

WHOM WOULD YOU APPROACH FOR ADVICE?

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN NETWORK PREFERENCES*

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Introduction

Networks, defined as informal relationships that connect individuals and groups of individuals, persist in organizations. These powerful networks in organizations are beneficial for many reasons including increased motivation, higher performance (e.g. Hackman & Oldham, 1980; Spreitzer, 1996), and promotion to upper-management levels (Brass, 1985). Hence, establishing personal networks in the workplace has been shown to be important for individual career success and, in particular, for women's career advancement (Morrison, Van Velsor & White, 1987; Davies-Netzey, 1998). However, organizational research provides evidence that men and women differ in the structure of personal networks, as well as in the rewards attained from personal networks.

One of the reasons that networks may affect women's careers differently than men's careers is because women's networks are structurally distinct from men's networks (Ibarra 1992, 1993, 1995). One situational explanation addressing gender differences in network structure suggested by prior research is that women have less access to important networks compared to men (Kanter, 1977; Harlan & Weiss, 1982; Ragins & Sundstrom, 1990). Differential access is considered a structural constraint because it is most likely caused by organizational barriers such as work group composition (Brass, 1985) or rank (Ibarra, 1992). Other studies (Ibarra, 1993; Ibarra, 1997) recognize that women and men may choose to form and maintain different types of relationships leading to overall gender differences in network structure. For instance, it seems as though men often have a greater number of instrumental ties, relationships that provide job-related resources, in their networks than women, while women have a greater number of expressive ties, relationships that provide emotional and social support, in their networks compared to men (Ibarra, 1993; Ibarra, 1997). Further compounding women's network

disadvantage, research suggests that women may reap fewer network rewards, such as advantageous information or endorsement from senior managers, than men (Brass, 1985; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Smith-Lovin & McPherson, 1993; Belliveau, 2005).

While prior research has identified key gender differences in network structure and network rewards, few studies have delved into why men and women have different networks and how these disparate networks lead to varying levels of network rewards. It is possible that these different networks result as a consequence of individuals' preferences to form and maintain certain types of relationships. For instance, Ibarra's (1993, 1997) findings that women have more expressive, or supportive, relationships while men tend to form a greater number of instrumental relationships may be a consequence of gender preferences in network formation, or what I will refer to as *network preferences*. Studying preferences is important because they inform us about what types of networks people would likely build free from organizational constraints. Such information is helpful in guiding us as organizational composition changes, for instance, due to changes in workforce diversity. Thus, in a controlled laboratory experiment, this paper attempts to explain gender-based differences in networks through a framework of network preferences.

Gender Differences in Networks

Gender differences in networks have been explained by both structural and dispositional perspectives. The dispositional perspective claims that because men and women are inherently distinct, they choose to associate with different others. For example, a number of studies have found that women are more likely to foster close ties with family members, who provide support and cooperation, as compared to men (Miller, 1976; Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982). Men, on the other hand, tend to form more ties that provide instrumental resources than women (Ibarra,

1992). Moreover, it has been found that men tend to seek friendship from those men who also provide access to organizational resources. Such ties are called multiplex because they provide multiple resources, and in the context of this paper, are defined as exchanging both friendship and professional resources (Ibarra, 1992). Thus, men often have more multiplex ties than women (Ibarra, 1992). Ibarra (1997) indirectly examined network preferences and found that high potential women had significantly more same-sex career and information ties than non-high potential women. Given that both high potential and non-high potential women formed their networks in the same structural context, Ibarra (1997, p. 96) concluded that the variance may be viewed as evidence of choice rather than induced homophily. This conclusion, while plausible, is based on inference about preferences, and not based on a direct test of preferences.

The structural perspective claims that contextual factors and boundaries explain the reasons why men and women choose to form different types of associations (Fischer & Oliner, 1983). Particularly if the tendency for women to build relationships with other women and for minorities to build relationships with other minorities exists, a phenomenon called homophily (Rogers and Kincaid, 1981), Ibarra (1993) suggests that structural variables like organizational composition, or the fact that women and minorities are often less likely than white men to hold high status positions in organizations, may limit women's ability to create powerful social networks, whereas men are not as likely to face these same constraints. Hence, if the rationale holds true, women will have a narrower range of network choices than men (ties with equal or lower status others for women, compared to ties with lower, equal or higher status others for men). This proposition was illustrated by Belliveau (2005) who discovered an institutional sex composition effect: women graduating from single-sex colleges received significantly lower salary offers than women from comparable coeducational schools. This may have been because

women from single-sex colleges were more likely to connect with other women, and those women were generally not as well-placed in the labor market as men (Belliveau, 2005). Earlier work by Lin (1999), which showed that women's networks were less effective than men's networks in both attaining jobs and becoming privy to maximum pay grades in professions, supports Belliveau's (2005) finding. Belliveau's (2005) study also demonstrates that male instrumental ties may be more valuable than female instrumental ties because individuals receive more valuable instrumental rewards, such as access to important information (Mehra, Kilduff, Brass 1998), from ties with men than from ties with women. Furthermore, this study supports the structural perspective that organizational composition frames an individual's opportunity to connect with others (Belliveau, 2005).

Network Structure and Network Preferences

Network structure is a static and generalized view of an individual's total network encompassing the entire population of an individual's ties. The majority of recent studies on gender and networks focus on network structure differences which are generated using cross-sectional network methods. The primary tool is called a sociometric questionnaire used to generate an individual's network structure which captures individuals' organizational relationships along a variety of dimensions at a specific point in time. Sociometric questions are often divided by distinct boundaries which help to categorize an individual's network map into sub-networks. A potential drawback to network structure studies as they pertain to gender differences is that these studies are in the context of an organization which on one hand is favorable because it provides a real world setting but, on the other hand, is difficult because it entangles structural constraints, such as organizational composition, with personal preferences. Therefore, it is difficult to determine whether an individual's network structure is induced,

chosen, or results from some combination of the structure and preference (McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1987). Another limitation to network structure studies is that they do not place the participant in a specific situation, so the network, as already mentioned, is both static and over-generalized making it difficult to hone in on the gender differences that exist in network structures.

Network preferences are the choices individuals make regarding with whom to form connections with, given an ideal work setting in which both male and female others are available to connect with at all levels of the organization. In this study, an ideal work setting is constructed in the laboratory in order to clearly identify from whom men and women prefer seeking advice when given the exact same career decision problem, where individuals seeking advice are referred to as advice-seekers and individuals who may be approached for advice are referred to as advice-givers.

As previously mentioned, it has been found that men tend to have more same-sex multiplex ties than women (Ibarra, 1992), but it is not clear whether this finding is a result of preference (dispositional perspective) or availability (structural perspective), and thus, the impetus of this paper. Using a controlled experiment, free from organizational constraints, that makes same-sex multiplex ties available to both men and women, the first question I examine in this paper is: (a) are there still differences in men's and women's preferences for multiplex ties? However, when same-sex multiplex ties are not available, a valid concern in today's workplace, what is the next most preferred combination of relationship-type and gender for men and for women? Thus, the second question I examine in this paper is: (b) when same-sex multiplex ties are not available to both men and women, are there differences in whom men and women are most likely to approach *next*? By focusing on "next preferences", or advice-givers who are next

most likely to be approached by men and women after same-sex multiplex ties, relationship type and gender-based homophily may be untangled from each other in a way that reveals gender differences in network preferences.

