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between 2001 and 2016“

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Table of contents

ABSTRACT	3
INTRODUCTION	4
Gender Stereotypes	4
Dynamic Stereotypes	5
Stereotype Changes and Backlash Effect	7
Current study	8
- Goals and hypotheses.	8
- Obituaries as basis for stereotype analysis.	9
METHOD	9
Sample	9
Procedure	10
Measures	12
Gender-type of profession	12
RESULTS	14
Changes over the years	14
Communion	14
Agency	16
Likability	18
Competence	20
DISCUSSION	23
Limitations	27
Future Research	27
Conclusion	28
REFERENCES	29
APPENDIX A	36
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	39

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Abstract

We analyzed 400 newspaper obituaries of male leaders in male-typed, female-typed, and neutral professions to investigate changes in descriptive and prescriptive gender stereotypes based on sex-type of the profession in which the leaders were employed. The obituaries were published in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland between 2001 and 2016. We analyzed the obituaries' content based on four theory-driven categories: communion, agency, competence and likability. Importantly, we used new technology (KH-coder) to analyze the obituaries in an efficient and unbiased way. Consistent with previous research, we find that agency remains the prevailing description of male leaders. Moreover, we identify communion descriptions to remain relatively stable over time. Other than hypothesized, we cannot find differences in agency and communion descriptions among leaders of male-typed, female-typed, and neutral professions. However, we find, that male leaders employed in male-typed professions are described as more competent than male leaders in female-typed and neutral professions. Additionally, we find - other than hypothesized - a positive association between ascribed communality and likability. This suggests that male leaders may not suffer from backlash when seen in counter stereotypical ways. Additional implications are discussed.

Keywords: gender stereotypes, obituaries, backlash hypothesis, masculinity, leadership, KH-Coder

Introduction

Throughout the history of science, studies have been conducted primarily on men. For example, the influence of medication was mostly tested on men (Krystal & Attarian, 2016; Young, 2016). The impact of safety improvements in cars was also primarily tested with male crash test dummies, which led to a 47% higher chance of serious injuries among women using seat-belts. The first female crash test dummy representing women was not introduced until 2011 (Shaver, 2012). However, scientific research on gender stereotypes, has neglected men. Rather than being studied on their own merit, men have predominantly served as the control group in studies focusing on women. Despite popular opinion implying that men nowadays are softer than previous generations (Wells, 2016), research about changes in male gender stereotypes is scarce. Scientific research suggests that expectations for men have changed – e.g., selflessness was the most strongly endorsed masculine value in men aged 15-29 (OliFFE et al., 2019). However, more men started to work female-typed jobs (Lupton, 2006) and men might have changed (OliFFE et al., 2019).

The goal of this study was, by analyzing obituaries, to investigate change in descriptive and prescriptive gender stereotypes of male leaders in male-typed, female-typed and neutral professions. This study builds on obituary research originally conducted by Kirchler (1992). Since then, this research has been repeated and expanded. The latest study was (Zehnter, Olsen, & Kirchler, 2018), however, their study relied on aggregated data, which limits their research because it does not allow for robust inferential statistics. On the contrary, the present study relies on case-based data. The methods used in this study were similar to the previously established methods, however some adjustments have been made that are presented below.

Gender Stereotypes

Gender tends to be seen as a binary attribute when categorizing people in the public eye (Ellemers, 2018). This leads to different assumptions for each gender which might influence their life choices in a significant way. For instance, gender determines risk preferences with men showing more risk-seeking behavior than woman (Byrnes, Miller & Schaffer, 1999). Gender might also influence job aspirations: Some occupations are predominantly male-typed (e.g., the construction industry) whereas other jobs are more often held by women (e.g., health & social work) (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, 2017).

Gender stereotypes are general expectations about behavior and appearance of men and women (Ellemers, 2018). Women are stereotypically described using *communal* descriptions, such as selfless, helpful, warm, kind, understanding, and being aware of others.

Men are usually described as assertive, aggressive, independent, forceful, self-sufficient and dominant (Rudman, Moss-Racusin & Phelan 2012; Eagly & Johnson, 1990). Further, gender stereotypes can be divided into two categories: Descriptive stereotypes describe how people typically *are* and prescriptive stereotypes describe how people *should be* (Ellemers, 2018; Heilman, 2012). Stereotypes can be helpful to foresee how someone might behave in a novel situation (Ellemers, 2018). That being said, they can also be the root of discrimination (Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012).

Dynamic Stereotypes

Stereotypes are not static but change over time. The Social Role Theory offers an explanation for this phenomenon (Diekmann & Eagly, 2000) by differentiating between static and dynamic elements. Dynamic stereotypes describe groups that have changed over time and might continue to change in the future, whereas static stereotypes describe groups that have remained relatively stable over time (Diekmann & Eagly, 2000). Stereotypes about women have been shown to be more dynamic than stereotypes about men (Diekmann & Eagly, 2000). Women join the workforce in typical male fields more often than men join typically female dominated fields. Additionally, women are more likely to take over domestic chores. On the contrary, there has been little agreement on the reason why stereotypes about men are rather static. Several attempts have been made to explain men's lack to adopt communal traits. For instance, it has been shown that some traits, such as nurturing, are more strongly tied to biological causes than for example one's aptitude in mathematics (Cole et al., 2007). Furthermore, motherhood seems to be more strongly tied to biology than fatherhood (McPherson, Banchevsky, & Park, 2018). Based on this information it has been speculated that communion is seen by most as a part of the female 'essence' (Sendén, Klysing, Lindqvist, & Renström, 2019). Consequently, those who do not belong to the category of 'woman' face more obstacles and struggles to gain communal traits. Another approach to explain why men do not adopt communal traits as quickly as women adopt agentic traits is based on the higher status associated with being masculine (Rudman et al., 2012). Therefore, it would be beneficial for women to display more agentic behavior, whereas men are better served to continue to be agentic in order to avoid the loss of social status (Sendén et. al, 2019).

A considerable amount of literature has been published on the factors that influence the adoption of communal traits. These studies investigated overarching events and political leadership (Curşeu & Boroş, 2011; Curşeu & Pop-Curşeu, 2018). A study analyzing the writings on tombstones in Romania found that in difficult times, such as World War II and at the beginning of communism, people were described as more masculine (Curşeu & Pop-

Curşeu, 2018). Whereas during the late years of communism, feminine attributes have become more prominent. Previous studies have reported similar findings by comparing obituaries written during the communist command and in post-communist Romania. During the communist period gender differences have not been significant, whereas the perceived ability of women to lead and manage decreased in post-communist Romania (Curşeu & Boroş, 2011). These findings demonstrate that the political system as well as impactful events, such as war, strongly influence the prevalent gender stereotype.

Another factor that has been identified to influence gender stereotypes is the type of occupation (He, Kang, Tse & Toh, 2019). However, it has also been found that gender stereotypes vary within the same occupation, depending on the sector in which the occupation was carried out (Wieland, Kemmelheimer, Gupta, & McKelvey, 2019). Recent surveys suggest that different stereotypes were associated with different types of entrepreneurs (Wieland et al., 2019). High growth entrepreneurs were described to be more similar to men and to be high in agency. In contrast, low growth entrepreneurs were described to be more similar to women and to be high in communal traits (Wieland et al., 2019). Social entrepreneurs were regarded as similar to both men and women, as well as described as both agentic and communal. However, the reported agency score was slightly higher than the communality score in the social entrepreneur group (Wieland et al., 2019). This might explain the inconsistent literature in regard to the adoption of communal traits in men. Based on these findings (Wieland et al., 2019), it may be possible that a sampling bias may have led to men being sampled exclusively from different occupational categories in previous research.

