A Critical Discourse Analysis of How Women in Top Business and Leadership Roles Were Represented Within The Times and The New York Times During March 2013.

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ABSTRACT

Although women are progressing within society, and more significantly within businesses, there is an abundance of evidence to suggest that the 'glass ceiling' still exists. This dissertation therefore acknowledges the lack of research regarding how women who have broken through the 'glass ceiling', by holding top business and leadership roles, are represented within newspapers. With the employment of an aggregate level analysis and a critical discourse analysis (CDA), this research ultimately suggests that women in top business and leadership roles are often represented negatively and stereotypically within both the UK and U.S. press.

<u>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</u>

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1. INTRODUCTION

Within academia, much focus has been placed upon the representations of women within the media, particularly in light of the 'glass ceiling' metaphor and the traditional, stereotypical role of women in society. Also, significant media attention has been given to women in top business and leadership roles within the UK and U.S. in the modern day and research is developing to explore how these powerful women are represented within the media. Therefore, as women are perceived to have the ability to break through the 'glass ceiling' today, this paper explores how these women are represented to society. First, literature regarding the concepts of gender and the 'glass ceiling' are explored, before developing an understanding of how women in top business and leadership roles are represented within the media. The method of CDA is employed to ultimately answer the questions of how women are represented in the press if they are perceived to have broken through the 'glass ceiling' and if the representations are consistent across the UK and U.S. The research will focus upon newspaper articles where women in top business and leadership roles are central, primarily exploring how language is used to create particular representations. Once the findings of the research have been discussed, this paper presents the conclusions, implications and opportunities for future research.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to attain and understand the relevant background knowledge necessary for researching how women in top business and leadership positions are represented within newspapers, existing literature within multiple different academic fields is reviewed. This literature review begins by exploring the theory of gender itself, before offering an insight into the significance of the 'glass ceiling' and finishing with an exploration of more specific research regarding media representations of women.

2.1. Understanding Gender

By addressing the widespread perception that gender is a biological predisposition and consequently taken for granted, Connell (2009) argues that both womanhood and manhood are not fixed states as individuals construct their masculinity or femininity; gender is therefore both a social construction and an individual choice. Weatherall (2002) also communicates this view in her work regarding gender, language and discourse, and Goffman (1976) highlights the idea of 'gender displays' and their importance above that of a person's biological sex. Numerous scholars have therefore demonstrated the complexity of the concept of gender. However, although this is necessary to address, this paper focuses more upon the wider theories of how gender has a significant impact upon the roles individuals play within society; exploring the barriers of being a woman and the associated inequalities.

Described as the "most important type of domination" (Weber, 1958, *in* Gerth and Mills, 2009, p.296), whereby social structures and practices allow men to exploit women (Walby, 1990), the theory of patriarchy is hugely significant within the field of gender studies; emphasising how the role of women has historically been secondary to that of men and addressing the different gender roles within society. In the modern day, many believe that as women have progressed and their position improved, the

significance and consequences of patriarchy have diminished. However, this progression may simply suggest that "women are no longer restricted to the domestic hearth, but have the whole society in which to roam and be exploited" (Walby, 1990, p.201). Explored in the next section of this review, the 'glass ceiling' metaphor supports that women are constrained and exploited within the contemporary labour market.

It is also necessary to address the concept of occupational gender segregation, "the tendency for women and men to be employed in different occupations" (Blackburn et al., 2002, p.513). The science, engineering and production sector is predominantly male, whereas females dominate nursing and midwifery professions (Labour Force Survey, 2012), suggesting that the above occupations are inherently perceived as being either masculine or feminine retrospectively. More significantly, managers, directors and senior officials are gendered occupations, with 67% men and 33% women in the UK (Labour Force Survey, 2012). The picture is similar within the U.S., with females being largely unrepresented at senior levels; holding only 14.3% of executive officer positions in the Fortune 500 companies in 2012 for example (Catalyst, 2012). Significantly, the impact of occupational gender segregation is reflected in the 'gender pay gap', which is interestingly the widest for managers and senior officials (Perfect, 2011). Although this paper considers only a few factors, there is an abundance of evidence to suggest that women are constrained from the top management positions, such as executive board positions and directorships.

2.2. The 'Glass Ceiling'

Described as "the invisible artificial barriers, created by attitudinal and organizational prejudices, which block women from senior executive positions" (Wirth, 2001, p.1), the concept of the 'glass ceiling' attempts to explain women's underrepresentation in senior management roles through the existence of organisational barriers. Arguably,

the 'glass ceiling' metaphor has gained a lot of attention as it still exists today despite the business case for having women in top positions; explored by numerous scholars, significantly Cassell (2000). Significantly, 98.6% of a group of female senior managers across Europe believed there were barriers to their career progression (Wirth, 2001); emphasising that the 'glass ceiling' is of huge importance for both the progression of academic research and the understanding of gender roles within modern society.

The concept is currently very relevant, being given considerable media attention in the 2014 'Ban Bossy' campaign to promote leadership roles amongst young girls. However, this idea is not something new, with research into the 'glass ceiling' and the lack of women in leadership roles already existing extensively. Pioneering the research within this field, Kanter (1977) identified that the few women who held high corporate positions were disadvantaged through their gender; sparking a gender focus within future organisational research. Later research, such as that by Acker (1992) and Burton (1992) developed to classify organisations as gendered institutions, providing disproportionate advantage to men; initialising the idea of the 'glass ceiling'. Advancing to more recent research, Connell (2009) explains that due to widespread preconceptions regarding the division of labour, where men are perceived to belong within the economic sphere and women within the domestic sphere, women "have an uphill battle to have their authority recognized" (Connell, 2009, p.75). These stereotypical attitudes undoubtedly have an impact upon women's career choices along with how modern organisations are characterised by masculine cultures (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Collins and Singh, 2006; Connell, 2009), including the "British male 'long hours culture'" (Lewis, 2001, p.164). Furthermore, even when women do break through the 'glass ceiling', their existence within top roles remains a challenge to organisational cultures and norms (Powell, 2000). Incorporating Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) theory of hegemonic masculinity, women are effectively obliged to take on masculine traits, including being tough and

competitive (Connell, 2009), as it is perceived to be the only route to managerial success (Wajcman, 1998). However, this may have a negative impact upon how they are perceived by others.

As "women seeking directorships face challenges in their careers additional to those faced by their male peers" (Singh and Vinnicombe, 2006, p.127), it is clear that the 'glass ceiling' is significant in the context of the male dominated boardroom. For example, Higgs (2003) found that a substantial amount of non-executive directors were hired on the basis of personal contacts, suggesting that the existence of informal recruitment practices, amongst other factors, are reinforcing the 'glass ceiling'. This is particularly relevant when considering that women usually have far fewer personal contacts then men due to their segregation from management roles and their exclusion from informal 'old boy' networks in the workplace (Klenke, 1996; Jackson, 2001); implying that women are restricted from "mak[ing] themselves known and learn[ing] about the promotion process" (Liff and Ward, 2001, p.31). Practices such as this continue to reinforce the 'glass ceiling' within organisations and severely disadvantage women in achieving top management positions.