Gender and Relationship Type

Gender-based Homophily

Homophily is the propensity of individuals to interact with similar others, where similarity is defined as some common group identity or affiliation such as race, gender, or education (Ibarra, 1992; Rogers and Kincaid, 1981). A number of possible mechanisms may explain individuals' preferences for homophilous ties. For both men and women, the similarity-attraction theory applies which posits that individuals are attracted to others based on likeness (e.g. Byrne, 1971; Festinger, 1957; Heider, 1958). As gender is one of the most prevalent characteristics by which we organize ourselves, distinguish ourselves, confer status, and allocate societal functions (Berdahl, 2007, p. 12), seeking out others of the same gender is a common experience. Past research suggests that gender-based homophily is one of the most prevalent types of homophily, particularly in organizational settings (Ibarra, 1992; Brass, 1985).

Another possible explanation for gender-based homophily is the operation of an automatic in-group bias (Rudman & Goodwin, 2004) which drives individuals to give preferential treatment to and favorable judgments of members in their own group as opposed to members of the out-group, who are less favored. Bias toward others who are in one's in-group is a phenomenon that has been convincingly demonstrated even when the identifier is as simple as a team color (Sherif & Sherif, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Presumably, identification with the in-group based on one's gender may cause an even stronger sense of bias toward in-group members.

For men and women, the status of their particular in-group (though different) is likely to activate in-group bias driving the tendency toward gender-based homophily. Thus, men who often view themselves as part of the dominant, high-status group and women as part of the less powerful, low-status group prefer approaching others in their own group— i.e. men. Even when women appear to be in a higher status position because of organizational hierarchy, men may still recognize other men as more legitimate than women because men are often perceived as more influential than their female counterparts (Fiske et. al., 2006).

Interacting with similar others, particularly when attraction is based on a salient social characteristic such as gender, creates a type of bond which may facilitate communication and promote trust (Ibarra, 1992, p. 423). Particularly in situations that require advice-seeking where the advice-seeker is inherently placed in a less powerful and deferential position, the desire for easy communication and trust, or the tendency toward gender-based homophily, may be even more pronounced. Advice-seekers may consider themselves to be more vulnerable than usual because they are entering an exchange where they assume little to no power compared to the higher-status advice-giver resulting in a higher probability of gender-based homophily between the advice-seeker and advice-giver. Therefore, I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 1 (H1): Men and women prefer seeking career-related advice from same-sex others more than opposite-sex others.

Relationship Type: Instrumental or Multiplex

In the network literature, a relationship is characterized based on the predominant type of resources exchanged between two individuals. For example, in the workplace the types of resources that are commonly exchanged are broadly categorized into three relationship types: instrumental, expressive and multiplex. *Instrumental* ties involve the exchange of job-related resources which may include valuable information, expertise, professional advice, political

access, material sources, career direction guidance, exposure to upper management, obtaining challenging and visible assignments, and advocacy for promotion (Ibarra, 1993; Fombrun, 1982, Kanter, 1983, Pettigrew, 1973; Kram, 1988; Thomas, 1990). A relationship between two individuals is termed instrumental when it is made up of purely professional, functional, and necessary interactions. However, other kinds of relationships are also fostered in the workplace. *Expressive* ties involve the exchange of friendship and social support and usually involve higher levels of closeness and trust (Ibarra, 1993; Krackhardt, 1986). *Multiplex* ties involve the exchange of multiple resources and, for the purposes of this study, are specifically defined as the exchange of both instrumental and expressive resources. Multiplexity from a personal network structure perspective is the literal overlap of instrumental and expressive networks.

Prior literature on multiplexity emphasizes how numerous connections between two people or two organizations may increase the strength and richness of a relationship and may also provide increased benefits to both parties compared to relationships with only one connection (Ibarra, 1992). Multiplex ties between individuals in the workplace are considered to be coveted relationships because of the increased types of network benefits potentially received which are usually greater than benefits from purely instrumental ties (Ibarra, 1993; Granovetter, 1973; Tichy, 1981). Besides Ibarra's (1992) study which found that men's networks have a higher degree of multiplexity than women's networks, there is limited literature suggesting how and why men may prefer multiplex ties more than women or vice-versa.

It seems that the ideal relationship in an organizational setting for both men and women would be the multiplex relationship because it provides both instrumental and expressive resources which together may increase the overall strength of the relationship. It is widely known that accessing instrumental resources is critical in order to succeed in organizations.

However, the ability to access expressive resources in addition to instrumental resources may be even more powerful because of the potentially stronger nature of the multiplex tie. In situations involving a career-related decision, an inherently instrumental scenario, but one which also requires the trust and communication necessary in an advice-seeking situation, I argue that both men and women, if given the opportunity, would prefer seeking advice from multiplex ties. One reason for this is that multiplex relationships may simply offer more resources than instrumental relationships. In addition, advice-seekers may view the friendship component in multiplex relationships as a way to make advice-seeking less threatening because it is associated with greater trust. Therefore, I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 2 (H2): Men and women prefer seeking career-related advice from others with whom they have multiplex ties more than from others with whom they have only instrumental ties.

The Interaction: Relationship Type and Gender-based Homophily

The prior two hypotheses hone in on the effects of gender-based homophily and relationship type separately. Now, consider what might happen when these two variables, gender-based homophily and relationship type, interact with each other: do men's and women's preferences change, and if so, do they change in the same or in different ways? Prior literature has not systematically examined the interaction effects of relationship type and gender-based homophily on men's and women's network preferences. Building a logical conclusion from the prior hypotheses that both men and women prefer their own gender more than the opposite gender (H1), and that both men and women prefer multiplex ties more than instrumental ties (H2), I predict:

Hypothesis 3 (H3): Both men and women most prefer seeking career-related advice from same-sex others with whom they have multiplex ties.

However, when same-sex multiplex ties are not available, a valid concern in today's workplace, what is the next most preferred combination of relationship-type and gender for men and for women? By focusing on "next preferences", or advice-givers who are next most likely to be approached by men and women after same-sex multiplex ties, relationship type and gender-based homophily may be untangled from each other in a way that reveals gender differences in network preferences. Thus, I predict that men and women will have different next preferences.

In terms of *women's* preferences, I posit that women will place more importance on the relationship with the advice-giver than on the gender of the advice-giver. Hence, women are more likely to seek advice from those with whom they share a multiplex relationship than from those with whom they only share their gender. Several reasons support this proposition. As stated in the gender stereotype literature, assuming women are more self-disclosing (Cozby, 1973) and amiable (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994; Eagly & Mladinic, 1989; Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1994) than men, both of these qualities lead to building close relationships with others. Also, women may gravitate toward multiplex relationships more so than purely instrumental relationships because women place great value on the expressive component of multiplex relationships which provides emotional benefits. Indeed, expressiveness, or exchanging friendship and support resources, seems to be closely related to the communality trait prevalent in the gender stereotype literature where women are often described as more communal, that is outwardly-oriented in the way they demonstrate concern and understanding for others (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994; Eagly & Mladinic, 1989; Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1994).

Women may be drawn to the expressive resources that are epitomized by multiplex ties, but they may also shy away from other women with whom they share only instrumental ties. Women still comprise a very small percentage of top management positions in the *Fortune* 1000

(2006) supporting the idea that senior-status positions in organizations are stereotypically male (Helfat, Harris, & Wolfson, 2006), and the characteristics required to succeed in such positions are often described as agentic, instrumental or masculine in nature (Martell et. al. 1998).