The analysis of obituaries of female and male leaders in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland (DACH-region) revealed that female and male stereotypes converged and became more similar over time. However, the stereotype of male leaders remained relatively stable, while the stereotype of the female leaders was subject to stronger changes. (Hartl, Kirchler, & Muehlbacher, 2013; Kirchler, 1992; Rodler, Kirchler, & Hölzl, 2001; Zehnter et al., 2018). In addition, changes in gender stereotypes may depend on whether they are descriptive or prescriptive in nature. Descriptive stereotypes may be dynamic and change over time, while prescriptive stereotypes may be more stable. Over time, female leaders were described as more agentic indicating change in descriptive stereotypes. However, among women, increases in agency were associated with decreases of likability, indicating that the way women should be has not changed over time. Conversely, a small correlation between the increases in men's communion and decreases in their likability have been found (Zehnter et al., 2018).

Stereotype Changes and Backlash Effect

Leadership is traditionally very male connotated (Eagly & Karau, 2012; Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011). For instance, analysis of natural speech patterns of CEOs showed that a deep voice is related to tenure, size of the company, and income (Ellemers, 2018; Mayew, Parsons, & Venkatachalam, 2013). This is stable for both women and men. Further, male leadership is status congruent, since masculinity and leadership are both seen as high status traits (Rudman et al., 2012). Due to the agentic qualities that are ascribed to leadership as well as to men (Spence & Buckner, 2000), leadership is of particular interest when we try to explain if stereotypes about men are changing.

Over the years, researchers have tried to examine the masculinity and femininity of leadership. Shinar (1975) tried to assess masculine and feminine content in occupational stereotypes by using the Masculinity-Femininity-Paradigm. Participants had to rate specific occupations on a bipolar masculinity-femininity scale. They demonstrated that leadership was regarded as predominantly masculine. Powell and Butterfield (1979) built onto the Masculinity-Femininity-Paradigm by introducing the Agency-Communion-Paradigm. This scale was used to measure leaders in accordance to agentic and communal traits. In line with the findings provided by the Masculinity-Femininity-Paradigm studies, leadership has been viewed predominantly as agentic. Another paradigm that addresses the cultural masculinity of leader roles is the Think-Manager-Think-Male-Paradigm (Schein, 1996). The paradigm described that most people thought that men and leaders are similar whereas women and leaders are not. All three paradigms were compared and explored in a meta-analysis consisting out of 101 individual studies, the study supported the view that overall masculinity was associated with leadership (Koenig et al., 2011). They found that men fit the cultural expectations of leadership better than women do and face fewer challenges than women do (Koenig et al., 2011).

In the past decades, leadership has undergone substantial changes in regard to what is perceived as good leadership. Since the 80's, research has differentiated between transactional and transformational leadership (Bass, 1985). Transactional leadership was defined as leadership that makes it clear which actions followers must take in order to achieve success (Bass, 1985; Kark, Van Dijk, & Vashdi, 2018). In contrast, a transformational leader inspires his/her team and shares a vision (Bass, 1985). Transformational leadership has been proven to lead to higher levels of organizational and individual success (Kark, Van Dijk, & Vashdi, 2018). In order to inspire a team, leaders have to possess other qualities than just agentic traits. Therefore, an increase of integrative behavior and group building skills is required

(Kark, et al., 2018). The transformational leader appeared in a time, where organizations withdrew from stiff hierarchies and opted for more flexibility, leading to more collaboration and favoring the individual empowerment of employees (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Saint-Michel, 2018). Similar to transformational leadership, servant leadership describes a leader that is interested in the well-being of his/her employees but also serves the interests of the company and the community (Greenleaf, 1970). As servant leadership requires the leader to put the needs of the followers and stakeholders first, successful leaders have to be gentler and more focused on community building than ever before (Greenleaf, 1970; Hoch, Bommer, Dulebohn, & Wu, 2018).

These changes in what is seen as good leadership may lead to backlash for those who do not comply to the new standard. The Backlash Hypothesis initially described the double-bind professional standards women experience. On the one hand, they have to be competent, firm, assertive and confident, in other words *agentic*, in order to advance their career. On the other hand, women who portray the agentic characteristics may face backlash because being agentic is counter stereotypical (Rudman, 1998). Researchers proposed the status incongruity hypothesis to be the driving force behind the Backlash Hypothesis (Rudman et al., 2012). The status incongruity hypothesis describes the separation between an achieved status (hard work) and an ascribed status built on individual features (e.g. sex, race and age; Rudman et al., 2012). The Backlash Hypothesis and the status incongruity theory have been linked to men as well. Modest and atypical men are seen as violating the high status associated with agency in men, due to insecurities and modest behavior which is linked to low status (Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Rudman, 2010). These findings underline the punishment experienced by all genders when breaking with the stereotypes they are associated with. Consequently, if gender stereotypes change over time, men who display the attributes required of transactional leaders, may face backlash because they would violate expectations based on gender stereotypes. However, research that has studied backlash effects in transactional male leaders is scarce.

Current study

Goals and hypotheses. The goal of this study was to examine the change of descriptive and prescriptive gender stereotypes about male leaders from 2001 to 2016 by analyzing obituaries. Thereby, we took into account whether a leadership role was executed in a male-typed profession, in a female-typed profession or in a neutral profession. First, we hypothesized that during the whole time period, male leaders in male-typed professions were described as less communal than male leaders in female-typed and neutral professions (H1a). Concurrently, we hypothesized that male leaders in male-typed professions

were described with the same level of communion, whereas the female-typed and neutral professions were described as increasingly communal (H1b). Second, we hypothesized that at all times male leaders in male-typed professions were described as more agentic than male leaders in the female-typed and neutral professions (H2). Third, we hypothesized that there was a negative relationship between communal traits among male leaders and likability; however, we expected this relationship to be stronger in male-typed professions than in female-typed and neutral professions (H3). In addition, we explored how the description of competence of male leaders in male-typed, female-typed and neutral professions changed over time.

Obituaries as basis for stereotype analysis. Research has developed various methods to measure stereotypes, such as measuring prevalent opinions of relevant groups by using experimental paradigms (Schneider & Bos, 2014) or the Implicit Association Test (IAT) (Hofmann, Gawronski, Geschwender & Schmitt, 2005). This study used obituaries to measure stereotypes. Obituaries are death notes written to describe and honor the deceased. There are certain drawbacks associated with the use of obituaries. Obituaries focus on the achievements and the positive traits of the deceased; therefore, the overall picture may be positively biased. However, this bias is constant in all obituary research. In addition, the advantages of using obituaries may outweigh its drawbacks. It is possible to assess the zeitgeist and contemporary stereotypes of the time, when the obituary was published. This is because, obituaries reflect and represent the prevailing values of the author about a deceased person (Moremen & Craddock, 1999). This makes it suited to access stereotype changes throughout time since obituaries in newspapers are archived long after their initial publication (Hartl et al., 2013).

Another major advantage of using obituaries in comparison to other methods is the non-invasiveness of the method. This is a critical advantage over questionnaire research which tend to produce social desirability biases (King & Bruner, 2000). Obituaries allow an assessment of the stereotypes without the potential implication of being deceived by social desirability, because at the time of writing the obituaries, the authors are not aware that their content is used in research. Therefore, there has been no incentive to cloak hidden stereotypes. Moreover, it is believed that it is insignificant whether a man or a woman wrote the obituary, because both genders display similar levels of gender stereotypes (Heilman et al., 2004).