Ryan and Haslam (2005) advance the idea of the 'glass ceiling' by proposing the existence of an additional constraint for women within leadership roles; the 'glass cliff'. This suggests that when women are able to break through the 'glass ceiling', they still face discrimination as their male counterparts receive less criticisms and more positive feedback (Eagly et al., 1992). Additionally, when women do achieve leadership roles, their positions are more precarious and less promising in the long term than males in similar situations (Ryan and Haslam, 2005).

This exploration of the concept of gender, the 'glass ceiling' and the working environment that women are faced with therefore acts as the framework for this

research, and must be addressed before considering more specific research regarding media representations of women.

2.3. Media Representations

It is important to consider the media representation of women due to the widespread belief that the media shapes our values and perceptions of the world (Klenke, 1996; Meyers, 1999; Byerly and Ross, 2006; Gill, 2007) and more specifically, as "cultural constructions are connected to patterns of inequality, domination and oppression" (Gill, 2007, p.7). By looking broadly at the way women are represented within newspapers, it is demonstrated that they are often ideologically characterised on the basis of their appearance, their roles as mothers and their family responsibilities (Clark, 1992; Alat, 2006). Throughout the media, women are often portrayed as victims and there is a lack of attention given to women's success in business roles (Byerly and Ross, 2006). This therefore influences how society perceives the role of women (Byerly and Ross, 2006) and importantly, why women are not normally considered to hold top business or leadership positions. Additionally, drawing upon Sellers (2003) article, the media suggests that women do not desire power (Dunn-Jensen and Stroh, 2007) and thus have a lack of ambition to gain top management or leadership positions. However, academic research opposes this media perception by proposing that women do want power (Merrill-Sands et al., 2005; Dunn-Jensen and Stroh, 2007). This therefore indicates that there is a disjunction between the reality in society and the representations the mass media communicate; ultimately, illustrating that the media appear to reinforce traditional gender identities (Meyers, 1999).

Although all media platforms are of significance, newspaper representations require particular exploration, as the news is perceived to portray a male dominated view of society rather than a consistent reflection of reality (Gill, 2007). In addition to the widely accepted viewpoint that the press under-represent women and more

specifically, women in leadership roles (Klenke, 1996), it is apparent that newspapers present women negatively when they are believed to take on stereotypical masculine leadership qualities (Klenke, 1996), despite these traits appearing essential to their success as managers and leaders (Wajcman, 1998; Connell, 2009). Although written nearly two decades ago, the assertion that "when women leaders move into the media spotlight, the press [are] often hostile and negative" (Klenke, 1996, p.120) is still a widely adopted and relevant view. Klenke (1996) also argues that stories of female leadership are not perceived as being newsworthy; explaining why these articles are more likely to be found in 'women's pages' rather than on front pages and implying an inferiority of women's leadership. Reinforcing Klenke's (1996) research, a cross-national study also found that women were least likely to feature in news of business, the economy, politics or government and most likely in more stereotypically feminine spheres (Media Watch, 1995 *in* Gill, 2007).

In a study of how female entrepreneurs were represented in German newspapers, it became apparent that "media discussions do little to encourage rethinking of traditional role stereotypes" (Achtenhagen and Welter, 2011, p.782); implying that women in top management and leadership roles still receive stereotypically negative media attention. Although a proportion of research does address newspaper representations of female entrepreneurs, there is a lack of specific research into how newspapers represent women in top management and leadership roles within large businesses.

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based upon the literature review, this paper addresses the current gap in the research concerning how women in top business and leadership roles are represented within newspapers. Additionally, by analysing newspapers in comparison to other media formats, more information is gained in a shorter period of time. Therefore, the following research questions were created:

Research Question 1:

How are women represented in the press if they are perceived to have broken through the 'glass ceiling' by holding top business or leadership positions?

Research Question 2:

Are the representations consistent across the UK and U.S.?

4. METHODOLOGY

In order to explore the relevant newspaper articles and ultimately answer the proposed research questions, the following method was utilised.

4.1. Approach

This research takes a subjective stance, in line with the assumption that "social phenomena are created from the perceptions and consequent actions of social actors" (Saunders et al., 2012, p.132). This includes the notion of social constructionism (Saunders et al., 2012), where research must look beyond the 'perceived reality' to explore the 'actual reality'; forming the basis of an inductive research approach.

4.2. Data Collection

As large, national newspapers that operate in countries emphasising democracy and freedom of the press, whilst also varying their political stances, data was collected from both The Times and The New York Times. These similarities therefore enable an effective comparison between the UK and U.S.

The articles analysed were taken from March 2013, a period chosen as it features International Women's Day and may therefore increase the amount of relevant articles to analyse. The data was collected for a one-month period due to the small scale of this research and the time constraint. Considering this, it is recognised that the following research is narrow and somewhat limited, and therefore the results cannot be generalised. However, this study does offer a valid insight; creating a framework for future, more in-depth research.

By providing a comprehensive access to newspaper articles, the Nexis database was

employed to collect the data. The search strings featured in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 were used as filters to obtain the most relevant results. Using the term 'glass ceiling', a separate search was undertaken within each publication to find further relevant articles; this was not included within the first search as the phrase may produce biased results and therefore limit the initial search field. It is important to note here that the search strings are not entirely comprehensive and consequently, may have excluded some relevant articles from being included within this research.

Once the searches were carried out, the final sample obtained from both newspapers was 30 articles. The tables below illustrate the number of articles retrieved from Nexis, separating those that are relevant for this research:

Table 1.

Results from the Search String				
	The Times	**The Sunday Times**	**The New York Times**	
Articles retrieved	45	41	57	
Articles of relevance	4	9	9	22

Table 2.

Results from the "Glass Ceiling" Search				
	The Times	**The Sunday Times**	**The New York Times**	
Articles retrieved	7	10	4	
Articles of relevance	4	3	1	8

It is important to acknowledge that various articles from the second search are not included in the final sample as they were already identified within the first search.

Similarly, due to the database, a large number of articles appeared multiple times within each search, partly explaining why the proportion of relevant articles seems low for the final sample.

4.3. Data Analysis

A basic content analysis was initially employed which then advanced to provide a critical textual discourse analysis. Firstly, the articles were categorised upon basic information and the general content of each article was described in order to understand the intended message from the 'manifest content' within the media text, as suggested by Sparks (2013). Developing this further, similar to Achtenhagen and Welter's (2011) use of 'categorisation', the articles were categorised upon content-based information including the main themes.

To develop the content analysis, the method of CDA, this being the analysis of 'patterns of language across texts as well as the social and cultural contexts in which the texts occur' (Paltridge, 2006, p.1), was adopted. This approach was used to understand and explain the relationship between the newspaper articles and the perceptions of society; seeking to connect both linguistic and social analyses (Woods and Kroger, 2000). By building upon the sphere of critical linguistics, which aims to uncover how language can be used as an ideological tool, CDA explores the relationship between language, power and ideology (Richardson, 2007; Machin and Mayr, 2012). This methodology aligns well with this research as CDA is primarily concerned with power (Titscher et al., 2000) and can explore how it is represented and reproduced within newspapers (Richardson, 2007); specifically female power in this context. Moreover, as CDA assumes that power is communicated through discourse (Weatherall, 2002; Richardson, 2007; Machin and Mayr, 2012), this method recognises that language is a social construction and reinforces the idea that written

texts communicate particular 'constructed' views to readers (Sharrock and Watson, 1989; Van Dijk, 1998; Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001; Weatherall, 2002; Rogers, 2004; Paltridge, 2006).