Therefore, women who hold senior-status positions in the workplace may be considered to be those women who succeed at male gender-typed tasks (Heilman et. al., 2004). Such women are said to violate gender-stereotype prescriptions, or expectations of how women are “supposed” to act (Heilman, 2001). Research has shown that this contradiction of role prescription versus role actualization may cause violators to be penalized, and one prevalent type of penalization is social rejection (Heilman et. al. 2004).

It would appear that junior women in the workplace interested in seeking career advice, assuming they themselves wish to ascend the corporate ladder, would not be among those who penalize other women for succeeding at male-typed tasks. However, research has found that “women sometimes react more negatively toward norm-deviant women than men,” (Parks-Stamm, Heilman, & Hearn, 2008, p. 238). Researchers who delved into this unexpected phenomenon found that successful women threaten the self-image of other women who are not as successful and often junior. In order to mitigate this negative effect and restore self-image, threatened women discard successful women from their comparison group and justify their rejection with the reasoning that successful women have violated gender norms (Parks-Stamm, Heilman, & Hearn, 2008).

In line with the previous gender norms argument, when individuals violate expected stereotypes it may cause unexpected emotions in others (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). Fiske et. al. (2002) proposed a two-by-two “stereotype content model” where one axis is competence (high vs. low) and the other axis is warmth (high vs. low) (see Figure 1). Each

quadrant is associated with the predicted primary emotions an individual who is placed in this quadrant is likely to invoke in others. I posit that instrumental women would be placed in the high competence/low warmth quadrant, which evokes the primary emotion of envy in others. If junior women experience envy, they may be more likely to discriminate against the envied person by way of social rejection and, therefore, be less likely to seek advice from women with whom they have only an instrumental relationship.

In addition, I posit that *men* will place more importance on seeking advice from others of the same gender than from others with whom they share a multiplex relationship. Assumptions about women and their abilities seem to be the primary driver causing men to want to seek advice from other men. A common stereotype exists that men are higher status than women, and therefore, more powerful than women (Bourdieu, 1985). If men believe this to be true, then seeking advice from a woman no matter what type of relationship is shared (i.e. multiplex) is much less preferred than seeking advice from another man. Along the same lines, men perceive other men to be more influential than their female counterparts. In a study by Heilman and Haynes (2005), researchers examined the attributional rationalization of women's success in mixed sex dyads to test their main hypothesis that women categorically receive less credit than men when team success is ambiguous. It was supported that "women were viewed as significantly less influential than men" when only information about the team was provided, whereas there was no significant difference in perceived influence when information about each individual was explicitly given (Heilman & Haynes, 2005). This finding supports the idea that men may generally view women, no matter what type of relationship they share, as less influential than men, unless they have specific evidence that disproves this assumption.

As discussed above, Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick (2006) (see Figure 1) argue that people assess others along two core dimension: competency and warmth. And, men are typically placed higher than women on the universal competency dimension. If men see other men as universally more competent than women, a fundamental characteristic required for success in the workplace, then men will be more likely to seek advice from other men than other women, no matter the relationship type. Applying Fiske et. al.'s (2002) warmth-competency model (see Figure 1), multiplex women, who are high status but also relatively friendly, would most likely be placed in the high competency/high warmth box invoking feelings of admiration in others. Therefore, it could be argued that junior-level men may view senior-status women with whom they share multiplex ties with admiration causing them to approach multiplex women for advice. However, the assumption about competence associated with being male is so strong that relationship type may even become inconsequential for men when considering whom to approach for advice because the expressive component of the multiplex relationship as stated above may be far less important to men. Overall, I argue that men's negative assumptions about women and their competence greatly hinder this likelihood.

An additional explanation for why homophily may be the more dominant predictor of men's advice-seeking behavior than relationship type is that the expressive component of the multiplex relationship may matter less to men because it is not the only means by which they can build trust and comfort in a relationship. Specifically research has shown that men may value "closeness in the doing" (Wood & Inman, 1993; Swain, 1989). For men, the act of doing things together, like working on the same assignment or building a financial model with co-workers, is a means of relationship-building, like increasing trust and comfort. While these actions may seem purely instrumental in nature, men may also receive emotional benefits from the comradery

they experience when accomplishing purely work-related tasks. Therefore, men may receive almost or as much emotional benefit from an instrumental relationship as from a multiplex relationship, making the emotional and social dimension less important for them.

As previously stated, Hypothesis 3 suggests that both men and women most likely prefer seeking advice from same-sex multiplex ties. Using the same logic, the least likely preference for both men and women would be opposite-sex instrumental ties. Not as straightforward is the prediction of the second choice, or “next” preference, when men and women subconsciously decide what is more valuable to them—relationship type or gender-based homophily. Based on the reasoning above, I predict that men will value gender-based homophily more than relationship type, and women will value relationship type more than gender-based homophily.

Therefore, I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 4(H4): When same-sex multiplex ties are not available, the gender of advice-seeker moderates the interaction between gender-based homophily and relationship type in predicting likelihood in career-related advice-seeking such that:

Hypothesis 4a (H4a): Men are more likely to seek advice from a same-sex instrumental tie than an opposite-sex multiplex tie.

Hypothesis 4b (H4b): Women are more likely to seek advice from an opposite-sex multiplex tie than a same-sex instrumental tie.

METHOD

Subjects and Design

Subjects were 138 people affiliated with a large northeastern university (62 men and 76 women), who were recruited by the university’s behavioral laboratory.¹ The sample was made up of 79% students, of which 8% were MBA students and 92% were undergraduate students. The remaining 21% of the sample was composed of university employees distributed across the

following categories: professional/managerial (9.5%); clerical/secretarial (5.8%); sales/retail (1.5%); services/labor (0.7%); and other (3.6%). Participants ranged from 18 to 61 years of age with a Mean age of 22.5 years.

To test the homophily and relationship type hypotheses, I used a 2x2x2 between-subjects factorial design involving three independent variables: sex of the subject, i.e., the *advice-seeker*, (male or female); sex of the *advice-giver* (male or female); and relationship type between the advice-seeker and the advice-giver (instrumental or multiplex). 62 males and 76 females (the advice-seekers) were randomly assigned to one of four experimentally manipulated conditions: sex of the advice-giver (male or female); and relationship type (instrumental or multiplex). I used a vignette study design to experimentally manipulate the sex of the advice-giver and the relationship type between the advice-seeker and advice-giver.

Procedure

In this laboratory study, all subjects were given the same vignette to read. Directions explicitly stated that each subject should imagine himself/herself as the person described in the scenario. The vignette describes a person who has been a solid performer in his/her role as an Analyst in the Mergers & Acquisitions division of a Wall Street investment bank. A professional quandary arises because this person applied to business school and was admitted to two of the nation's top 15 MBA programs, but neither school is in the top 5. The person is perplexed about his/her next career move as he/she weighs the following options: 1) forego business school and continue to rise at the firm, 2) go to one of the business schools that offered him/her an acceptance, or 3) reapply to business school next year in hopes of getting into a top 5 program.

¹ Subjects came to the behavioral laboratory to participate in one hour's worth of experiments of which this study was one, and in return each subject received \$10.