Method

Sample

In total, 481 obituaries of male leaders were identified. After excluding 81 (16.83%) obituaries, because it was not possible to identify if the occupational field was predominantly

Table 1:

Number of obituaries per year and group.

	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016	Total
Male-typed	29	31	26	36	18	37	177
Female-typed	5	7	5	10	8	9	44
Neutral	23	23	25	28	19	61	179
NA	10	12	11	13	13	22	81
Total	67	73	67	87	58	129	481

male, female or neutral, a final set of 400 obituaries was retained. Of these obituaries, 177 (44.25%) were written for male leaders in male-typed fields, 44 (11%) for male leaders in female-typed fields, and 179 (44.75%) for male leaders in neutral fields. The distributions by year are presented in Table 1.

We analyzed the frequency of agentic, communion, likability and competence words in the obituaries. However, since zero and one were the most common frequencies, we treated the data not as count data, but as binary data. We decided that the loss of information was acceptable, since only a small fraction of obituaries had word counts above one; only 17 obituaries (4.25%) contained more than one agency word, 11 obituaries (2.75%) contained more than one communion word, four (1%) obituaries contained more than one competence word, and two obituaries (0.5%) contained more than one likability word.

Procedure

Following the previous studies that analyzed obituaries (Kirchler, 1992; Hartl et al., 2013; Zehnter et al., 2018), we collected the obituaries from four different newspapers; two published in Germany ('Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung' and 'Süddeutsche Zeitung'), one in Austria ('Die Presse') and one in Switzerland ('Neue Zürcher Zeitung'). All newspapers are known for publishing obituaries. As opposed to previous research, in this study, a three-year time-interval (instead of six years) was chosen to monitor changes more closely. Previously collected obituaries were used for the years 2004, 2010 and 2016. Additionally, new data was collected for the years 2001, 2007 and 2013. All newspapers were accessed from the archives of the Austrian National Library in Vienna.

In total, we screened 26 newspaper issues per year for publications of obituaries of male leaders. To get a randomized sample of male leaders, the two-week interval developed by Kirchler (1992) was used. We screened the Monday issue of the second calendar week (CW), the Tuesday issue of the fourth CW, the Wednesday issue of the sixth CW, and so on. If a newspaper was not published on a certain date, the consecutive issue was screened.

When a leader was mentioned in multiple obituaries, only one was selected based on the following criteria: When a person received several obituaries on different dates, the first obituary was used; when a person received several obituaries on the same date, a random obituary was chosen using an online random number generator (Random.org, 2019). This was done to avoid overrepresentation of extraordinary leaders, since extraordinary leaders may differ systematically from average leaders.

An additional goal of the current research was to digitalize the previously collected and newly collected obituaries. In the past, the obituaries have been transcribed by hand and have been rated by external raters. However, there are certain drawbacks with this procedure: It is prone to error in transcribing, prone to rater bias, and lastly, it is a lot of work. Therefore, we deemed it necessary to automate the process as much as possible. In order to use the same datamining procedure to rate the prior data, we had to digitalize these obituaries first.

First, the collected obituaries were photographed and the picture files were named to include the publishing date, the gender and the initials of the deceased. In an additional file, detailed data were summarized, such as full name, gender, age, publishing date, year of birth, occupation, possible second occupation, branch of industry, other branch of industry, and if the deceased has founded a company. The 2016 obituaries were also stored as photos and processed in the same way as the newly collected data. The obituaries collected from 2001, 2004, and 2010 were transcribed into our data frame in an Excel file.

For further analysis, the photographs were transformed into text using an optical character recognition tool included in the R package ‘tesseract’ (Ooms, 2018). After the automatic transcription, it was necessary to clear the transcribed text of errors and unnecessary words referring to the time and date of the burial, calls for donations, poems, religious quotes, and statements referring to people other than the deceased. This was done manually to reduce noise in the output of the analysis.

To analyze the obituaries, we used the open-source program KH-Coder (Higuchi, 2001), because it consistently and reliably analyzes German, and it is freely available. The KH-Coder reads the grouped obituaries and extracts all the used words, as well as their frequencies. Grammatical variations of words have been recognized and grouped to the

corresponding base word. The final output was transferred into an Excel file which consisted of the name, gender, age, publishing year, occupation, possible second occupation, branch of industry, other branch of industry and the actual obituary. Every obituary has four columns which show the respective count data for the categories: agency, communion, competence and likability.

Measures

The units of analysis were words reflecting agency, communion, competence, and likability (Zehnter et al., 2018). The first three categories are based on contemporary gender stereotype literature. The category ‘Agency’ refers to the male gender stereotype, and consists of words such as assertive, aggressive, independent, forceful, self-sufficient and dominant. The category ‘Communion’ refers to the female gender stereotype, and consist of words such as selfless, being helpful, warm, kind, understanding, and being aware of others (Ellemers, 2018). The category ‘Competence’ used to be a part of agency but has been acknowledged as an independent category lately (Koenig & Eagly, 2014). Competence is described by words such as able, intelligence and intellectual. Following Zehnter et al. (2018), the category ‘Likability’ was included to indicate how much a leader was appreciated by its peers. Likability is described by words such as popular and esteemed.

A list of relevant words was created based on theory and previous research on gender stereotypes (Abele, 2003; Abele, Uchronoski, Suitner, & Wojciske, 2008; Madera, Hebl, & Martin, 2009). The words were translated into German using the website dict.cc (2019) and have been extended with respective synonyms. Imperative for this procedure was to confirm that there were no overlapping words in the different categories. Due to the inclusion of synonyms, it was possible that one translation was belonging to the category ‘Agency’ and another translation to the category ‘Competence’. Similar German words within one category were not excluded, but overlapping words were sorted to fit into just one category. This was done based on a group discussion with seven other master students, who have at least taken one course about contemporary gender stereotypes and are native German speakers. The complete list can be found in Appendix A.

Gender-type of profession

We categorized the field in which the deceased leader was employed as male-typed, female-typed, and neutral based on data from the German Federal Statistical Office (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, 2017). We decided that at least 56% of the employees needed to be men or women in order to be named male-typed or female-typed. If the distribution was below that percentage it was named neutral. We could not find reliable

numbers regarding the gender distributions for trade related professions as well as for unions and foundations. Thus, we excluded the obituaries of leaders who worked in these fields. The categorization of the different fields into female-typed, male-typed, and neutral is shown in Table 2. Many of the sampled years in the female-typed group had a small sample size ($N=5$), so we decided to combine the neutral and the female-typed group into one group. In order to avoid confusion, the group of female-typed professions and the neutral group have been combined to one group, named female-neutral typed professions in the results section.

Table 2

Categorization of professions.

Category	Profession
Male-typed	Trades & Craft
	Industry
	Information & Consulting
	Transportation & Traffic
Female-typed	Tourist & Leisure Industry
	Health Care
Neutral	Bank & Insurance
	Government Institutions
No Intel	Trade
	Unions & Foundations

Results

Changes over the years

To investigate changes in descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes of male leaders by profession, we followed two approaches. First, we examined the relative frequency of words categorized into agency, communal, competence, and likability that were used to describe the male leaders by profession and per year (Figure 1). Second, we used logistic regression analyses to test the specific hypotheses.

Communion

Figure 1 shows that the relative number (%) of obituaries using at least one communal description for male leaders in female-neutral typed professions decreased over time. In 2001, 21.4% of the obituaries of male leaders in female-neutral typed professions used at least one communion word. In contrast with the hypotheses, the number of obituaries using one communion word decreased slightly to 20% in 2004. In 2007, the communion rating of the female-neutral typed professions decreased even further to the lowest sampled data of 10%. By 2010, a small increase happens and the female-neutral typed professions increased to 13.2%. Followed by a further small increase to 14.8% in 2013. Finally, in 2016 another decrease occurs and the communal description reduces to 10%.

