



ELSEVIER

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

International Journal of Hospitality Management

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/ijhm

Incorporating a gender approach in the hospitality industry: Female executives' perceptions

Mónica Segovia-Pérez, Cristina Figueroa-Domecq*, Laura Fuentes-Moraleda, Ana Muñoz-Mazón

Rey Juan Carlos University, Paseo de Artilleros s/n, 28032, Madrid, Spain

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Gender
Management positions
Tourism
Vertical segregation
Glass ceiling
Women
Hospitality industry

ABSTRACT

Despite the increasing presence of women in the hospitality labour market, empirical evidence shows persistent horizontal and vertical segregation, as well as a pay gap - a situation that perpetuates lost opportunities for the industry. Based on Barbara Risman's model "Gender as a Social Structure" as a leading reference, the paper provides a gender based approach for the hospitality industry. Risman's three levels of analysis (Individual, Interactional and Institutional) are completed with an Intersectional level, conforming the "Gender as a Social Structure in the Hospitality Industry" model. This model aims at identifying factors that cause discrimination among female executives. The methodology is based on thirty semi-structured in-depth interviews with female executives in the Spanish hospitality industry. The results show that the influence of self-imposed barriers, gender roles, problems associated with work-life conciliation and issues related to gendered organizations are the main factors that hinder achieving gender equality.

1. Introduction

Although the number of women on boards of directors and in top management positions in organisations all around the world (e.g. Arfken et al., 2004; Pinar et al., 2011) is increasing, it remains low, and is growing at a very slow pace (e.g. Castaño et al., 2010; Bjørkhaug and Sørensen, 2012; Bugeja et al., 2012).

There have been numerous articles analysing women's representation in employment positions all over the world and focusing on gender discrimination, i.e. treating people differently on the basis of their sex (Cleveland et al., 2005). Research into the reasons for the lack of female representation in higher management positions has attributed it to workplace barriers, insufficient numbers of qualified women further down the career ladder, discriminatory stereotyping of leadership attributes as male attributes, incompatibility between job structures and the demands of raising a family, and self-imposed barriers (e.g. Emslie and Hunt, 2009; Roper and Scott, 2009; Boone et al., 2013). There is evidence of both vertical and horizontal segregation (e.g. Santos and Varejão, 2007; Campos-Soria et al., 2011) and the consequence of gender discrimination include the gender pay gap (e.g. Thrane, 2008; Campos-Soria et al., 2009; Muñoz-Bullón, 2009; Casado-Díaz and Simon, 2016; Baum, 2013; Fleming, 2015; Geiler and Renneboog, 2015; Livingstone et al., 2016).

Although there is a considerable body of empirical and theoretical

research on gender issues in the work environment, there is a lack of research applying feminist theories to vertical segregation of women in the tourism sector and hospitality industry (Brandth and Haugen, 2005; Lacher and Oh, 2012; Segovia-Pérez et al., 2014; Santero-Sanchez et al., 2015; Pritchard, 2018). The literature on women's under-representation in leadership positions in the private tourism sector (Mooney and Ryan, 2009; Boone et al., 2013; Costa et al., 2017), or in universities and Academia is sparse (Munar et al., 2015; Pritchard and Morgan, 2017; Pritchard, 2018; Chambers et al., 2017). These gaps are the more significant because of the economic importance of tourism and the idiosyncratic features it has as an industrial sector. Employment in the hospitality and tourism industry is associated with notoriously poor wages, low job security, long working hours and shift work (Back et al., 2011) and with lower quality employment opportunities than in other industries (García-Pozo et al., 2012; Lacher and Oh, 2012; Santero-Sanchez et al., 2015). In addition, although women make up 55.9% of the tourism workforce in OECD member countries (Stacey, 2015), their working conditions are worse than those of their male counterparts. All this adds up to vertical and horizontal segregation that help to maintain the leadership gap (Kogovsek and Kogovsek, 2015; Santero-Sanchez et al., 2015).

This article tackles women's position in the hospitality labour market, specifically their progression up the career ladder. It responds to calls for a broader perspective on the 'glass ceiling' (Pizam, 2017),

* Corresponding author.

E-mail addresses: monica.segovia@urjc.es (M. Segovia-Pérez), cristina.figueroa@urjc.es (C. Figueroa-Domecq), laura.fuentes@urjc.es (L. Fuentes-Moraleda), ana.munoz@urjc.es (A. Muñoz-Mazón).