In order to better navigate this decision process, the person considers approaching a Principal in the Mergers & Acquisitions group for advice. Principals are three levels above Analysts in the organizational hierarchy. Additionally, Principals in the group are described as being equally male and female, particularly well-regarded, having substantial firm tenure, and having exceptional work experience. However, the effort required to approach any one of these Principals is significant due to their senior status and busy schedules. Then, a brief characterization of the person's relationship, either instrumental or multiplex, with only one of these Principals is given, and the Principal's gender is cued by either the name Jennifer or Steve. Based on this brief description, participants were asked a host of questions including how likely they were to approach the given Principal for career advice.

Experimental manipulations

Sex of advice-giver. Information about sex of the advice-giver was manipulated by the name in the brief description of the Principal, or advice-giver, given in each condition (i.e., Jennifer or Steve). This manipulation is consistent with several studies done by Heilman and colleagues (e.g. Heilman, et. al., 2004; Heilman & Welle, 2006; Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; etc.) to control sex of a target in studies of gender differences and career outcomes.

Relationship type shared with advice-giver. Information about relationship type shared with the advice-giver was manipulated in the brief description of the Principal, which either specified a purely professional relationship (instrumental), or a professional relationship combined with a friendship element (multiplex). The instrumental relationship type was operationalized by the information that conversations take place on a professional level regarding mostly work-related issues; whereas the expressive component of the multiplex relationship type was operationalized

by the act of occasionally jogging together. The text of the relationship type manipulation is below:

Instrumental. Jennifer (Steve) is known as a star at the firm. You know Jennifer (Steve) because you were a member of one of Jennifer's (Steve's) deal teams. Your conversations take place on a professional level regarding mostly work-related issues. You consider Jennifer (Steve) to be a colleague rather than a friend. Your relationship is based only on professional interactions since you have never interacted with Jennifer (Steve) on a personal level.

or

Multiplex. Jennifer (Steve) is known as a star at the firm. You know Jennifer (Steve) because you were a member of one of Jennifer's (Steve's) deal teams. You also know Jennifer (Steve) because you both trained for the NYC marathon and you occasionally ran together. Your conversations take place on both a professional level (where strictly work-related issues are discussed) and a personal level (where mostly non-work related issues are discussed). You consider Jennifer (Steve) to be a colleague and a friend. Your relationship is based on both professional interactions and personal interactions.

Dependent Measures

Likelihood in Career-related Advice-seeking. The dependent variable, called likelihood in career-related advice-seeking, is a composite measure of the advice-seeker's likelihood to seek career-related advice from the potential advice-giver. Likelihood in career-related advice-seeking was derived from the average score, each measured on a Likert Scale of 1 to 7, of three items which were asked after the participant read the vignette and description of Jennifer or Steve. The items were: (a) How likely are you to approach Jennifer (Steve) for advice in your current situation? (b) How much do you want Jennifer's (Steve's) advice about your current situation?, and (c) How difficult would it be for you to approach Jennifer (Steve) for advice in your current situation? (Reverse scored). A principal component analysis was performed which determined that all three items comprising the dependent variable, likelihood in career-related advice-seeking, loaded on one factor, each above the 0.70 level. The reliability of the scale (Cronbach's Alpha) is 0.72.

Results

Manipulation checks

In order to determine if and how participants gender-stereotyped the four potential types of advice-givers (men with instrumental ties; men with multiplex ties; women with instrumental ties; and women with multiplex ties), a short version of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) consisting of 14 items measuring perceived masculinity and femininity of the advice-givers was collected using a Likert Scale of 1 to 7. Sample items for femininity included “warm” and “understanding,” whereas sample items for masculinity included “dominant” and “aggressive.” To determine if the manipulation of sex of the advice-giver was perceived appropriately by the participants, I examined the perceived masculinity-femininity scores of the advice-givers (see Table 1). Female advice-givers, as expected, scored significantly higher on the BSRI for perceived femininity (women fem. $M = 4.12$ vs. men fem. $M = 3.61$, $F(1, 136) = 132.825$, $p < .001$) and lower on masculinity (women masc. $M = 5.51$ vs. men masc. $M = 5.88$, $F(1, 136) = 136.896$, $p = .002$) than male advice-givers.

INSERT TABLE 1 HERE

To determine if participants viewed the instrumental and multiplex relationship conditions differently, and based on the reasoning in the theory section about the expressive component of multiplex relationships being compatible with female gender stereotypes and instrumental relationships, I examined the differences in the masculinity-femininity scores (Bem Sex Role Inventory Scale [BSRI]) by relationship type (see Table 2). As expected, multiplex relationships scored significantly higher than instrumental relationships on BSRI for femininity (mult. fem. $M = 4.25$ vs. instr. fem. $M = 3.49$, $F(1, 136) = 47.08$, $p < .001$) and lower on masculinity, though not significantly so (mult. masc. $M = 5.64$ vs. instr. masc. $M = 5.74$, $F(1,$

137) = .799, $p < .373$). Results of the manipulation checks support the idea that participants perceived potential advice-givers appropriately in different conditions.

INSERT TABLE 2 HERE

Data Analysis

Several models using analysis of variance (ANOVA) were examined, modeling main effects and all two-way and three-way interactions. The means and standard deviations of the dependent variable, likelihood in career-related advice-seeking, by each condition are shown in Table 3. In addition, in order to understand the underlying mechanisms driving the two-way and three-way interaction effects, I conducted several intercell contrasts in line with my hypotheses using the Fisher's least significant difference test (significance level set at $p < .05$) (Heilman & Haynes, 2005).

INSERT TABLE 3 HERE

Gender-based homophily. I hypothesized (H1) that both men and women will prefer seeking advice from same-sex others rather than from opposite-sex others. In order to test this hypothesis, the two-way interaction between the gender of the advice-giver and the gender of the advice-seeker was analyzed (See Table 4 for Means). There is a significant interaction effect of the combination of the gender of advice-giver and the gender of the advice-seeker on the advice-giver's likelihood in advice-seeking, $F(1, 138) = 6.547$, $p = .012$ (See Table 7). Interpretation of this result is that gender-homophily seems to be an important factor, but it needs to be teased apart in order to understand how exactly it affects likelihood in advice-seeking.

INSERT TABLE 4 HERE AND FIGURE 1 HERE

Upon further analysis of the two-way interaction between gender of advice-giver and gender of advice-seeker concerning the gender-based homophily hypothesis (H1), I find that men do not

significantly prefer same-sex advice-givers ($M = 5.04$) more than opposite-sex advice-givers ($M = 4.56$) (Table 5, Contrast 1, $p = .155$), while women prefer seeking advice from same-sex advice-givers ($M = 5.38$), although the finding is marginally significant, more than opposite-sex advice-givers ($M = 4.95$) (Table 5, Contrast 2, $p = .083$). It is unclear whether the main effect of gender is driven by women or whether something else is going on because of restricted sample size.

INSERT TABLE 5 HERE

Relationship type. I hypothesized (H2) that both men and women will prefer seeking advice from others with whom they share multiplex ties ($M = 5.58$) more than from others with whom they share instrumental ties ($M = 4.41$). This hypothesis was supported by the significant main effect of relationship type on likelihood in advice-seeking, $F(1, 138) = 43.44$, $p < .001$ (see Table 6 for Means and Figure 3), indicating that both men and women are significantly more likely to seek advice from individuals with whom they share multiplex ties than from individuals with whom they share instrumental ties ($t = 6.27$, $p < .001$, η^2 [between-group] = .014).