Further in contrast with the hypotheses, the number of obituaries of male leaders in male-typed professions using at least one communion word was 13.8% in 2001. After a slight decrease in 2004 to 9.7% it decreased further in 2007 to 7.7%. Followed by an increase in 2010 to 16.7%. In the following year, the relative number of obituaries with at least one communion word to describe male leaders in male-typed professions remains stable at 16.7% and is slightly above its starting point by 2016 with 16.2%.

The results obtained from a logistical regression analysis confirmed that, on average, obituaries of leaders in female-neutral typed professions did not use significantly more communion words than those for leaders in male-typed professions. In addition, there was no clear linear increase of obituaries using communion words to describe leaders in female-neutral typed professions over time. Although, in line with our hypothesis the communal descriptions of male leaders remained constant over time. Table 3 summarizes the results from the logistical regression analysis. In sum, these results suggest that the Hypotheses 1a and 1b cannot be confirmed.

Table 3

Logistic regression of Year and Job Type on the use of communal descriptions of male leaders.

Communion												
Model 1					Model 2					Model 3		
	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>95% CI OR</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>95% CI OR</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>95% CI OR</i>	<i>P</i>
Intercept	-1.82 (.19)	.16	[.10, .23]	.000**	-1.65 (.32)	.19	[.09, .35]	p <.0001**	-1.31 (.37)	.26	[.12, .53]	p <.0001**
Job type	-.03 (.29)	.97	[.54, 1.72]	.922	-.05 (.29)	.95	[.52, 1.68]	.861	-.83 (.58)	.43	[.13, 1.34]	.153
Year					-.01 (.02)	.98	[.93, 1.04]	.524	-.05 (.05)	.94	[.88, 1.02]	.131
Interaction									.08 (.05)	1.09	[.97, 1.22]	.115

*Note. * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$; . Note that the calculation is based on $N = 400$ and is binary coded. Variable Job type: Neutral and Female = 0, Male = 1.*

Agency

Figure 1 shows that the agency description in the female-neutral typed professions decreased over time. In 2001, 32.1% of the obituaries of male leaders in female-neutral typed professions used at least one agency word. In contrast to the hypotheses, the number of obituaries using one agency word decreased to 20% in 2004. In 2007, an additional increase occurred to 26.7%. Another steep decrease occurred in the following year, where 7.9% of male leaders in the female-neutral typed professions used agency words. This steep was followed by an increase to 22.2% in 2013. Finally, in 2016 the rating decreased again to 21.4%.

Further, in contrast with the hypotheses, the number of male leaders in male-typed professions using at least one agency word was 24.1% in 2001. Followed by a subsequent decrease to 19.4% in 2004 and to 15.4% in 2007. Moreover, in line with the hypothesis the relative number of obituaries with at least one agency word to describe male leaders in male-typed professions increases to 22.2% in 2010. In the following year, agency decreased to 11.1%. Finally, in the year 2016, the relative frequency reaches 24.3%, which is the same score as in 2001. The results obtained from a logistical regression analyses confirmed that obituaries of leaders in male-typed professions did not use more agency words at all times than those for leaders in female-neutral typed professions. None of the models showed a significant main nor interaction effect. Therefore, Hypothesis 2 must be rejected. Table 4 summarizes the results from the logistical regression analysis.

Table 4:

Logistic regression of Year and Job Type on the use of agentic descriptions of male leaders.

Agency												
	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>95% CI OR</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>95% CI OR</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>95% CI OR</i>	<i>P</i>
Intercept	-1.32 (.16)	.26	[.19, .36]	.000**	-1.16 (.27)	.31	[.17, .52]	p<.0001**	-1.06 (.33)	.34	[.17, .64]	.002**
Job type	-.04 (.24)	.95	[.58, 1.55]	.857	-.07 (.25)	.93	[.57, 1.53]	.795	-.29 (.48)	.74	[.28, 1.93]	.541
Year					-.01 (.02)	.98	[.94, 1.03]	.501	-.02 (.03)	.97	[.91, 1.03]	.382
<i>Interaction</i>									.02 (.04)	1.03	[.93, 1.13]	.577

Note. * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$; . Note that the calculation is based on $N = 400$ and is binary coded. Variable Job type: Neutral and Female = 0, Male = 1.

Likability

Figure 1 shows that the relative number (%) of obituaries using at least one likability description for male leaders in female-neutral typed professions decreased over the time period but eventually reaches a similar level to its starting point. In 2001, 14.3% of obituaries of male leaders in female-neutral typed professions used at least one likability word. In the following four years (2004, 2007, 2010, 2013) the likability description of male leaders in female-neutral typed professions decreased. In 2004, 13.3% of the descriptive words have been related to likability. In 2007, it decreased further to 10%. In the two subsequent years the overall likability description decreased even further to 2.6% in 2010 and to eventually to 0% in 2013. Finally, in 2016, it increased again to 17.1%.

The number of men in male-typed professions described by at least one likability word is 6.9% in 2001. In contrast with the hypothesis, likability decreased to 0% in 2004. This is followed by a steep increase to 15.4% in 2007. In the following year, the relative number of obituaries with at least one likability word to describe male leaders in male-typed professions decreased slightly to 13.9%. In the two subsequent years likability decreased to 5.6% in 2013 and to 5.4% in 2016.

The results obtained from a logistical regression analyses confirmed that obituaries of leaders in male-typed professions did not show a significant stronger negative relationship between communal and likability words than leaders in female-neutral typed professions. The logistic regression analysis revealed a small effect of communion on likability $p=.068$, $OR=2.13$, 95% $CI [.90, 4.64]$ prior to the inclusion of the interaction in Model 3. The single most striking observation to emerge from the data comparison was that the beta coefficient for communion as well as the interaction between communion and job type were positive, hinting towards a positive relationship between them. That been said, no further significant difference was found. Therefore, Hypothesis 3 must be rejected. Table 5 summarizes the results from the logistical regression analysis.

Table 5:

Logistic regression of Communion and Job Type on the use of likability descriptions of male leaders.

	Likability											
	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>95% CI OR</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>95% CI OR</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>95% CI OR</i>	<i>P</i>
Intercept	-2.11 (.21)	.12	[.07, .18]	.000**	-2.24 (.23)	.10	[.06, .16]	.000**	-2.20 (.24)	.10	[.06, .17]	.000**
Job type	-.33 (.35)	.71	[.34, 1.40]	.336	-.33 (.35)	.71	[.34, 1.41]	.338	-.45 (.40)	.63	[.27, 1.38]	.268
Communion					.75 (.41)	2.13	[.90, 4.64]	.068*	.56 (.54)	1.75	[.54, 4.80]	.304
<i>Interaction</i>									.49 (.83)	1.63	[.30, 8.56]	.559

*Note. * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$; . Note that the calculation is based on $N = 400$ and is binary coded. Variable Job type: Neutral and Female = 0, Male = 1.*

Competence

In Figure 1 it can be observed that the relative number (%) of obituaries using at least one competence description for male leaders in female-neutral typed professions increased over time. In 2001, 7.1% of obituaries of male leaders in female-neutral typed professions used at least one competence word. In the two subsequent years (2004 and 2007) competence remained stable at 6.7%. In 2010, likability increases to 13.2%. In 2013, the relative number of obituaries with at least one competence word to describe male leaders in female-neutral typed professions increased to 18.5% and regressed to 14.3%. in 2016.