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2018.05.008>

Received 26 October 2017; Received in revised form 26 April 2018; Accepted 6 May 2018
0278-4319/ © 2018 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

starting with the double-bind factor that addresses discrimination at a gendered socio-cultural level (Pizam, 2017; Boone et al., 2013).

The objective of this article is to understand women's career development from a gender approach, by examining the perceptions of female managers in the hospitality industry and identifying the various factors that hinder or facilitate the promotion of women to management positions. This critical analysis will be based on the development of a specific social gender model for the hospitality industry and will lead to recommendation for strategies and actions to empower women in the hospitality industry.

The Research Questions (RQs) arising from this objective are:

- RQ1. How does a gender approach improve our understanding of women's position in the hospitality industry?
- RQ2. Which individual and social factors influence women's career progression in the hospitality industry?
- RQ3. Which industry-specific factors influence women's career progression in the hospitality industry?

In order to achieve this objective and answer the research questions a qualitative analysis was carried out between 2014 and 2016 from thirty successful women in decision-making positions in the hospitality industry throughout Spain. Spain was chosen as the research subject because it is the third most visited country in the world and the second in terms of revenue from tourism (United Nations World Tourism Organisation, UNWTO, 2017). According to the Spanish Tourism Satellite Account,¹ in 2015 tourism contributed 11.2% of gross domestic product (GDP) and 11.9% of the workforce in Spain was employed in tourism (11.2% of salaried workers and 16.7% of non-salaried workers). Furthermore, women make up 55.5% of the hospitality industry workforce in Spain (Segovia-Perez and Figueroa-Domecq, 2016) a very similar proportion to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) average (Stacey, 2015).

The rest of the paper is organised as follows. First, we review the literature on gender as a social system and discuss the factors that determine gender discrimination, then the methodology is described. After that we present the results of the investigation, followed discussion of the results and then by our conclusions. Lastly, the research and managerial implications are presented.

2. A gender-aware literature review: women in decision-making positions

Gender is a system of beliefs and practices that refers to, deals with, or creates a sense of difference between females and males (Thompson & Armato, 2012:10) and is used to define social roles and coerce men and women down specific individual paths. Consequently, gender is manifested in personality, cultural rules and institutions' management culture. It becomes the basis for stratification, differentiation of opportunities and constraints (Risman, 1998). According to Risman (1998) differentiation on the basis of gender has consequences at three levels, that conform Risman's (1998) "Gender as a Social Structure" theory base.

The first level, the individual level, relates to the development of gendered selves and is linked with construction of gender at the individual level, internalised cognitive images of masculinity and femininity, and socialisation of gender roles and stereotypes. The interactional level, the second level, deals with the reinforcement of gender roles and expected behaviour through relationships. Men and women face different expectations even when they fill identical structural positions, and status differences shape expectations and the ways in which

in-group and out-group membership influence behaviour. Finally, at the institutional level, differentiation is reflected in how rarely women and men are given identical positions. A wide variety of organisational structures reproduce and develop gender differences through labour division, role hierarchies and power structures. The components of the institutional level are related to the maintenance of power and resources mainly by men, which implies the appearance of the wage gap, gender segregation by sectors and occupations, contractual differences, glass ceiling, among other aspects.

Considering the main objective of this article and the demand of approaching this reality from a holistic perspective, Risman's model – which is explained in more detail in the following section – is used as the basis for the development of a theoretical model that describes and explains women's participation in leading positions in the hospitality industry at the individual, interactional and institutional levels.

There are two main gender theoretical reasons to use Risman's model. In first place, gender as a social structure is complex and multifaceted. The discrimination faced by women in work environments and its causes are complex and analysis requires consideration of a wide range of variables (Albrecht et al., 2001; Cohen and Huffman, 2003; Kiaye and Singh, 2013). Other theoretical traditions have focused on individual sex differences, the importance of social structure or on social interaction and accountability expectations (Sinclair, 1997; Wharton, 2009). Risman's model offers an integrative approach that treats gender as a socially constructed stratification system, operating at the three levels mentioned above. The dimensions of the model are independent and change is fluid and reverberates throughout the structure dynamically (Risman, 2004: 435). The model integrates previous gender theoretical traditions giving due weight to the web of interconnection linking gendered selves, the cultural expectations that help explain interaction and institutional regulations. Thus, it offers a multidimensional perspective where each research tradition explores the growth of its own trees while remaining cognisant of the forest (Risman, 2004: 433). A second reason to choose this model is the depth and breadth of its applications to economic and social activities; it has been applied to students' teaching ratings (MacNell et al., 2015); migration (Parrado and Flippen, 2014); social change (Budgeon, 2014) and high-tech firms (Ridgeway, 2009), amongst others.