INSERT TABLE 6 AND FIGURE 3 HERE

Same-sex multiplex ties. I hypothesized (H3) that both men ($M = 5.88$) and women ($M = 6.04$) will prefer seeking advice from same-sex multiplex ties more than any other type of tie. This hypothesis was partially supported indicating that men are most likely to seek advice from same-sex multiplex ties and women are just likely to seek advice from same-sex multiplex ties ($M = 6.04$) as from opposite-sex multiplex ties ($M = 5.46$). Even though the means were in the expected direction, there was no significant difference between women's first and next preferences. It is clear, however, that women most prefer multiplex ties, no matter the gender.

“Next” preferences. I hypothesized (H4) that the gender of advice-seeker moderates the interaction of gender-based homophily and relationship type in predicting the likelihood in career-related advice-seeking. In order to test this hypothesis, the three-way interaction between gender of advice-seeker, gender of advice-giver, and relationship type was analyzed (see Table 7 for Means). There is a marginally significant 3-way interaction (Relationship type * Gender of advice-giver * Gender of advice-seeker) on the advice-giver’s likelihood in advice-seeking, $F(1, 138) = 2.93, p = .089$ (see Table 8). The 3-way interaction (relationship type * gender of advice-giver * gender of advice-seeker) is plotted (see Figures 4 & 5) in two separate graphs, one for male advice-seekers only, and the other for female advice-seekers only. This result signals that there may be underlying gender differences driving this three-way interaction worth further exploring. In order to detect differences and nuances, it is necessary to perform more specific contrasts tests by gender in order to better understand “next” preferences.

INSERT TABLE 7 AND TABLE 8 HERE

“Next” preference for men. The hypothesis (H4a) stating that men are more likely to seek advice from a same-sex instrumental tie than an opposite-sex multiplex tie was tested by performing a contrast (see Table 9; Contrast 4) which was not significant, $t(265) = 1.73, p < .10$, indicating that men are just as likely to seek advice from same-sex instrumental ties as they are from opposite-sex multiplex ties. However, upon examining another relevant contrast, (see Table 9: Contrast 3), it was found that men significantly prefer male multiplex advice-givers ($M = 5.88$) over female multiplex advice-givers ($M = 4.93, t(130) = 2.53, p < .05$). From this finding, it may be inferred that men indeed value same-sex ties and that relationship type is not as important.

INSERT FIGURE 4

“Next” preference for women. The hypothesis (H4b) stating that women are more likely to seek advice from an opposite-sex multiplex tie than a same-sex instrumental tie was tested by performing a contrast (see Table 9; Contrast 2) which was significant ($p = .026$), lending support for this hypothesis indicating that women prefer multiplexity over gender-based homophily. And, after examining another relevant contrast (see Table 9: Contrast 4), it was found that female advice-seeker do not significantly prefer, $t(130) = 1.66, p < .10$, female multiplex advice-givers ($M = 6.04$) more than male multiplex advice-givers ($M = 5.46$) further supporting the hypothesis (H4b) that women value multiplex ties and gender is not as important.

INSERT TABLE 9 AND FIGURE 5 HERE

Upon examining the interaction of relationship type and gender-based homophily for men, results indicated that there is no significant difference in next preferences between same-sex instrumental ties and opposite-sex multiplex ties. I had hypothesized that men would value gender over relationship type, but this was only marginally supported.

Additional findings

Gender of advice-seeker. Although I did not hypothesize about the effects of gender of the advice-seeker on likelihood in advice-seeking, I found a significant main effect of gender of advice-seeker on likelihood in advice-seeking, $F(1, 138) = 5.039, p = .026$ (see Table 10), indicating that women (advice-seekers) reported a significantly greater likelihood in seeking advice ($M = 5.19$) than men (advice-seekers) ($M = 4.79$) (see Table 10 and Figure 6). This result may imply that either women (advice-seekers) were more liberal in using the Likert scale than men; women were more likely to approach others for career-related advice than men; or a combination of the two.

INSERT TABLE 10 AND FIGURE 6 HERE

Gender of advice-giver. Although I did not hypothesize about the gender of the advice-giver, to rule out the notion that people are more likely to approach men for advice given higher status and competency assumptions, I examined the main effect of gender of advice-giver. There was no main effect of gender of advice-giver on likelihood in advice-seeking, $F(1, 138) = .003, p = .957$ (see Table 8), suggesting that people are equally likely to seek advice from men as from women under the right circumstances.

“No Relationship” type. In order to test the meaning of the instrumental and multiplex relationship conditions examined here, I also collected data on advice-seeking given a “No relationship” condition, defined as no prior relationship between the advice-seeker and advice-giver except that they both worked at the same firm. I examined this condition to determine if advice-seekers significantly prefer seeking advice from advice-givers with whom they share some kind of relationship (either instrumental or multiplex), rather than from advice-givers with whom they have no relationship. Indeed, advice-seekers are more likely to seek advice from individuals with whom they share a multiplex relationship ($M = 5.58$) than from those with whom they have “no relationship” ($M = 3.53$), $t(130) = 10.94, p < .001$. Also, advice-seekers are more likely to seek advice from individuals with whom they share an instrumental relationship ($M = 4.44$) than from those with whom they have “no relationship” ($M = 3.53$), $t(133) = 5.23, p < .001$ (see Figure 7).

INSERT FIGURE 7 HERE

In summary, results of this study provide support for many of the hypotheses that were tested. Hypothesis 1 regarding gender-based homophily was marginally supported for women preferring to seek advice from other women over men, but results did not support men preferring to seek advice from other men over women. Hypothesis 2 regarding relationship type was

supported: both men and women prefer the multiplex relationship over the instrumental relationship. Results for Hypotheses 3 and 4, regarding relationship type and gender-based homophily, indicate that gender of the advice-seeker matters when considering both relationship type and gender of the advice-giver. Hypothesis 3 was partially supported indicating that men most prefer same-sex multiplex ties, and women most prefer multiplex ties, but it does not matter the gender. Hypothesis 4 was partially supported such that there was no support for 4a regarding men's next preferences, but there was support for 4b regarding women's next preferences. Specifically, men did not exhibit a clear next preference for same-sex versus multiplex ties, while women did exhibit a clear next preference for multiplex versus same-sex ties.

Discussion

Results of this study suggest that men prefer seeking career-related advice from same-sex multiplex ties more than any other type of tie, and women most prefer seeking multiplex ties, but it does not matter the gender. The finding for men supports prior field research on gender differences in networks which found that men's networks have a high degree of multiplex ties. However, the finding for women contradicts prior field research which found that women's networks do not have the same high numbers of multiplex ties as men's networks (Ibarra, 1992). Ibarra (1992) explained this finding by suggesting that women tend to connect with men for instrumental resources and with women for expressive resources, but it remained unclear whether this phenomenon was due to women's preference or the organizational gender composition (Ibarra, 1992). The current study provides evidence that if given the opportunity women would most likely seek career-related advice from multiplex ties. Findings from this study also have implications for the organizational gender composition explanation. Moreover, it may be inferred that prior gender and network research seems to have entangled preference

with organizational composition constraints, and the scarcity of multiplex ties in women's workplace networks relative to men's networks most likely does not reflect preference, but rather the availability of senior women to provide instrumental resources along with social and emotional support. Therefore, the findings here suggest that if women had the opportunity to approach same-sex others with whom they shared multiplex ties for career advice, they would seize it.