The analysis of textual discourse explores 'constructed' views by focusing upon the way language is *used* rather than the language itself (Greiffenhagen, 2009) and by utilising a pragmatic stance in exploring what people intend their language to mean rather than the literal meanings (Paltridge, 2006). More broadly, the use of CDA within this research aims to investigate how newspapers communicate to their readers about women in top business and leadership roles and how this may be significant in not only shaping the views of society, but in influencing society to accept and reinforce these views themselves:

> In order for readers to 'enter' into the news, they must find a familiar foothold in the story, which is often supplied to them by the use of stereotypes and metaphors (Achtenhagen and Welter, 2011, p.765).

Therefore, as language is often used to create identities (Richardson, 2007) and is presented as a way of defining reality (Greiffenhagen, 2009), CDA can reveal an insight into inequality, oppression, dominance and power (Van Dijk, 1998). This may ultimately lead to an understanding of how and why women in top business and leadership roles are represented in particular ways. Additionally, this methodology combines both perspectives of language *and* gender as social constructions (Weatherall, 2002); allowing a deeper understanding of how gender roles are socially constructed within the context of not only this research, but the media and society as a whole.

It is acknowledged that due to the restricted nature of Nexis, this research addresses textual discourse and does not take into account any images within the articles. However, despite not being explored in this research, it is recognised that the text within newspaper articles may sometimes undermine or support the images and vice

versa. It is also necessary to acknowledge that the interpretation of these articles and their suggested meanings are my own personal, subjective readings; since this method is qualitative and interpretative (Richardson, 2007). Although this implies that my interpretation of the articles may be influenced by numerous factors, the findings and discussions that emerge are based upon the large array of literature previously discussed.

5. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The findings of this research will be demonstrated in two broad categories, similar to that of Achtenhagen and Welter's (2011) research. Firstly, analysis is presented on an aggregate level by focusing upon the content analysis and the main themes of the articles within each newspaper. Secondly, the articles are analysed on an individual, more specific basis; utilising CDA to concentrate upon how women are represented within the articles, including a lexical analysis and representational strategies.

5.1. Aggregate Level Analysis

Using the final sample of 30 articles, it is identified that 10 of the articles are from The New York Times and that two thirds are from The Times (including The Sunday Times). This may indicate that The Times adopt a more positive stance than The New York Times in their discussions of female leaders and top managers. However, depending upon how the articles construct meanings and identities, a larger amount of articles may imply that The Times have dedicated more space to represent these women in specific ways and ultimately communicate a particular view to society. The CDA investigates these ideas by exploring the texts in further detail, using a multi-layered approach.

After categorising the articles on basic information (see Appendix 3) and describing their broad content (see Appendix 4), they were categorised upon the main themes within each article (see Appendix 5). By exploring these themes, it is apparent that a large proportion of the articles focus upon positive representations of women in top business and leadership roles, including their general character and success for example; diverging from the views of Klenke (1996) and Byerly and Ross (2006) presented previously. Notably, 32% of the main themes within The Times related directly to positive views and the benefits of having women on boards, compared to

only 14% in The New York Times (see Appendix 6). However, it is also relevant that a number of articles concentrate upon negative representations, presenting women in top business and leadership roles stereotypically; supporting previous research from Klenke (1996), Meyers (1999) and Achtenhagen and Welter (2011). Again, there are significant differences between the two newspapers; 33% of the articles within The New York Times focus upon general negative themes and present these women as unrepresentative, compared to only 9% in The Times (see Appendix 6). These observations imply that The Times represent women in top business and leadership roles more favourably than The New York Times; explored further within the CDA.

Additionally, several articles revolve around the theme of work-life balance and naturally draw attention to the role of influential businesswomen and female leaders as mothers; conforming to the assumption identified previously by Clark (1992) and Alat (2006). Five articles adopt this focus within The Times, whereas only one article is concerned with this as a main theme in The New York Times; contrasting with the perspective gained from previous observations. This may imply that The Times concentrate upon the role of these women as mothers just as much as their role as successful, high-ranking leaders or managers. However, in terms of wider theories, this may also suggest that work-life balance is a bigger issue in the UK than the U.S. Again, the subsequent research will explore this implication further through the utilisation of CDA.

Another recurring theme within the articles is the attention given to Sheryl Sandberg, chief operation officer of Facebook, and her book 'Lean In', which was published during the time period analysed. Numerous articles concentrate purely upon this theme, whilst many more refer to the book and the author despite it not being a central focus; 50% of The New York Times articles refer to 'Lean In' and 40% from The Times. This demonstrates the large amount of media attention that the

publication of the book received and that there may have been significantly less articles to analyse and much less interest given to women in top business positions if a different time period was chosen.

Ultimately, it is important to recognise that this analysis refers to the *main* themes of the articles. Therefore, although many articles generally present women in top business and leadership roles positively, the writers may utilise more covert techniques to also present negative aspects, despite them not being key themes. Thus, the subsequent CDA investigates whether more covert techniques are employed to create particular representations within newspapers.

5.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

The following findings focus upon CDA, concentrating primarily upon a lexical analysis whilst also recognising the representational strategies within each article.

5.2.1. Lexical Analysis

As language is primarily a collection of words, it is important to understand that writers intentionally choose specific words based upon their individual motivations (Machin and Mayr, 2012). A lexical analysis appreciates this and is therefore central to CDA (Fowler, 1991; Van Dijk, 2001; Machin and Mayr, 2012), especially in this research as it is normally the first stage in analysing newspapers (Richardson, 2007). Within this analysis, the choice and connotations of language is the main focus including an exploration of quoting verbs and hyperboles.

Mothers

Through undertaking a lexical analysis (see Appendix 7 for significant words and phrases) it became clear that women are often represented in terms of their roles as

mothers. For example, The Sunday Times article 'Sexism stalks Square Mile', includes a quote from the female simply stating "I have a daughter", despite this being relatively insignificant. Additionally, various articles draw upon words with caring, motherly connotations including 'nurtures' and 'cure' to reinforce the stereotypical representation of women as mothers. Moreover, almost all of the articles at least make reference to the fact that the focal woman in the article is a mother, be it indirectly through mentioning nurseries or maternity for example, despite it not seeming a relevant detail within many articles:

> having to juggle lunch-box and laptop, with one eye on the FTSE, the other on geography homework ('Stay-at-home mums tell Cameron: IGNORE US AT YOUR PERIL', The Sunday Times).

> one of the relatively few female chief executives, one who had a nursery built near the executive suite ('A Place to Play for Google Staff', The New York Times).

More specifically, both newspapers reinforce this representation to a similar extent; 60% of The New York Times articles and 70% of The Times. Again, like the aggregate analysis, this finding supports the idea presented previously that there is a focus on motherhood and family responsibilities when women are represented within the media (Clark, 1992; Alat, 2006). This is even more significant within this research as the women in the articles hold top leadership or management positions and yet are still represented on the basis of their roles as mothers. This research also suggests that newspapers in the UK and U.S. are similar in how they perceive the role of women in top business and leadership roles and consequently, how they present this to society.

