facing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 56 client companies invite firm to initiate gender related efforts • Annual Powerful Women and CEO/Sr Mgt Summits • External advisory council chair visits offices <p>Policies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personalized career 	<p>Mission:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Driving marketplace growth and creating a culture where the best women choose to be. 	<p>Inside representation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eliminated gender gap in turnover • Highest % of partners, principals and directors among Big 4 • Ongoing increases in # of women Board Directors, Mg Partners, Industry leaders, Partners, Principals and Directors, Sr. Mgrs, Mgrs <p>Outside recognition:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continued awards/recognition re: initiative-led efforts • Named among 100 Best companies to work for 	

		program piloted and launched • Parental leave policy enhanced		• Initiative leaders named to lists of most powerful women	
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