Findings from this study may seem counter to prior research which has shown that women, even if they are often considered to be part of the low-status group, have strong identification with their in-group (Rudman & Goodwin, 2004). In a series of experiments by Rudman & Goodwin (2004), it was found that women, significantly more so than men, showed a stronger sense of "cognitive balance" in the domain of in-group bias demonstrating that women may have a special mechanism that strengthens the automatic response to favor their own group (p. 494). This mechanism, bolstering automatic in-group bias, may be exercised in the workplace as women's need to "stick together" for support and synergistic strength is often even more important inside rather than outside of the workplace (Kanter, 1977). However, for women the story is more complex because on one hand there is a driver to identify with one's gender in-group (women), but on the other hand some research has found that individuals may choose *not* to identify with a low status in-group, and instead identify with a higher status group. Thus while there is an argument for homophily for women, competing demands may explain a key finding in this study which supports multiplexity for women, no matter the gender.

In many organizations, due to the lack of women in senior-level positions, it is difficult for junior women to form multiplex ties with very senior-status women making today's workplace often simply unable to accommodate women's likely network preferences. For this

reason, it is necessary to understand if and how men's and women's preference hierarchies differ when seeking career-related advice. Whom do men and women prefer approaching for advice *next*?

For women, the interaction of relationship type and gender-based homophily indicated, in support of the hypothesis (H4b), that women next prefer seeking advice from opposite-sex multiplex ties more than same-sex instrumental ties. Here, again, we see that women are in search of multiplex ties no matter the gender because the expressive component of the relationship is perceived by women to be much more desirable and beneficial than a purely instrumental tie. In line with this finding, Burt (2000) found a strong correlation between women who were connected to male senior-status others outside their work group and their career success measured by time of promotion. The explanation behind this correlation effect was that certain senior-status males would voluntarily act as sponsors for junior women to help promote career success. In essence, women who would borrow social capital via a senior status male sponsor, a relationship that I would categorize as multiplex, experienced more career success than women who did not have a sponsor. This supports the finding that women do not necessarily prefer women when multiplexity is available. As long as these sponsors offered multiplex resources, it did not matter that they were predominantly men in contrast to the supporters of a homophily argument who would be puzzled by Burt's (2000) findings that junior women have multiplex ties with men in their networks.

Another interesting finding of this study is that both men and women placed instrumental women low on their preference hierarchies. This finding is consistent with the idea that instrumental women are perceived as more agentic in nature than multiplex women, and as a result these women are penalized in the form of social rejection (Heilman & Okimoto, 2006).

Furthermore, Berdahl (2007) defines a group of very successful women in the workplace as “uppity,” or those “women who step out of place by assuming characteristics considered more desirable for men” (Berdahl, 2007, p. 425), and “uppity” women are more likely to be discriminated against than women who exhibit feminine characteristics. Based on Berdahl’s (2007) definition of these women as competitive and aggressive, I would argue that an instrumental female advice-giver could be categorized as an “uppity” woman. Moreover, the Bem Sex Role Inventory data from the current study supports this argument as instrumental women were viewed as more competitive and aggressive than multiplex women.

The current study has a number of potential limitations. First, subjects were primarily undergraduate students with limited work experience, which may have caused potential difficulty in identifying with the vignette and which may limit the generalizability of these findings. However, when participants were asked about the scenario, the group reported, on a Likert scale from 1 to 7, that they agreed the situation was realistic ($M = 5.26$). Furthermore, the descriptions of the relationship with the advice-giver were intentionally simple and brief in order to clearly and accurately manipulate the independent variables of interest. Brevity and the lack of individual information in the descriptions may also have purposely enabled subjects to employ their own stereotypes. However, oversimplified descriptions of advice-givers may have made it difficult for subjects to imagine whom they would approach for advice. The organizational context of the vignette was a Wall Street investment bank, widely known to be male-dominated, which may have skewed gender preferences. However, this context is consistent with many organizational settings that are dominated by men in leadership positions (Roth, 2004). Future research is needed to identify whether there are conditions under which gender network preferences change, for example, in a more gender-neutral or female-dominated organizational

environment. Another limitation is that the expressive component of the multiplex relationship was operationalized by a sport (running together), which may have biased men in their next preference (H4a) toward multiplex women. If the expressive component of the multiplex relationship was activated by a more emotional activity like disclosing something intimate or bonding over some kind of emotional event, the likelihood in males approaching an opposite-sex multiplex tie versus a same-sex instrumental tie as their next preference may have been less.

Despite the above limitations, this study has both theoretical and methodological contributions in the way it systematically examined the interaction effects of relationship type and gender-based homophily on men's and women's network preferences. This study adds to the existing literature on gender differences in personal networks by examining men's and women's *preferences* as opposed to their perceived network composition. From a theoretical perspective, this is important as it allows us to disentangle the differential constraints placed on men and women by workplace composition from their potential behavior if senior positions in organizations were more equally distributed across gender. Methodologically, not only was this network study performed in the lab where organizational composition restraints were eliminated and variables of interest were manipulated, but employing the vignette technique allowed the incorporation of a realistic work situation and provided the exact same work situation to both men and women which helped to distinguish between preference and opportunity more clearly. Finally, this study takes into account the real limitations placed on men and women due to organizational constraints by examining their *next preference*. By analyzing men's and women's network preference hierarchies, gender differences become more discernable particularly in regard to the tradeoffs that are sometimes made when choosing between gender-homophily and

relationship type. Evidence from this study notably demonstrates that both men and women desire multiplex ties in the workplace.

For more than a decade in network research, organizational composition and personal preference have confounded the effects of relationship type and gender when it comes to understanding whom men and women connect with in the workplace. This study not only untangled these key choice variables, but it also succeeded in more fully understanding the interaction effect between relationship type and gender. However, further investigation is necessary in order to better understand gender and networks, and in particular, how men and women may benefit professionally from valuable personal network resources in the workplace.

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Table 1.
Means and Standard Deviations of Masculine and Feminine Bem Sex Role Inventory Composite Scores

	Masculine composite score	Feminine composite score
Male advice-givers	5.88 (0.69) <i>n</i> = 68	3.61 (0.65) <i>n</i> = 68
Female advice-givers	5.51 (0.70) <i>n</i> = 71	4.12 (0.78) <i>n</i> = 70

Note: Standard deviations appear in parentheses. All ratings were done on 7-point scales, and the higher the number, the more favorable the rating.

Table 2.
Means and Standard Deviations of Masculine and Feminine Bem Sex Role Inventory Composite Scores

Relationship type	Masculine composite score	Feminine composite score
Instrumental	5.74 (0.78) <i>n</i> = 71	3.61 (0.71) <i>n</i> = 70
Multiplex	5.64 (0.64) <i>n</i> = 68	4.12 (0.60) <i>n</i> = 68

Note: Standard deviations appear in parentheses. All ratings were done on 7-point scales, and the higher the number, the more favorable the rating.

Table 3.
Means and Standard Deviations for Likelihood in Advice-seeking in Each Experimental Condition

Condition	<i>n</i>	Likelihood in advice-seeking
Instrumental relationship		
Male advice-giver & male advice-seeker	15	4.16 (1.30)
Male advice-giver & female advice-seeker	19	4.46 (1.00)
Female advice-giver & male advice-seeker	16	4.21 (0.96)
Female advice-giver & female advice-seeker	21	4.81 (0.73)
Multiplex relationship		
Male advice-giver & male advice-seeker	16	5.88 (0.90)
Male advice-giver & female advice-seeker	18	5.46 (0.98)
Female advice-giver & male advice-seeker	15	4.93 (1.45)
Female advice-giver & female advice-seeker	18	6.04 (0.96)

Note: Standard deviations appear in parentheses. All ratings were done on 7-point scales, and the higher the number, the more favorable the rating.