Victims

Similarly, several articles demonstrate the vulnerability of women in top business and leadership roles by highlighting their victim-like qualities; again conforming to stereotypically negative representations of women in accordance with Achtenhagen and Welter (2011). Interestingly, The New York Times article 'Lessons From the

Stratosphere, and How to Get There' uses the phrase 'the professional equivalent of waiting for Prince Charming' and emphasises an 'extremely accommodating husband' to construct women as being secondary to men; corresponding with notions of patriarchy discussed previously in this paper. Also, the repetition of 'fear' six times in consecutive sentences within The Times article 'Wise up, whizz-kids - Mother knows best', depicts Sheryl Sandberg as being scared of her responsibility and almost victim-like. This offers further credibility to the work of Byerly and Ross (2006) by providing more recent evidence to support the view that females are often represented as victims within the media and also explores an additional dimension, that powerful businesswomen are portrayed as victims within newspapers. 15% of The Times articles and 10% of The New York Times use language with victim-like connotations. This implies that the portrayal of top businesswomen as victims within UK and U.S. newspapers is not a key representation, but nonetheless, a representation that is still given attention by both.

General Negative Representations

Another significant observation is the generally negative representations of women who have broken through the 'glass ceiling' by holding top business or leadership roles. The aggregate analysis recognised this through the explicit main themes, however the lexical analysis brings further attention to the extensive use of words with negative connotations. A key representation within both newspapers is the portrayal of women as assertive through the use of words including 'bluntly' 'battling', 'ordered', 'dismissed', 'attacked', 'bully', 'bitch', and 'bossy'. 70% of The New York Times articles and 65% of The Times articles include words with negative connotations ranging from presenting women as assertive to unrepresentative. This is a stark contrast to the articles that describe these women by using words with positive connotations; just 20% in The New York Times and 30% in The Times. Importantly, some language positively refers to motherhood or appearance but in this context is

considered inherently stereotypical and is therefore perceived as a negative representation.

These representations give further authority to the 'Ban Bossy' campaign noted previously and it is particularly worrying that women who hold top business and management positions are predominantly presented negatively to society through newspapers. This supports the views already explored by Klenke (1996), that women are perceived negatively by the press when they hold positions of power and also when they possess stereotypically 'masculine' traits. The Times and The New York Times both communicate this negative view to the UK and U.S. public and therefore do not encourage females to be ambitious in striving to hold these types of positions; again corresponding with ideas presented by Achtenhagen and Welter (2011).

Quoting Verbs and Hyperboles

This analysis also provides an interesting insight into the use of quoting verbs and hyperboles within the articles. Both newspapers almost always used neutral quoting verbs and hyperboles were rarely used to exaggerate any specific aspect of the articles.

Summary

The choice of words and their connotations are significant features within this analysis, especially in stereotypically representing women in top business and leadership positions. Focus is placed upon their roles as mothers, being victim-like and general negative features; reinforcing traditional gender roles as Meyers (1999) suggested previously. Also, it becomes apparent that The Times and The New York Times are relatively similar in how they represent the women within the articles. The

findings relating to quoting verbs and hyperboles are less significant, with both newspapers employing a neutral stance.

5.2.2. Representational Strategies

Representational strategies, also named referential strategies (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001), focus upon how people are represented and referred to throughout each article. These strategies focus most broadly upon the certain aspect of a person's identity that is emphasised (Machin and Mayr, 2012) and the social group they are presented as belonging to (Richardson, 2007). Also, this approach recognises the nomination or functionalisation involved when representing people and the use of pronouns within the texts.

Emphasis on Gender

As discussed previously, many women within the articles are represented on the basis of their roles as mothers. Also, in most articles, there is significant attention given to defining the individual in terms of their gender and emphasising this above any other aspect of identity. In numerous articles, the female is not just described as holding a powerful business position, but explicitly a *woman* with a powerful business position. For example, in The Times article 'Jigsaw boss 'sidelined after baby bombshell'', Kate Torpey is described as a 'female executive', placing prominence on her representation as a woman. 50% of The New York Times articles and 75% of The Times articles place emphasis on the identity of the women in top business and leadership positions specifically as females. This is particularly relevant as many of the articles refer to Sheryl Sandberg and Marissa Mayer, amongst other women, who are renowned for their top positions within businesses. Therefore, the impact of highlighting the gender of these women over their successful career positions must be considered.

Nomination and Functionalisation

Next, the nomination and functionalisation of individuals within each article is considered. The nomination of a person's identity describes them by referring to exactly who they are, whereas functionalisation describes them on the basis of what they do (Machin and Mayer, 2012), their career for example. Arguably, using nomination is a more personal way of representing individuals and functionalisation is more official and a way of creating legitimacy (Machin and Mayr, 2012). Throughout each article, there is mixture of functionalisation and nomination when referring to the women in leadership roles. Many articles begin with functionalisation and use nomination throughout the remainder of the article and none of the articles apply only nomination or functionalisation singularly. Therefore, as the articles all employ a mixture of functionalisation and nomination when referring to women in top business and leadership roles, it is suggested that newspapers in the UK and U.S. intend to represent these women impartially.

Pronouns

Throughout this analysis, consideration was also given to the use of pronouns such as 'us/we/them'; significant as 'us' and 'we' create a connection with the person in question whereas 'them' produces the opposite effect. Only a minority of articles made use of these pronouns and not one used them extensively. Therefore, it is implied that The Times and The New York Times do not use pronouns strategically to promote either an affiliation with or a detachment from the women in top business and leadership roles.

Summary

Like the lexical analysis, the focus upon representational strategies identified that women in top business and leadership roles are often represented in terms of their

roles as mothers. Moreover, the representational strategies also represented these women in terms of their gender and often emphasised this over other aspects of their identity. The nomination and functionalisation and the use of pronouns within the articles did not reveal any specific representations of women in top business and leadership roles. Again like the lexical analysis, the representational strategies were similar for both newspapers.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Within this research, attention has been given to how women in top business and leadership roles are represented to society through both the UK and U.S. press. By exploring the concept of gender, the 'glass ceiling' and perspectives upon how women in business are represented within the media, existing literature formed the basis of this research and highlighted the importance of both the position of these women within society and also how they are represented to the public. By analysing articles within The Times and The New York Times, it has become apparent that women in these top roles are often represented negatively and stereotypically. Although several articles centre upon generally positive themes, most of them use language that has connotations of motherhood, victim-like qualities and aggressiveness; representing women in top business and leadership roles negatively, in coherence with research previously discussed within the literature review. The aggregate level analysis suggested that The Times appeared to represent women more favourably than The New York Times. However, with focus upon CDA, it is significant that both newspapers equally utilised language with the negative connotations described previously. Therefore, this research proposes that when women are believed to have broken through the 'glass ceiling', their portrayal as women in top business or leadership roles is presented negatively and stereotypically to society and is communicated similarly within the UK and U.S.

7. IMPLICATIONS

The findings of this research recognise how both The Times and The New York Times often stereotypically represent women in top business and leadership roles. This is significant as it implies that the media are still communicating patriarchal views to society through newspapers. It also indicates that when women are believed to have broken through the 'glass ceiling', they are represented negatively within the media and therefore may be perceived negatively by society. This is significant as these negative representations may have a detrimental effect not only upon women progressing into top management roles within the future, but also has the potential to reinforce and strengthen the 'glass ceiling'.

8. LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Some scholars argue that CDA should not stand alone as a research method as it only considers the researchers perspective of what the text may mean; it should be used coherently with an examination of the producers and consumers perspectives (Widdowson, 1998; 2004). Therefore, future research should seek to also address how the writers and readers of newspapers perceive women in top business and leadership roles.

Although this research suggests that The Times and The New York Times frequently represent women in top business and leadership roles negatively and stereotypically, there is a need to explore how other newspapers within the UK and U.S. represent these women. Likewise, it is necessary to carry out similar research over a longer period of time to confirm the findings brought about within this research. Also, future studies may benefit by using the findings of this paper and extending them further to investigate how these newspaper representations may have an impact upon readers.

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10. APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The Times Search String

Search terms

pub (The Times London)	Anywhere	What's this?
And		
wom!n OR female!	Major Mentions	
And		
leader! OR manage! OR executive!	Major Mentions	

+ Add a Search term field

But not this term politic!

Within these topics
e.g., airlines, banking & finance associations

But not these topics

Sources *All English Language News ⓘ
More sources | Edit this Source List
☑ Newswires ☑ Non-business news (obituaries, sports reports, etc.)

Duplicate Options On – High similarity What's this?

Specify date Custom 1 Mar 2013 and 31 Mar 2013

Search

Appendix 2: The New York Times Search String

Search terms

pub (The New York Times)	Anywhere	What's this?
And		
wom!n OR female!	Major Mentions	
And		
leader! OR manage! OR executive!	Major Mentions	

+ Add a Search term field

But not this term politic!

Within these topics
e.g., airlines, banking & finance associations

But not these topics

Sources *All English Language News ⓘ
More sources | Edit this Source List
☑ Newswires ☑ Non-business news (obituaries, sports reports, etc.)

Duplicate Options On – High similarity What's this?

Specify date Custom 1 Mar 2013 and 31 Mar 2013

Search

Appendix 3: Basic Information Categories

Date	Title	Author/s	Newspaper
01/03/13	High-Powered Women and the Changing Workplace	Tom Gardner (letter)	The New York Times
07/03/13	Lessons From the Stratosphere, and How to Get There	Janet Maslin	The New York Times
10/03/13	Up Front	The editors	The New York Times
10/03/13	Wise up, whizz-kids - Mother knows best	Unknown (profile)	The Times
11/03/13	A leading businesswoman has...	Unknown	The Times
12/03/13	Don't work too hard, it's not worth it, Lehman banker tells women	Andrew Clark	The Times
12/03/13	Jigsaw boss 'sidelined after baby bombshell'	Laura Dixon	The Times
13/03/13	Condé Nast Adds to Job of Longtime Vogue Editor	Eric Wilson	The New York Times
13/03/13	Lean off, women, and lead on your own terms	Alice Thomson	The Times
14/03/13	The secret to a higher share price - put more women at the top	Adam Sage	The Times
16/03/13	A Place to Play for Google Staff	James B. Stewart	The New York Times
16/03/13	New face of Feminism, Inc	Sarah Vine	The Times
17/03/13	At war over work	Daisy Goodwin	The Sunday Times
17/03/13	By the Book: Sheryl Sandberg	Unknown	The New York Times
17/03/13	Lean in, they say, to succeed	Andrew Sullivan	The Sunday Times
17/03/13	Point of order, ladies: Britain's the best place to be a female boss	John Arlidge	The Sunday Times
17/03/13	Top female officer scolds 'macho' police	David Leppard	The Sunday Times

Date	Title	Author	Publication
22/03/13	Recall Is an Expensive Setback for a Maker of Yoga Pants	Stephanie Clifford	The New York Times
24/03/13	Doing it for themselves	Nikki Walsh	The Sunday Times
24/03/13	'Lean In'	Multiple readers	The New York Times
24/03/13	Mum's a role model for women who want it all	Caroline Scott	The Sunday Times
24/03/13	My cure for a sick board	Hannah Prevett	The Sunday Times
24/03/13	A Man's View on 'Having It All'	Michael Winerip	The New York Times
24/03/13	Sexism stalks Square Mile	Iain Dey & Oliver Shah	The Sunday Times
24/03/13	Tough at the top	Shane Watson	The Sunday Times
27/03/13	Why breaking the glass ceiling in business schools will help us all	Widget Finn	The Times
30/03/13	Glencore's search is on for a top woman	Alex Ralph	The Times
31/03/13	Baby, we can work it out	Hannah Prevett	The Sunday Times
31/03/13	Stay-at-home mums tell Cameron: ignore us at your peril	Clover Stroud	The Sunday Times
31/03/13	TBR: Inside the List	Gregory Cowles	The New York Times

Appendix 4: Basic Description of Content

Title	Content
High-Powered Women and the Changing Workplace	This is comprised of two letters to the editors relating to previous articles. The first letter voices concern that Sheryl Sandberg does not represent the average working woman who experiences gender bias and inequality. Similarly, the second letter is critical of Marissa Mayer; being a leader for only those in similar, high-powered roles rather than the majority of women.
Lessons From the Stratosphere, and How to Get There	This article assesses Sheryl Sandberg's book, Lean In. It addresses some of the content of the book whilst also recognising some of its weaknesses; the title and lack of Sandberg's personal experience throughout. Overall, it generally presents Lean In, and Sandberg, positively.
Up Front	The article talks about Anne-Marie Slaughter's article, 'Why Women Still Can't Have It All', and compares this to the stance taken by Sheryl Sandberg.
Wise up, whizz-kids - Mother knows best	The article revolves around Sheryl Sandberg and her book, noting people who have praised it and others who have criticised it. It continues to suggest that some of Sandberg's experiences are extremely hard to identify with whilst some are representative for a lot of women. The article finishes with a summary of Sandberg's success, focusing on her work at Google and Facebook.
A leading businesswoman has...	This short piece states how Susan Rice, managing director of Lloyds Banking Group Scotland, has disregarded the suggestion of utilising quotas to get more females on boards whilst appearing critical towards the idea of trying to break the 'glass ceiling'.
Don't work too hard, it's not worth it, Lehman banker tells women	The article focuses on Erin Callan, the former finance chief of Lehman Brothers, who is believed to have contributed largely to the collapse of the bank. Callan discusses how her work-life boundaries became blurred and criticises Marissa Mayer and Sheryl Sandberg for their 'uncompromising' approaches as top executives.
Jigsaw boss 'sidelined after baby bombshell'	The article reports about how Kate Torpey, the former managing director of Kew and director of Jigsaw, is suing her previous employers for sex discrimination, unfair dismissal and discrimination