The number of obituaries of male leaders in male-typed professions described by at least one competence word was 20.7% in 2001. In 2004, the relative frequency decreased slightly to 16.1%. By 2007 the highest relative frequency is reached with 23.1% of competence words. In the following year, the relative number of obituaries with at least one competence word to describe male leaders in male-typed professions decreased to 19.4% and further decreased by 2013 to 5.6%. Finally, in 2016, the number of obituaries of male leaders in male-typed professions using at least one competence word increased to 16.2%.

The exploratory regression analysis shows a significant effect of $p=.026$, $OR= 4.14$, 95% $CI [1.24, 15.40]$ for job type. Therefore, it can be stated that the male-typed professions are described as more competent as the female-neutral typed professions. Further the interaction between job type and year shows a small effect of $p=.094$, $OR= .90$, 95% $CI [.81, 1.01]$. Indicating that female-neutral typed professions are described as increasingly competent over the years. Table 6 summarizes the results from the logistical regression analysis.

Table 6:

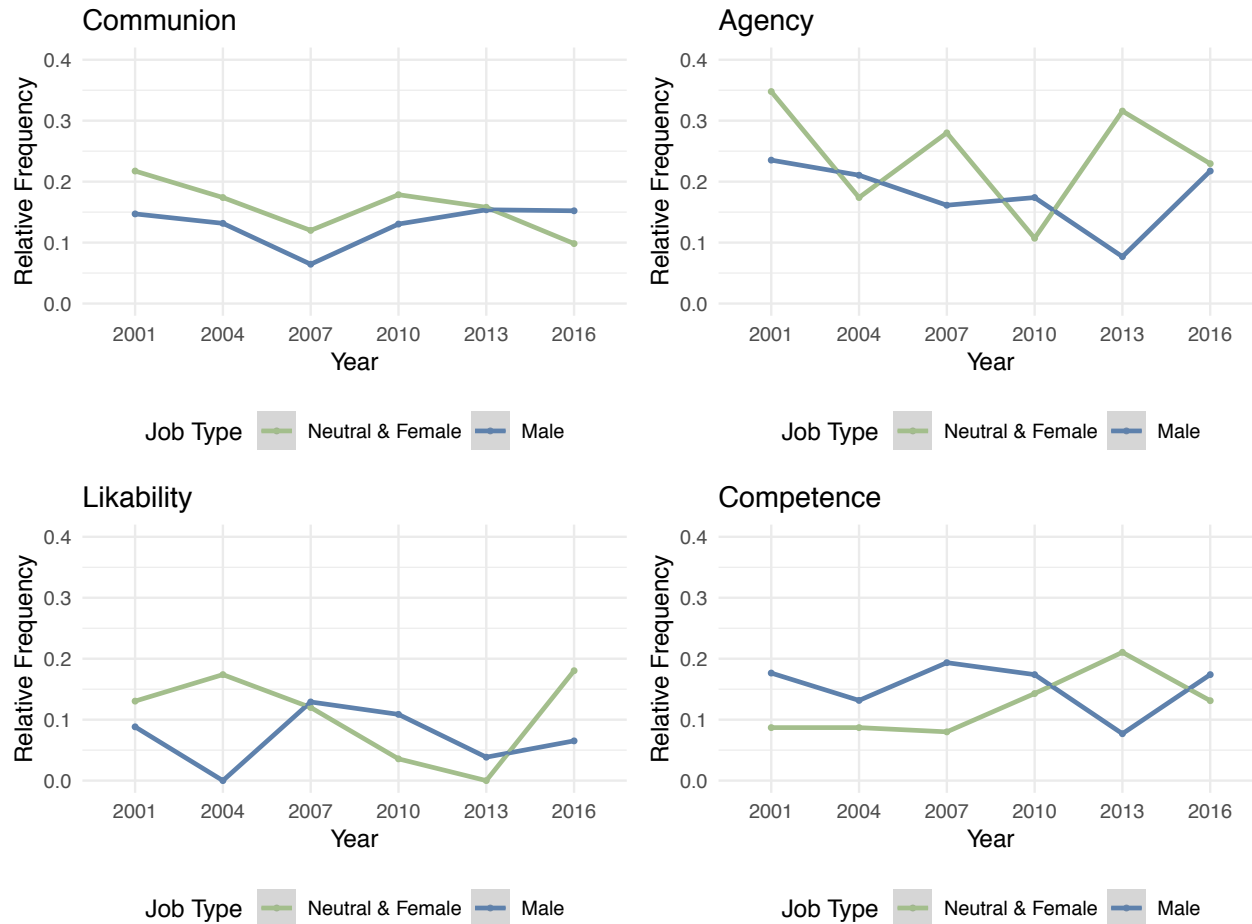
Logistic regression of Year and Job Type on the use of competence descriptions of male leaders.

Competence												
Model 1					Model 2				Model 3			
	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>95% CI OR</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>95% CI OR</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>OR</i>	<i>95% CI OR</i>	<i>P</i>
Intercept	-2.02 (.20)	.13	[.08, .19]	.000**	-2.19 (.34)	.11	[.05, 21]	.000**	-2.73 (.52)	.06	[.02, .16]	p<.0001**
Job type	.47 (.28)	1.60	[.91, 2.84]	.099*	.49 (.29)	1.64	[.93, 2.92]	.087*	1.42 (.63)	4.14	[1.24, 15.40]	.026**
Year					.01 (.02)	1.01	[.96, 1.07]	.550	.06 (.04)	1.09	[.98, 1.17]	.11
<i>Interaction</i>									-.09 (.05)	.90	[.81, 1.01]	.094*

Note. * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$; . Note that the calculation is based on $N = 400$ and is binary coded. Variable Job type: Neutral and Female = 0, Male = 1.

Figure 1:

Relative frequency distribution over time per trait.



Relative frequency of Communion, Agency, Likability and Competence words for male leaders in male-typed professions and female-neutral typed professions over time.

Discussion

Analyzing obituaries published in German, Austrian, and Swiss newspapers from 2001 to 2016 we investigated changes of descriptive and prescriptive gender stereotypes about male leaders in male-typed, female-typed, and neutral professions. Specifically, we examined whether communal descriptions of male leaders increased in this time period (Zehnter et al., 2018), and we examined whether this change was more prevalent in female-typed and neutral professions compared to male-typed professions.

Inconsistent with Hypothesis 1a, there has been no significant difference in their communal description between the male-typed professions and the female-typed and neutral professions. Although statistical results do not indicate a difference between the professions, a visual analysis of Figure 1 suggest that for four out of six data points the female-typed and neutral professions were described more communal than the male-typed professions. This is in line with previous research suggesting that men are less likely to adopt communal traits in order to maintain their high social status (Senden et al., 2019). Moreover, it can be assumed that the male-typed professions comprehend a higher social status than the female-typed and neutral professions. Therefore, it is plausible that men in high status positions are less likely to adopt communal behavior. There are, however, other possible explanations. Because of a limited number of female-typed professions, we decided to converge the neutral professions with the female-typed professions. Possibly, differences between male-typed and female-typed professions alone would have been stronger. Further, researchers argued that changes in gender stereotypes may not be linear, but follow different patterns (Diekmann, Eagly, & Johnston, 2010; Zehnter et al., 2018). Therefore, they recommend to regularly revisit potential changes in stereotypes.