Table 4.
Means and Standard Deviations of Likelihood in advice-seeking for Gender of Advice-seeker vs. Gender of Advice-giver

	Male advice-giver	Female advice-giver
Male advice-seeker	5.04 (1.40) <i>n</i> = 31	4.56 (1.24) <i>n</i> = 32
Female advice-seeker	4.95 (1.10) <i>n</i> = 37	5.38 (1.04) <i>n</i> = 39

Note: Standard deviations appear in parentheses. All ratings were done on 7-point scales, and the higher the number, the more favorable the rating.

Table 5.
*Contrast Tests for Gender of Advice-giver *Gender of Advice-seeker*

Contrast	Contrast Description	Contrast Value (Std. Error)	t	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Does not assume equal variances ¹²	1 Male advice-seeker, vs. Male advice-giver	-.481 (0.33)	-1.44	59.56	.155
	Female advice-giver				
2	Female advice-seeker, vs. Male advice-giver	.430 (0.25)	1.76	73.07	.083
	Female advice-seeker, Female advice-giver				
3	Male advice-seeker, vs. Female advice-giver	.814 (0.27)	2.97	60.55	.004*
	Female advice-seeker, Female advice-giver				

*p < 0.5

Table 6.
Means and Standard Deviations of Relationship Type on Likelihood in Advice-seeking

Relationship	n	Likelihood in advice-seeking	95% Confidence Interval
Instrumental	71	4.41 (0.12)	(4.16, 4.65)
Multiplex	67	5.58 (0.13)	(5.33, 5.83)

Note: Standard deviations appear in parentheses. All ratings were done on 7-point scales, and the higher the number, the more favorable the rating.

Table 7.
*Means and Standard Deviations of Likelihood in Advice-seeking for Relationship type*Gender of Advice-giver*Gender of Advice-seeker*

	Instrumental		Multiplex	
	Male advice-giver	Female advice-giver	Male advice-giver	Female advice-giver
Male advice-seeker	4.16 (1.30) n = 15	4.21 (0.96) n = 16	5.88 (0.90) n = 16	4.93 (1.45) n = 15
Female advice-seeker	4.46 (1.00) n = 19	4.81 (0.73) n = 21	5.46 (0.98) n = 18	6.04 (0.96) n = 18

Note: Standard deviations appear in parentheses. All ratings were done on 7-point scales, and the higher the number, the more favorable the rating.

Table 8.

Test of Between Subject Effects for a Three-Factorial (2 x 2 x 2) Design

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	62.638(a)	7	8.948	8.341	.000
Intercept	3395.894	1	3395.894	3165.256	.000
Relationship type	46.607	1	46.607	43.441	.000*
Gender Advice-Giver	.003	1	.003	.003	.957
Gender Advice-Seeker	5.406	1	5.406	5.039	.026*
Relationship type* Gender Advice-Giver	1.275	1	1.275	1.188	.278
Relationship type* Gender Advice-Seeker	.094	1	.094	.088	.768
Gender Advice-Giver * Gender Advice-Seeker	7.024	1	7.024	6.547	.012*
Relationship type * Gender Advice-Giver * Gender Advice-Seeker	3.144	1	3.144	2.930	.089
Error	139.473	130	1.073		
Total	3655.444	138			
Corrected Total	202.110	137			

a R Squared = .310 (Adjusted R Squared = .273)

* p < .05

Table 9
*Contrast Tests for Relationship Type * Gender of Advice-giver * Gender of Advice-seeker*

	Contrast	Contrast Description	Contrast Value (Std. Error)	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Does not assume equal variances ³	1	Instrumental, Female advice- seeker, Male advice-giver <i>vs.</i> Multiplex, Female advice- seeker, Female advice-giver	1.581 (0.32)	4.929	34.992	.000*
	2	Instrumental, Female advice- seeker, Female advice-giver <i>vs.</i> Multiplex, Female advice- seeker, Male advice-giver	.653 (0.28)	2.335	31.010	.026*
	3	Instrumental, Male advice- seeker, Female advice-giver <i>vs.</i> Multiplex, Male advice- seeker, Male advice-giver	1.667 (0.33)	5.069	29.893	.000*
	4	Instrumental, Male advice- seeker, Male advice-giver <i>vs.</i> Multiplex, Male advice- seeker, Female advice-giver	.778 (0.50)	1.543	27.667	.134

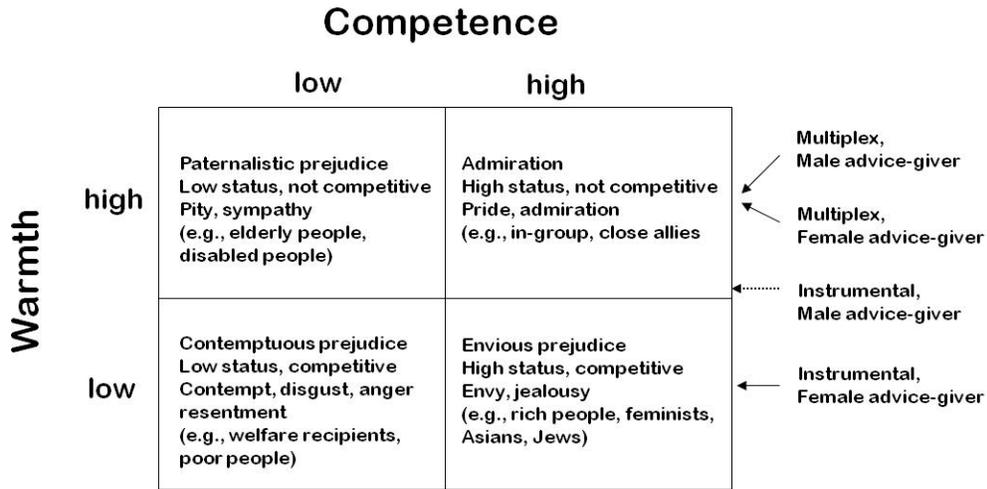
p < .05

Table 10.
Means and Standard Deviations of Gender of Advice-seeker on Likelihood in Advice-seeking

Gender of advice-seeker	n	Likelihood in advice-seeking	95% Confidence Interval
Male advice-seeker	68	4.79 (0.13)	(4.53, 5.05)
Female advice-seeker	70	5.19 (0.12)	(4.96, 5.43)

Note: Standard deviations appear in parentheses. All ratings were done on 7-point scales, and the higher the number, the more favorable the rating.