	in terms of maternity.
Condé Nast Adds to Job of Longtime Vogue Editor	The article revolves around Anna Wintour, editor of Vogue and editorial director of Teen Vogue, focusing on her new role as artistic director of Condé Nast. The overall article presents Wintour positively however it ends more negatively by noting her 'chilly personality' and 'intimidating nature'.
Lean off, women, and lead on your own terms	Written in response to Sheryl Sandberg's book, the writer is critical of Sandberg's 'outdated' views towards being powerful in a 'man's world'. The article then follows to explain that British and French women have different priorities, of which the author believes are better than Sandberg's priorities.
The secret to a higher share price - put more women at the top	This article describes the results of the French blue-chip CAC index, reporting that female managers are a better investment than males, specifically in terms of being more in touch with consumers and making better decisions.
A Place to Play for Google Staff	The article begins by suggesting that Marissa Mayer, chief executive of Yahoo, may want to recreate the culture of Google at Yahoo. The majority of the article explains the positive, unique working environment at Google and finishes by highlighting Mayer's 'mistake' in demanding all employees to not work from home instead of promoting the benefits of working together physically at work.
New face of Feminism, Inc	Focusing on Sheryl Sandberg's 'Lean In', the article draws attention to the criticism that has been received towards the book. However, the writer is positive about the book and suggests that its content is both important and a 'turning point in the feminist debate.
At war over work	The article discusses Sheryl Sandberg's book, making note to the criticisms that have been made about it. The article makes reference to Sandberg's views presented within her book and the writer's response towards them.
By the Book: Sheryl Sandberg	This is an interview with Sheryl Sandberg, discussing all things book related. The overall tone of the interview presents Sandberg positively, as a down to earth businesswoman.
Lean in, they say, to succeed	The article revolves around the writer being critical of Sheryl Sandberg's book, particularly as it stresses the importance of money, career success

	and power. The article demonstrates the difficulty of achieving work-life balance through personal experience of the writer. The overall theme of the article is that there is much more to life than the benefits from work and 'leaning in'.
Point of order, ladies: Britain's the best place to be a female boss	Explaining that Britain is the best place to be a female executive outside of the U.S., the article begins by addressing that seven of the most powerful women in global business work in Britain. It continues to describe how progress is being made in terms of non-executive female appointments to boards, despite later recognising that the picture is different for executive positions. The article draws attention to the significance of the location of London, both culturally and geographically, along with the opportunity the city offers. It also explores the idea of quotas and the general negative perception towards introducing them within Britain.
Top female officer scolds 'macho' police	The article focuses upon Irene Curtis, president of the Police Superintendents' Association, with attention being given to the absence of female and ethnic minority senior leaders within the police. Curtis argues that the only way forward is to change the current 'macho' culture.
Recall Is an Expensive Setback for a Maker of Yoga Pants	The article explains how Lululemon Athletica had to recall their yoga pants after them being too transparent. It notes the female chief executives' reaction and focuses upon this incident as an opportunity for competitors whilst addressing another quality issue the company faced not long before.
Doing it for themselves	This article discusses how women in Ireland are 'multitasking' by taking on multiple roles as the result of the recession. The advantages and disadvantages of 'multitasking' are recognised.
'Lean In'	This is made up of four letters to the editors. The first criticised Sheryl Sandberg for the way she advises women to overcome gender stereotypes and other masculine cultures by simply acting more like men. The next three all discuss Anne-Marie Slaughter's review of Sandberg's book; focusing upon the lack of attention given to the role of the government, their restriction of focus towards only the corporate world and that they both seem to ignore working-class, poor and women of ethnic minority.
Mum's a role model for women who want it all	This is an interview of Helen Fraser, former managing director of Penguin books and now

	chief executive of The Girls' Day School Trust, and her daughter Blanch McIntyre, a theatre director. Blanch talks about how her mum was a positive figure to grow up with and Helen discusses how she managed her work whilst bringing up her children.
My cure for a sick board	Elizabeth Padmore, chair-woman of Basingstoke and North Hampshire NHS Foundation Trust since 2010, has won the not-for-profit category of the Non-Executive Director Awards. The article describes Padmore's step-by-step actions when she joined the trust, focusing on unifying the board and managing change. The overall tone of the article is supportive and positive of Padmore.
A Man's View on 'Having It All'	This article by Michael Winerip, seeks to explain how men often face then same 'sacrifices' as women regarding work-life issues from a personal viewpoint. It draws attention to Marissa Mayer's decision to stop telecommuting at Yahoo and Anne-Marie Slaughter's perception that the way forward is to create more 'family friendly cultures' in business, primarily through working from home. The article follows to explain how the writer managed to balance his work-life by working from home whilst recognising that some jobs are inherently not, and therefore cannot be, 'friendly'. He ends with the perception of how he views those who make work their entire life, regardless of gender.
Sexism stalks Square Mile	The article starts with an example of a woman being sexually harassed when trying to secure a business contract. It then moves on to describe how sexual discrimination is still a huge problem; both in terms of harassment and institutionalised sexism. Numerous women who held positions of leadership in financial businesses, and who won cases against their former employees are listed.
Tough at the top	The article considers the issue of work-life balance in response to Sheryl Sandberg's book. It includes the views of Sheryl Sandberg (chief operating officer of Facebook), Marissa Mayer (chief executive office of Yahoo), Arianna Huffington (president of Huffington Post) and Erin Callan (former chief financial officer of Lehman Brothers).
Why breaking the glass ceiling in business schools will help us all	The article explores the low representation of female deans in business schools within both the UK and U.S. and notes how this situation is slowly improving. It highlights the benefits of female deans, particularly by employing their 'soft skills'