Opposite to Hypothesis 1b, the use of communal traits when describing deceased male leaders in the female and neutral-typed professions decreased not significantly overtime, whereas the use of communal traits in the descriptions of male leaders in male-typed professions increased over time. Eventually in 2016, the male-typed professions displayed more communal traits than the female-typed and neutral group. However, these changes were small at best and not statistically significant. Nonetheless, even a small increase might be meaningful. The slight increase to more communality in the male-typed profession group may have resulted from a higher demand of soft leadership in management positions (Madden, 2015). Being a leader in a highly competitive field, one might feel more obligated to constantly work on themselves or one is more receptive for coaching (Bertrand, 2019; Rekalde, Landeta, & Albizu, 2015). Furthermore, the rise of communal traits in male leaders

is consistent with previous research (Zehnter et al., 2018). However, this does not explain why the use of communal traits decreased in the descriptions for some male leaders – those who worked in female-typed or neutral professions. Following the status incongruity hypothesis (Rudman et al., 2012) male leaders in female-typed and neutral professions may be less motivated to adopt communal behavior because their professions may have an inherently lower social status than the professions carried out by the leaders in the male-typed professions. Indeed, humans try to match their achieved status with their ascribed status (Rudman et al., 2012). Their ascribed status, being male, is associated with a high social status, whereas the achieved status, leadership in a female-typed or neutral profession, might be associated with a lower status than their ascribed status. In order to maintain a high social status and to be status congruent, a lower social status in the profession may be compensated by displaying less communal, thus low-status behavior.

Generally, research has shown that leadership is inherently masculine (Rudman, 1998; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Schein, 1996; Koenig, 2011). Further, men might not be perceived as communal, if they are taking parental leave or work in a female-typed workplace as a leader. Being perceived as communal does, however, seem to depend on actively enacting the role of a caregiver and/or executing communal tasks in a communal profession (Sendén et al., 2019). Therefore, the separation between profession groups might be not strong enough in order to explain the adoption behavior of communal traits in men. Further, the groups consisted solely out of male leaders, therefore the individual differences might be stronger than group effects. This would be in line with prior studies, that found that men do not adopt communal traits in order to remain their high social status (Sendén et al., 2019).

Inconsistent with Hypothesis 2, we found that overall male leaders in the male-typed professions group were not described as more agentic than male leaders in the female-typed and neutral group. The male-typed leadership group remained relatively constant in their representation of agentic traits, besides one steep decrease in 2013. The female-typed and neutral group fluctuated in their representation of agentic traits strongly between each measuring point. It turned out that in fact the male-typed professions only at two points in time had higher agency ratings than the female-typed and neutral professions. Therefore, the average description of agency was higher in the female-typed and neutral group. Adding the percentages of the descriptive ratings of both groups it illustrates that at no point in time the combined agency description would be below 30% of all words. This is in line with prior research that male leaders are described as agentic (Eagly & Karau, 2012; Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011). The Social Role Theory (Eagly, 1987) might be able to explain

some of our findings. From a macrosocial perspective, men are not very well represented in female-typed jobs, therefore the stereotypes about men do not change by a lot. Leadership is strongly associated with masculinity and agency, consequently a male leader in a female-typed job still is recognized as very agentic. Because, the group affiliation of being a male leader is already understood as something strongly agentic. Moreover, the public image of male leaders might be stronger than the alignment of gender distribution of our groups. Since our data stems solely from obituaries we can only provide insights about the public image and zeitgeist of gender stereotypes. If we assume that a majority of the creators of the obituaries have a strong image of agentic male leaders, our group differences and the strong fluctuations between the years could be explained by individual differences of the deceased leaders observed behaviors, or with individual differences among the authors of the obituaries.

Further inconsistent with Hypothesis 3, we found no negative relationship between communality and likability. We expected that this effect would be more prominent in the male-typed group, however this was not the case. Therefore, this study has been unable to demonstrate the existence of a backlash against male leaders who were perceived as communal. On the contrary, it indicated that there may be a small positive relationship between communality and likability. These findings are contradictory to prior findings, that argued that modest men were perceived to violate men's proscription to low status as well as violating men's prescription to high status (Moss-Racusin et al., 2010). On the one hand, it is surprising that we did not find any backlash in the group of female-typed and neutral leaders, because counter-stereotypical behavior is usually followed by resentment and social punishment (Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Rudman, 2010). On the other hand, leadership is strongly male connotated (Koenig et al., 2011) and being a male leader regardless of industry may appear status-congruent in the perception of others. Therefore, the absence of a backlash effect is explained, when we consider that it is naturally seen as congruent with men's prescription to high status.

Our findings cannot be extrapolated to all scenarios, but it is interesting to note that communality in male leaders tends to be seen as more likable than expected. This raises the question of how the Backlash Hypothesis will develop in men for the foreseeable future. Contemporary research indicates that taking paternity leave may be beneficial for men's advancement of their career (Krstic & Hideg, 2019). Taking paternity leave is especially very beneficial in the perception of communality. Our findings are in line with prior research indicating that displaying communality in men is not judged negatively but is in fact rewarded by career advancement (Krstic & Hideg, 2019; Hentschel, Braun, Peus, & Frey, 2018). Some

authors have speculated on the glass escalator phenomenon, which states that men who enter female-dominated professions encounter structural advantages, which enhance their careers (Williams, 1992). Our findings may be in line with this, since we demonstrated a small positive relationship between communal behavior and the overall likability of the male leader.

Based on our, in trend, significant findings and previous research (Krstic & Hideg, 2019; Hentschel, et al., 2018), it is possible that the prescriptive stereotypes of men change and that men, who do not show communality, may experience a backlash in the future. However, we acknowledge that there are considerable discussions among researchers as to how prescriptive gender stereotypes change over time. Nevertheless, more research on this topic needs to be undertaken before the association between agency in male leaders and a potential backlash is more clearly understood.

Explorative analyses revealed that male leaders in male-typed professions were significantly more frequently described as competent than male leaders in female-typed and neutral professions. Some scholars have treated competence as a component of agency in the past (Rudman & Glick, 2001). However, nowadays agency and competence are seen as two distinct dimensions in social judgement (Carrier, Louvet, Chauvin, & Rohmer, 2014). Our findings add to the ontological believe that leadership is male and that leaders are competent. Subsequently, it is not surprising that stereotypical male leaders are seen as more competent than female-typed and neutral leaders.

Further, the effect for the interaction of time and job type was in trend statistically significant indicating that there might be a shift in paradigm which is also visible in Figure 1. The description of competence for the female-typed and neutral group doubled from 2007 to 2013. These findings are inconsistent with previous literature. But this inconsistency may be due to the structure of our data. If we look at the descriptives in Table 1, we can see that during the years 2001, 2004, and 2007 the distribution between the female-typed and neutral group remained constant. However, in 2010 there were twice as many female-typed obituaries as in 2007, whereas the number of neutral obituaries increased only slightly. In 2013, the relative number of female-typed obituaries was the highest among all years. However, in 2016 there are only nine female-typed obituaries to 61 neutral obituaries. These fluctuations in number correlated with the fluctuations in Figure 1. This observation indicates that female-typed male leaders tend to be seen as more competent than male leaders in neutral professions and at times more competent than male-typed leaders. It is encouraging for society when we compare our findings to the observations of Eagly et al. (2019). They have demonstrated that over the course of more than 70 years the public opinion of women in the United States has

become more competent until the point where, since several years, women are seen as the more competent gender. Based on their findings (Eagly et al., 2019), it might be possible that leadership positions in a female-typed field are seen as more competent than neutral and male-typed leadership positions. This could be an explanation for our findings. However, as a limitation of our sample, it has to be noted that the groups were not split equally. Further research with a dedicated sample group of male leaders working in female-typed professions must be undertaken before the association can clearly be understood. Overall, these findings indicate that male leaders are still seen as strongly competent in the DACH region and that male leaders in male connotated professions are seen as more competent than male leaders in other professions. Based on our findings it may be possible that the connotation of the profession might adapt as well.