Figure 1
Warmth-Competency Model



Source: Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002, Table 1, p. 881

Figure 2.
Likelihood in Advice-seeking by Gender of Advice-Giver*Gender of Advice-Seeker

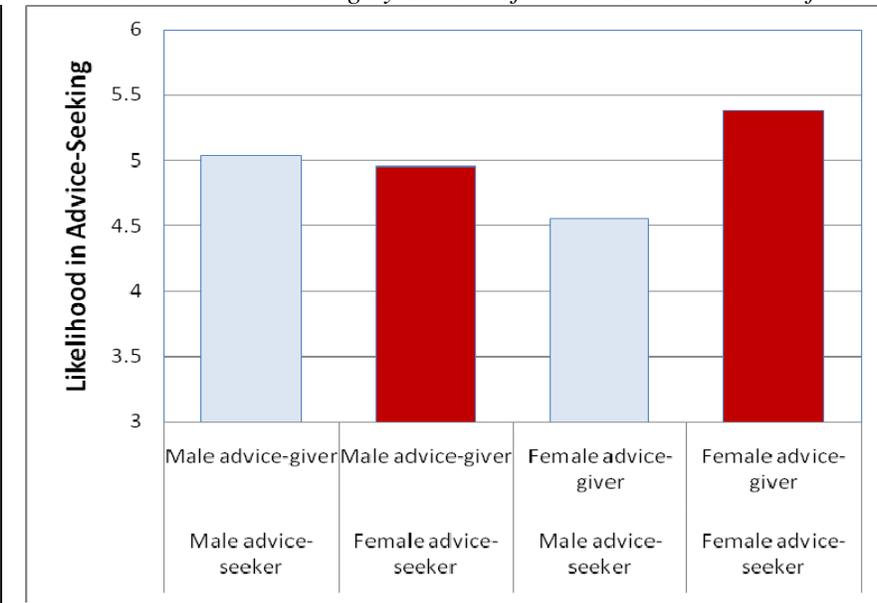


Figure 3.
Likelihood in Advice-seeking by Relationship type

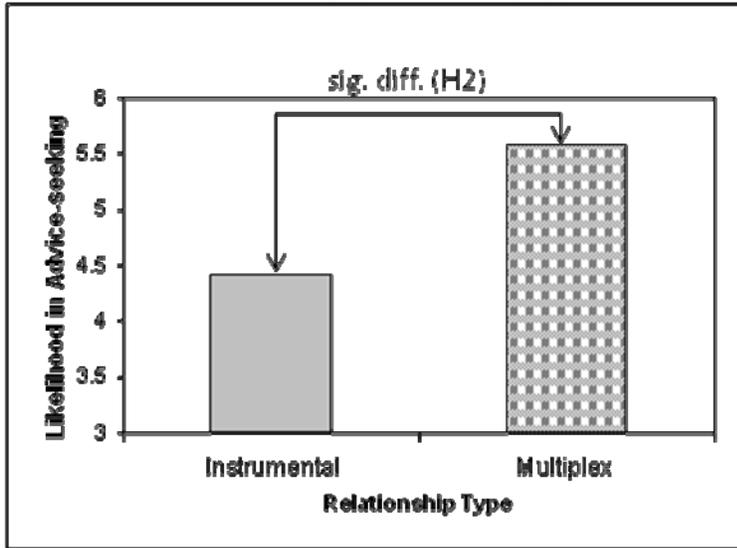


Figure 4.
Likelihood in Advice-seeking by Relationship Type* Gender of Advice-giver* Gender of Advice-seeker

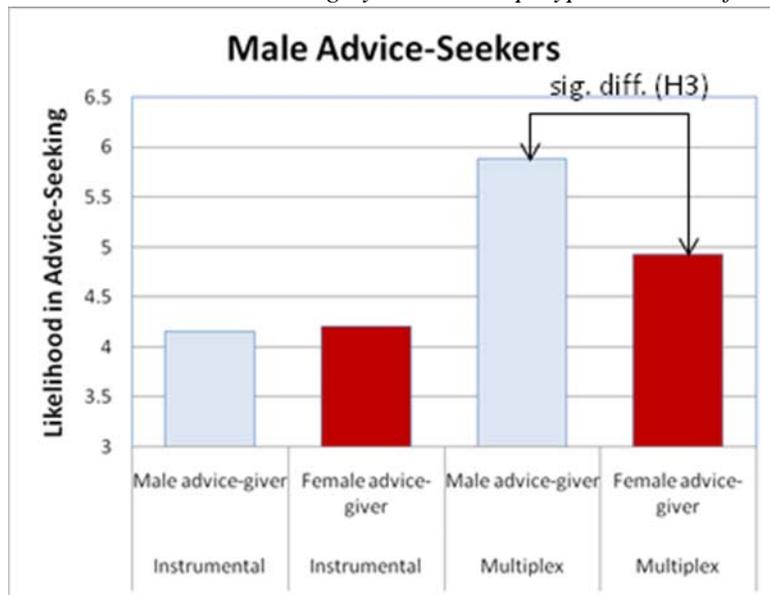


Figure 5.
Likelihood in Advice-seeking by Relationship Type* Gender of Advice-giver* Gender of Advice-seeker

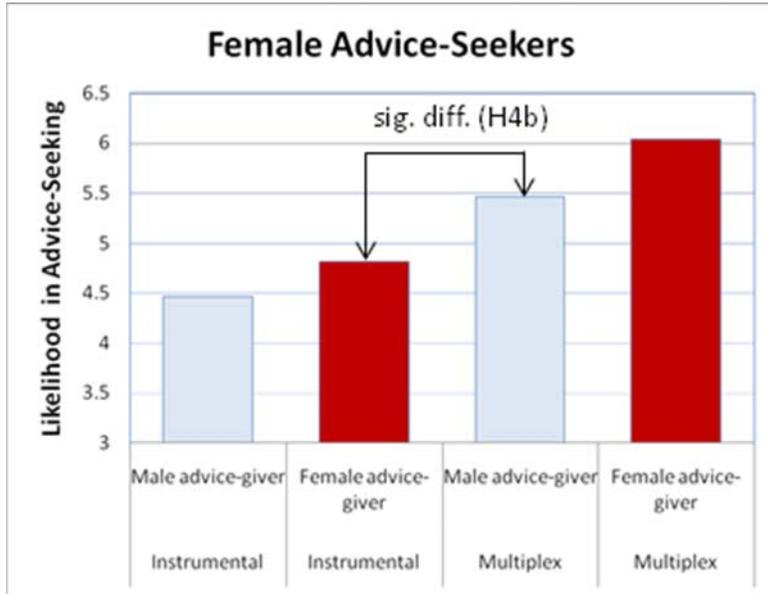


Figure 6
Likelihood in Advice-seeking by Gender of Advice-Seeker

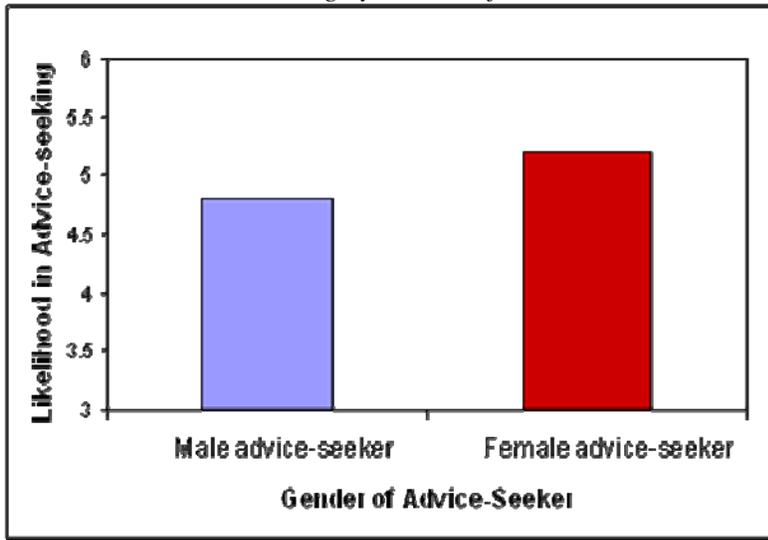


Figure 7.

“No Relationship” Robustness Check: Likelihood in Advice-seeking by Relationship type