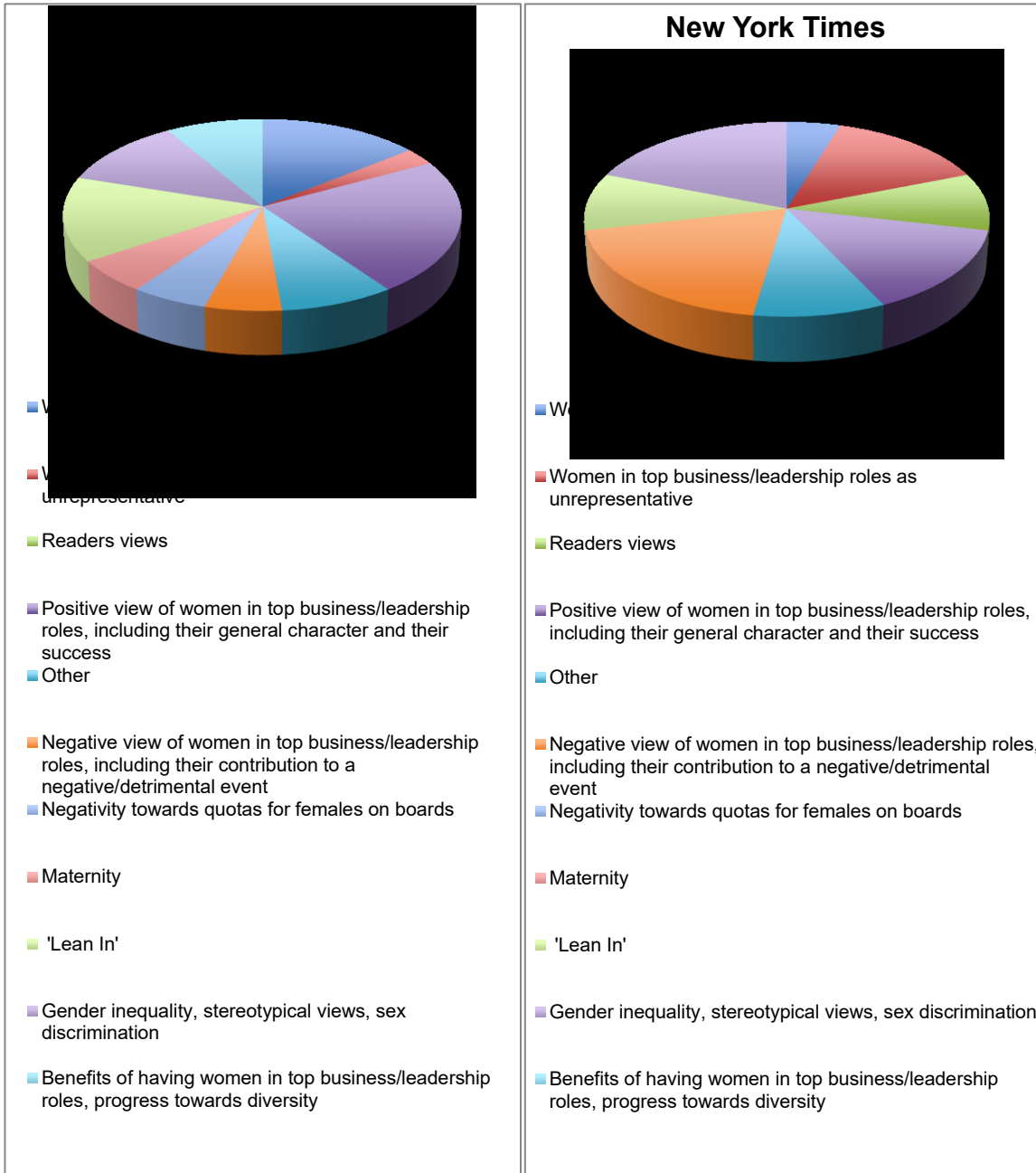|	
	and 'female management style'.
Glencore's search is on for a top woman	Glencore is recognised as one of the seven businesses in the FTSE 100 with no women on their board. The article quotes the chairman of Glencore talking negatively and derogatively about women in business. However, the overall tone of the article does not support the negative statements.
Baby, we can work it out	The article begins by addressing how Kate Torpey, of Robison Webster who own Jigsaw, has accused her former employer of sex discrimination, unfair dismissal and dismissal on the grounds of maternity. It continues to focus upon how women often lose their jobs whilst on maternity leave but points to Karen Blackett, UK chief executive of MediaCom for the positive practices in place to encourage and support women back into work. The article also highlights the importance of staying in contact and being connected throughout the maternity leave; vital for both employer and the employee on leave.
Stay-at-home mums tell Cameron: IGNORE US AT YOUR PERIL	This article explores the idea that stay-at-home mothers are not considered adequately by the government in the UK, especially in encouraging women to go back to work after childbirth. It makes note to Sheryl Sandberg and Marissa Mayer promoting females to continue in the workplace rather than staying at home with children. Throughout the article are examples of stay-at-home mums who all describe the experience as desirable and worthwhile whilst also acknowledging the difficulty they face.
TBR: Inside the List	The article begins by identifying that Sheryl Sandberg's book has been successful but has also received a lot of criticism, particularly through Sandberg not recognising that women may not want 'high-powered careers' and for not seriously questioning organisational discrimination to the extent that would make those in power unhappy. The article furthers to discuss other 'bestsellers'.

<u>Appendix 5: Main Themes of the Articles</u>

Main Themes of the Articles			
Main Themes	**Articles in The Times**	**Articles in The New York Times**	**Total**
Benefits of having women in top business/leadership roles, progress towards diversity	3	0	3
Gender inequality, stereotypical views, sex discrimination	4	4	8
'Lean In'	5	2	7
Maternity	2	0	2
Negativity towards quotas for females on boards	2	0	2
Negative view of women in top business/leadership roles, including their contribution to a negative/detrimental event	2	4	6
Other	3	2	5
Positive view of women in top business/leadership roles, including their general character and success	8	3	11
Readers views	0	2	2
Women in top business/leadership roles as unrepresentative	1	3	4
Work-life balance	5	1	6

N.B: Some of the articles have multiple main themes, whilst others rely on one strong concept throughout.

Appendix 6: Coverage of the Main Themes

New York Times

Legend (left chart):
- Women in top business/leadership roles as unrepresentative
- Readers views
- Positive view of women in top business/leadership roles, including their general character and their success
- Other
- Negative view of women in top business/leadership roles, including their contribution to a negative/detrimental event
- Negativity towards quotas for females on boards
- Maternity
- 'Lean In'
- Gender inequality, stereotypical views, sex discrimination
- Benefits of having women in top business/leadership roles, progress towards diversity

Legend (New York Times chart):
- Wo...
- Women in top business/leadership roles as unrepresentative
- Readers views
- Positive view of women in top business/leadership roles, including their general character and their success
- Other
- Negative view of women in top business/leadership roles, including their contribution to a negative/detrimental event
- Negativity towards quotas for females on boards
- Maternity
- 'Lean In'
- Gender inequality, stereotypical views, sex discrimination
- Benefits of having women in top business/leadership roles, progress towards diversity

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Appendix 7: Significant Words and Phrases

Title	Significant Words/Phrases
High-Powered Women and the Changing Workplace	• '**High-Powered Women** and the Changing Workplace' • '**"leaning in" is no solution** for the gender bias, inflexible work schedules and pay inequalities that <u>**many**</u> **working women** still face' • 'Ms. Mayer is a **trailblazer all right**: boldly carving a path that any other **chief executive mega-millionaire** can follow'
Lessons From the Stratosphere, and How to Get There	• '**walking advertisement** for women's empowerment' • '"Lean In" is a **terrible title for her book**…' • 'pre-publication **flap** over "Lean In"' • '**bluntly** told the audience' • '**extremely accommodating husband**' • 'she advises against waiting for a mentor, "the professional equivalent of **waiting for Prince Charming**"' • '**mass** of **contradictions**' • '**knee-rattling** self-doubt' • 'even if Ms Sandberg's own domestic and career balance sounds like **something out of a fairy tale**' • 'Although its author **lives a life of privilege**, "Lean In" treats speaking out as the **greatest luxury of all**'
Up Front	• 'the two **women** have since been cast as **adversaries**' • '"**we** are **deeply hypocritical** as a nation"'
Wise up, whizz-kids - Mother knows best	• '**Besides** being the most powerful **working mother** in Silicon Valley and one of the world's richest women, Sheryl Sandberg **nurtures** the **modest ambition** of rebooting feminism' • '"<u>Fear</u> of not being liked. <u>Fear</u> of making the wrong choice. <u>Fear</u> of **drawing negative attention**. <u>Fear</u> of overreaching. <u>Fear</u> of failure. **And…** the <u>fear</u> of being a **bad mother/wife/daughter**"' • "**pied piper in Prada ankle boots**" • '**petite, dark-eyed**' • 'she discovered to her **horror** that her children had head lice **– while they were all flying to a business conference in the luxurious corporate jet**'