Limitations

First, the numbers of male leaders in female-typed professions were too small to conduct reliable inferential statistical analysis; thus, it was not possible to examine the differences between female-typed and neutral professions separately. This is unfortunate, because the separation into three groups would have given a greater insight into the gender stereotype adoption of male leaders in female-typed professions. Future studies, with larger sample sizes may provide more detailed insights.

Second, our new approach of using a text-mining tool to analyze the obituaries had two major benefits. Most importantly, it is a very timesaving approach to analyze data and secondly it excludes the potential bias of external raters. Nevertheless, one potential source of bias in our study may be an incomplete word list for each of the stereotype categories. Not represented words in the list, could not be recognized by the KH-Coder and thus would produce a score of zero. We constructed the list of words by consulting previous literature. While agency and communion are stronger defined constructs in the literature and therefore represented quite well in our list of relevant words, likability and competence were not represented as much because they were not introduced as independent categories until much later (Zehnter et al., 2018). Consequently, the list of relevant words for likability and competence lacks completeness in comparison to agency and communality.

Future Research

This research has demonstrated the benefits of a more automated approach in obituary research. However, the current process could be automated even further. Especially since the number of obituaries in Die Presse has decreased strongly over the years. For instance, in the years 2007 and 2010 no obituaries were published. It is plausible to assume that the way

obituaries are written and published has changed over time. Nowadays most newspapers publish obituaries online. Thus, web-crawlers could be used in future studies to further automate the process of data collection, which would increase the sample to more newspapers and could be updated daily. Hopefully, this would result in a much larger sample that would make analysis more robust.

Whilst our last hypothesis was of exploratory nature, it offers some insight into the public opinion about the competence of male leaders in female-typed professions. Further work needs to be done to establish if male leaders in female-typed professions really are described as more competent than other male leadership groups. As already argued above, a greater focus on automating the obituary collection process could produce interesting findings about a dedicated sub-group of male leaders in female-typed professions. Additionally, a replication with a broader sample would be beneficial to determine if communality and likability actually have a positive relationship. A future study investigating the Backlash Hypothesis in men in regard to transactional leadership would be very interesting, as well.

The study has gone some way towards enhancing our knowledge of stereotypes about male leaders in the DACH region, since it is, next to Zehnter et al., (2018), the only contemporary study about the change of gender stereotypes in a German speaking sample. Additionally, this is the first study that has used a data-mining approach and the KH-Coder to investigate obituaries of deceased leaders. Therefore, this research might serve as a basis for future studies diving deeper into the possibilities of a data-mining approach in gender-studies.

Conclusion

With the present study, we extended the research on change of descriptive and prescriptive gender stereotypes of male leaders divided by sex-based professions in the years 2000 and onwards. We found that agency remained the most prominent trait ascribed to male leaders in male-typed, female-typed, and neutral professions. Concurrently, the communality levels of male leaders remained relatively stable over the chosen time period. Thus, consistent with previous research, our data suggests that descriptive stereotypes about men remain unchanged – also in recent years (Sendén et al., 2019). In addition, we found a in trend positive relationship between communality and likability, which was consistent with recent research showing that communality in men might be beneficial, rather than harmful to their career advancement (Krstic & Hideg, 2019; Hentschel, et al., 2018). Hence, unlike women (Rudman et al., 2012), men do not appear to suffer backlash and negative interpersonal consequences when they were ascribed counter stereotypical characteristics. Rather, men appear to benefit from communal characteristics.

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Appendix A

Categories

Agency

absolvieren, affirmativ, aggressiv, ahnen, aktiv, ambitioniert, anfangen, anführer, Anführerin, angreifend, angriffslustig, anspruchsvoll, anspruch, anvertraut, arbeitend, assertiv, auffallend, aufstrebend, aufstreben, ausführen, aussagekräftig, autark, bahn_brecher, bahnbrechend, begehen, begierig, begründer, begründen, mitbegründer, begründerin, mitbegründerin, beherrschend, beherzt, bejahend, bekommen, berufsorientiert, beschäftigen, bescheid, bestimmt, bestimmend, bestimmen, mitbestimmen, binden, couragiert, chef, dauerhaft, denken, direkt, dogmatisch, dominierend, draufgängerisch, dreist, druckvoll, durchsetzungsfähig, durchsetzungsvermögen, dynamisch, effektiv, ehrgeizig, ehrgeiz, eifrig, eigenständig, eigenverantwortlich, einblick, einbringen, eindringlich, eindrucksvoll, beeindrucken, beeindruckend, einhandeln, einschalten, einsicht, eisern, emporragend, emsig, energisch, energie, entscheidungsträgerin, entscheiden, entscheider, entscheiderin, Entscheidung, entscheidungsträger, erarbeiten, erhalten, erkennen, erkenntnis, erlangen, erledigen, erreichen, erringen, erwerben, erwirtschaften, erzieher, erzieherin, erzielen, fleißig, fleiß, flügge, forsch, fraktion_los, frech, freimütig, führer, führungsperson, führungspersönlichkeit, geradeheraus, getrost, gewagt, gewichtig, gewinnen, gewinnend, gewiss, gewissenhaft, gewissenhaftigkeit, glauben, grübeln, heldenhaft, herrschend, hochstrebend, impulsgeber, impuls, individualität, initiant, initiative, initiator, initiiert, initiieren, Initiatorin, initiativkraft, kampfstark, kämpfen, kämpfer, kämpferin, kämpfer_natur, kampf, kämpferisch, ankämpfen, kennen, kopfgesteuert, kräftig, tatkraft, kraft, schaffen_kraft, kraftvoll, tatkräftig, überzeugung_kraft, arbeitskraft, gestaltungskraft, urteilstkraft, wille_kraft, entschlusskraft, innovationskraft, leben_kraft, motivation_kraft, vision_kraft, willenskraft, kühn, lebendig, lebhaft, lehrmeister, lehrmeisterin, leisten, leistung, leittier, macher, mächtig, meinen, meinung_macher, meinung_macherin, mitdenken, mutig, nachdenken, überhaupt, offensiv, organisator, Organisatorin, organisierer, parteilos, personalität, persönlichkeit, pionier, pioniergeist, pionier_arbeit, pionierin, positiv, rastlos, rational, regen, anregen, anregend, regsam, richten, riskant, rührig, schauend, vorrausschauend, schlüssig, schwunghaft, schwungvoll, selbst_vertrauend, selbständig, selbstbewusst, selbstsicher, selbstständig, sinnen, sinnieren, sinnvoll, solide, souverän, souveränität, spitzenreiter, spitzenreiterin, stark, stärke, stärken, leistungsstark, willensstark, charakter_starke, führung_stark, willensstärke, stärken, steigern, strapazierfähig, strebsam, streitbar, streit_bar,

streiten, streitlustig, streitsüchtig, tapfer, tapferkeit, tat_haft, tätig, tätigkeit, tatkräftig, tollkühn, triftig, tüchtig, übergeben, überwiegend, überzeugen, überzeugend, überzeugt, unabhängig, unabhängigkeit, unermüdlich, unternehmergeist, unternehmerisch, unternehmersinn, unternehmerpersönlichkeit, unternehmer_persönlichkeit, unternehmertum, unverblümt, urheber, Urheberin, verbindlichkeit, verbindlich, verpflichten, verpflichtung, verrichten, verstandesgemäß, verständnis, verstärken, vertrauen, vertrauen.1, vertrauensvoll, verüben, verwegen, vor_kämpfer, vor_kämpferin, vorausschauend, vorgehen, vorherrschend, vorläufer, vorläuferin, vorreiter, vorreiterin, wagemutig, wagen, wagend, waghalsig, weg_bereitend, wegbereiter, wegbereiterin, weit_blick, weit_blickend, weit_gesteckt, weitsicht, weitsichtig, wirkend, wirksam, wirkungsvoll, wissen, wortführer, wortführerin, wuchtig, zugewinnen, zulegen, zunehmen, zuversicht, zuversichtlich, zwingend