A leading businesswoman has...	'A **leading business woman**' '**dismissed** the idea of quotas' '**criticised** talk of "glass ceilings"'
Don't work too hard, it's not worth it, Lehman banker tells women	'was fêted as **Wall Street's most powerful woman**' "balancing **(or failing to balance)**" '**remarried** and… is trying to have **children**'
Jigsaw boss 'sidelined after baby bombshell'	'**baby bombshell**' - repetition of '**claims**' "**totally useless**"
Condé Nast Adds to Job of Longtime Vogue Editor	'reputation as a **chilly** personality is **at odds** with her accomplishments' "'she can be **so intimidating** and **all of that**, but she is just **so incredibly positive**'" "'she's tough, **but she's not cruel**'"
Lean off, women, and lead on your own terms	'picking **nits** out of her children's hair on the **corporate jet**' '**battling** for better parking for pregnant women' '**decorating** her office with her children's **"I love you, Mom"** artwork' '**glossy hair**' '**Superwoman**'
The secret to a higher share price - put more women at the top	"**male clones**" 'Annie Batlle, a **feminist** author'
A Place to Play for Google Staff	'Marissa Mayer, **ordered** employees' 'there was **speculation** that she was **emulating** Google' 'one of the relatively few female chief executives, **one who had a nursery built near the executive suite**'
New face of Feminism, Inc	'does something **brave** and **very foolhardy**: she **firmly grasps** the **nettle of feminist complacency**, **rejects** defeatism and **argues** for a new strategy' '**ladies**, its time to **man up**' 'being one of the **richest** women in America and a **high-flying corporate bitch** weren't enough, no she's a **bully** too' 'how dare she tell **ordinary women** how to live their lives… with her **armies of staff** and **power hair-do**' '**we women**… **we've** lost sight' 'stop being **victims** and start being **victors**' '**Yes, she's** annoying. **Yes, she** earns lots of money. **Yes, she's** a **bossy boots**. **Yes, she**

	flies around the world in corporate jets and lives a **very privileged lifestyle**. **Yes, she's annoyingly thin and pretty**'
At war over work	• 'they would have to "be a **brazen tramp of a woman** to stand all the dirt the press would throw at her"' • "**PowerPoint Pied Piper in Prada ankle boots**" • '**There is a feeling** that a woman with two Harvard degrees…' • '**mummy track**' • '**demanded** designated parking for pregnant women. **She got it.**'.
By the Book: Sheryl Sandberg	• '"As a young girl, I was **labelled bossy**, too, so as a former – **O.K., current – bossy pants**"' • '"like carrying a **stone tablet and chisel**"' • '"being a player **not a victim**"'
Lean in, they say, to succeed	• 'Lean in, **they** say, to succeed' • '**Are you leaning forward? Then I'll begin**' • 'urging women to stop **unconsciously sabotaging** their careers by **thinking of having children, or actually having children, or having a life**' • 'I think, **she goes off the rails**' • '**aggressively** climbing the career ladder' • 'which **ordinary** working mum…' • '**she's been leaning in for so long she has permanent back pain**' • 'absurdly <u>over</u>worked, <u>over</u>stressed and <u>over</u>stimulated' • 'I've learnt by brutal experience not to lean in too much and on a regular, disciplined basis to **lean back**. **And breathe. And live.**'
Point of order, ladies: Britain's the best place to be a female boss	• 'the "**C Suite**", the **hallowed** offices' • ' **kick-ass** executive' • '"I work four times harder than a man," says Barra. (**That presumably includes her partner, Stefano Pessina** ...)' • 'of course, **they** can be **tough** when **they** want to be. **I know this to my cost**' • '**slaying** a few **dinosaurs** on the way'
Top female officer scolds 'macho' police	• 'Top **female** officer **scolds** 'macho' police' • 'The new female head of the Police Superintendents' Association has **attacked** the …' • repetition of '**simply not acceptable**'
Recall Is an Expensive	• 'Lululemon Athletica **overlooked**'

Setback for a Maker of Yoga Pants	• '"the **only** way you can actually test for the issue is to **put the pants on and bend over**"'
Doing it for themselves	• '**You've met the new multitasking woman**' • 'she **breezes**' • '**these** women' • the use of '**we**'
'Lean In'	• '**So** the persistent wage gap between men and women is caused by women who **psych themselves out?**' • 'But Sheryl Sandberg has given me a **new perspective**. To get ahead, **women should just act more like men**' • 'Sheryl Sandberg and Anne-Marie Slaughter **ignore** the **day-to-day realities**' • '**I was so leaned in I was near collapse**'
Mum's a role model for women who want it all	• "she had to **smash** <u>**glass ceiling**</u> **after** <u>**glass ceiling**</u> the whole way up" • "when she talked about her work, it felt as if she was **wrestling back control of an entire plane**" • "<u>**so much**</u> **energy,** <u>**so much**</u> **intelligence and experience**" • 'they didn't have to be **hair-tossing blondes, worrying about what boys thought** all the time. If they **wanted**, they **could** be **alpha themselves**"
My cure for a sick board	• 'My **cure** for a sick board'
A Man's View on 'Having It All'	• 'A **man's** view on having it all' • '**I have not had it all**… But I **definitely did not have it all**' • 'I'm a **male** who didn't have it all' • 'take away **one of** the most important tools **many** women have for advancing their careers' • 'more parent-friendly work places will **catapult** women upward'
Sexism stalks Square Mile	• '**man's world**' and "**boys' environment**" • '**evidence** suggested' • '**WORK TO MEN'S RULES AND YOU ALWAYS LOSE**' • 'the City favours the **belligerent** and **self-promoting** characteristics that **tend** to come with **testosterone'** • "**I have a daughter**"
Tough at the top	• 'arguments have reached a **deafening roar**' • 'she **asserts**' • 'women's own unconscious **self-sabotage** –

	<u>our</u> **fear, guilt and willingness** to **conform to stereotype**"
	• 'accused of being out of touch with **normal** working women who don't **travel by private jet** (Sandberg) and who aren't able to **build a nursery next to their office** (Mayer)'
	• repetition of '**we**'
	• "balancing **(or failing to balance)**"
	• "**I don't have children**, so it might seem that my story **lacks relevance** to the work/life balance debate"
	• "**I didn't have to** … **I didn't have to** … **I didn't have to** …"
Why breaking the glass ceiling in business schools will help us all	• 'women deans are doing better than their **sisters** in industry'
	• 'There is **a glimmer of hope**'
	• '**women are good at the softer skills**'
	• "'I found them **very masculine, patriarchal and conventional**'"
	• "'**successful women** often have **charm** which helps to **oil the wheels** and get things done'"
	• "'they have a **marketing value as role models**'"
	• 'It is **lonely** at the top, **especially for a woman**'
Glencore's search is on for a top woman	• "**quite** as intelligent as men"
	• '**not as ambitious**'
	• "often they **like** to be bringing up their children and **all sorts of other things**"
Baby, we can work it out	• '**Baby**, we can work it out'
	• 'Kate Torpey **claimed** she was overlooked for promotion twice'
Stay-at-home mums tell Cameron: IGNORE US AT YOUR PERIL	• '**IGNORE US AT YOUR PERIL**'
	• 'women **turning their backs** on work to favour family'
	• 'about-turn from the situation a few years ago, when women **strove to crash through the glass ceiling**, even when that meant having to **juggle lunch-box and laptop**, with **one eye on the FTSE, the other on geography homework**'
	• '**power sister** Marissa Mayer… also **flicked two fingers**'
	• 'feminism formed a great function by **unshackling women from the kitchen table**'
TBR: Inside the List	• '(Sandberg's answer, boiled down, is: "**Work harder, girls!**")'.
	• "perpetuating the '**good girl' myth**" that "women only have to **behave** themselves and

	play by the **rules**, and then **they'll get everything they want**"