Communion

freundlich, freundlichkeit, einfühlsam, einfühlungsvermögen, gütig, wohlwollend, wohlwollen, angemessen, angenehm, artig, besonnen, besonnenheit, besorgt, fürsorglich, fürsorge, glaubwürdig, human, humanistisch, humanist, humanistin, humanitär, lebenswürdig, lebenswürdigkeit, liebevoll, menschlich, menschlichkeit, mit_menschlichkeit, mit_menschlich, mitfühlend, sozial, soziale, sozial_kompetenz, sympathie, sympathisch, taktvoll, umgänglich, verlässlich, verständnisvoll, verständnisvoller, vertrauenswürdig, warmherzig, warmherzigkeit, zuverlässig, zuverlässigkeit, affektiert, angetraut, anhänglich, annehmbar, anschniegssam, ansprechend, anständig, anständigkeit, ärmlich, aufmerksam, aufrecht, aufrichtig, aufrichtigkeit, barmherzig, bedachtsam, befindlich, befreundet, behilflich, behütend, bekümmert, belastbar, bescheidenheit, bescheiden, brav, demütig, dienlich, diskret, ehrlich, ehrlichkeit, einsichtig, einsichtsvoll, empfindlich, empfindsam, engagiert, engagement, engagieren, fair, Fairness, feinführend, feinfühlig, feinsinnig, freundschaftlich, fromm, gediegen, gefällig, gefühlvoll, gelassen, gelassenheit, genehm, gerecht, gerechtigkeit, gesellig, getreu, glaubhaft, gleichmütig, gradsinnig, gutwillig, heikel, helfend, helfen, herzlich, herzlichkeit, hilfreich, hilfsbereit, Hilfsbereitschaft, höflich, huldvoll, kameradschaftlich, kollegial, kollegialität, kompromissbereit, kontaktfreudig, lieb, liebend, liebenswert, liebenswürdigkeit, loyal, loyalität, loyalen, menschenfreundlich, menschengerecht, menschenwürdig, mildtätig, mitleidig, mündig, nett, nützlich, offen, offenheit, partnerschaftlich, pflegend, pflichtbewusst, pflichtbewusstsein, pflichtgemäß, pflichtgetreu, pflichtschuldig, pflichtgefühl, rechtschaffend, redlich, rücksichtsvoll, ruhig, sauber, seelenruhig, selbstlos, sensibel, sensitiv, seriös, seriosität, sorgend, teilnahmsvoll, teilnehmend, treu, umsichtig, umsicht, umsorgend, uneigennützig, ungezwungen,

unvoreingenommen, verantwortlich, verantwortungsbewusst, verantwortungsbewusstsein, verantwortungsvoll, verletzlich, verstehend, verträglich, vornehm, wahrhaftig, warm, weltoff, weltoffenheit, weltoffener, wohlig, wohl tätig, zärtlich, zart_fühlend, zugetan, zuständig, einfach, b_antwort_bar, diener, fürsorge_d, fürsorge, gleichgewicht, knecht, Qu_denkerin, qu_denker, tiergerecht, vorurteil, vorurteil_lo, zuvorkommen, zuvorkommend, zuvorkommenheit, ergeben, neigen, aufschließen, ausbalancieren, ausgleichen, ausgleichend, auswiegen, bewähren, entspannen, fassen, zuneigen, Zuneigung

Competence

klug, klugheit, sachkundig, sachkunde, begabt, begabung, fachgemäß, fachlich, fach_wissen, fach_kompetenz, fachgerecht, fachmännisch, fachmann, fachfrau, fach_kenntnis, fach_expertise, verhandlungs_geschick, geschickt, kompetent, kompetenz, sachkompetenz, akkurat, auffassungsfähig, befürwortend, berechtigt, beruflich, berufsmäßig, berufsständisch, berufsständischen, bildnerisch, denkerisch, denkfähig, erfolgreich, erfolgreiche, exakt, fachkundig, fähig, fehlerfrei, fein, gedanklich, geistig, gelingend, genau, gescheit, gestaltend, gestalten, gestalterisch, gewerbsmäßig, glückend, intellektuell, intelligent, intellekt, intelligenz, korrekt, kreativ, kreativität, präzise, professionell, professionelle, profimäßig, pünktlich, richtig, sachverständig, sachverstand, sachverstandes, schöpferisch, sorgfältig, sorgfalt, standesmäßig, treffsicher, vernünftig, vernunft, verständig, verstand, zielgenau, zielgerichtet, imstande, profi, profi_haft, stand, erfahren, erfahrung, erfahrungsschatz, arrivierte, ausgetestet, bilden, erleben, gelingen, glücken, routiniert, üben, ausüben, versiert, versierten, verstehen, vernunftbegabt, vernunftmäßig

Likability

alt_ehrwürdig, bekannt, beliebt, ehrwürdig, gängig, hochverehrt, populär, verdienend, verdienstvoll, verehrungswürdig, wert_geschätzt, verehrens-wert, schätzen, achten, ansehen, ehren, gefragt, würdigen, ehrend, ehre, verehrung, verehrt, verehren, ehrbar, verehrte, hochverehrte, hochverehrter, beliebtheit, popularität, verdient, verdienen, wohlverdient, hochverdient, verdienstvoller, schätzen

Zusammenfassung

Wir haben 400 Todesanzeigen männlicher Führungskräfte in männlichen, weiblichen und neutralen Berufen analysiert, um Veränderungen in den deskriptiven und präskriptiven Geschlechterstereotypen zu untersuchen. Die Todesanzeigen wurden zwischen 2001 und 2016 in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz in Zeitungen veröffentlicht. Der Inhalt der Todesanzeigen wurde anhand von vier theoretischen Kategorien analysiert: Communion, Agency, Competence und Likability. Hervorzuheben ist, dass wir ein neues technisches Werkzeug (KH-Coder) verwendet haben, um die Todesanzeigen auf effiziente und unvoreingenommene Weise zu analysieren. In Übereinstimmung mit früheren Untersuchungen stellen wir fest, dass Agency das vorherrschende beschriebene Merkmal männlicher Führungskräfte bleibt. Darüber hinaus sind die Beschreibungen von Communion im Zeitverlauf relativ stabil. Anders als vermutet, können wir keine Unterschiede in der Beschreibung von Agency und Communion zwischen Führungskräften männlicher, weiblicher und neutraler Berufe feststellen. Männliche Führungskräfte, die in männlichen Berufen beschäftigt waren, gelten als kompetenter als männliche Führungskräfte in weiblichen und neutralen Berufen. Zusätzlich finden wir - anders als angenommen - einen positiven Zusammenhang zwischen zugeschriebener Communion und Likability. Dies deutet darauf hin, dass männliche Führungskräfte möglicherweise nicht unter dem Backlash Effekt leiden, wenn sie in einer nicht stereotypen Weise betrachtet werden. Weitere Implikationen werden diskutiert.

Schlagworte: Geschlechterstereotype, Todesanzeigen, Backlash Effekt, Führungskräfte, KH-Coder