2.1. Individual level

The individual level deals with the development of individuals' self-conception of belonging to one gender or another and the way in which we configure ourselves as women or men: gender shapes our personality, our internalised masculinity or femininity and defines our behaviours, values, beliefs and preferences

In this sense gender roles or gender stereotypes are cultural representations of what is expected of a woman or a man (Bravo and Moreno, 2007). People construct their own existence on the basis of them, internalising culturally constructed and agreed codes and signs of identity (Bravo and Moreno, 2007) that are maintained through the admiration or reprobation of others (Eagly et al., 2004). The allocation of domestic and family tasks to women is based on their presumed greater capacity for care, kindness and sensitivity, whilst men are assigned the role of family provider because it is associated with autonomy, domination and power.

Women's devotion to family or housework often goes hand in hand with more limited participation in professional work and women tend to choose occupations or roles where level of education and human capital investment are less important (Hultin, 2003; Reid et al., 2004; Dambrin and Lambert, 2008; Fernandez-Palacín et al., 2010). This tendency is what Boone et al. (2013) identified as a self-imposed barrier to female achievement. Other self-imposed barriers include perceptions of one's capacities, cognitive factors and types of shared understanding among individuals that depend on a shared language, codes and culture (Farr-Wharton and Brunetto, 2007). Thus women tend to have less

¹ The most recent data available from the Tourism Satellite Account in 2016 were from 2012 as the complexity of the calculations and evaluations leads to substantial delays in publication.

confidence in their own capabilities, less career ambition and be more risk averse (Nelson, 2014). These self-imposed barriers limit women's professional development and may manifest as reluctance or inability to promote themselves through networking (Terjesen and Singh, 2008). Furthermore, gender-consciousness and self-imposed barriers can also explain gender differences in, for example, choice of academic subjects (social science or natural science) (Eccles, 1994) and may explain why female students dominate most of the hospitality management schools (Ng and Pine, 2003; Costa et al., 2011; Marco, 2012; Sandybayev, 2015; Pizam, 2017); in Spain 67% of the tourism students at university are female (Spanish Ministry of Education, 2017).

2.2. Interactional level

Men and women are expected to behave in accordance with gender role expectations when they interact with others (Eagly et al., 2004); behaviour that West and Zimmerman (1987) conceptualised as “doing gender”. The performance of gender involves daily interactions that comply with gender norms (Risman, 1998). In this sense, the interactional level deals with how personal conceptions of gender and gender roles are reinforced through interactions with others.

The “ideal worker” tends to be male (Acker, 1990) and should behave accordingly. Managers in high-level positions are expected to adopt a more masculine leadership style, characterised by confidence, power, aggressiveness, certainty, competitiveness and goal-orientation, qualities that are not traditionally considered feminine (Fernandez-Palacín et al., 2010). This means that women are viewed as incapable or unsuitable for these positions. If women adopt masculine behaviour or a masculine leadership style in senior roles they tend to be rejected as they are not complying with female gender role expectations. Nevertheless, recent studies have suggested that appointing female leaders is associated with greater innovation and profitability, broader consumer outreach and better results in corporate social responsibility (Rodríguez-Dominguez et al., 2009; Glass and Cook, 2016).

Gendered expectations about division of space and family duties still have an effect on women's occupational choices, especially with respect to management positions in the hospitality industry, where commitment (Castaño et al., 2010), dedication, working extra hours (McIntosh et al., 2012), and the ability to travel are crucial (Costa et al., 2017). In fact, Costa et al. (2017) highlighted that flexibility is becoming a basic requirement for an “ideal worker” in the tourism industry. Thus, women's desire for a work-life balance may be one of the main factors holding up the glass ceiling in this sector.

2.3. Institutional level

Social, cultural and organisational structures produced in all kinds of institutions reproduce gender differences through division of labour, hierarchies or power asymmetry. Men and women, but also institutions, have certain ideologies (Grasmuck and Espinal, 2000). Ideology and gender roles are pervasive in their ability to define the reproductive, domestic and professional roles of women. How gender roles are constituted is “not a simple matter of material or economic power” (Grasmuck & Espinal, 2000: 241). Norms and customs are informed by deep-seated beliefs that dictate the behaviour and privileges of individuals in societies and affect all aspects of life.

The nature of the work environment faced by women aspiring to management positions is directly influenced by “gendered organisations” (Acker, 1990). This produces what some authors call an “invisible obstacle course” (Boone et al., 2013: 13), i.e. barriers which are harder to pinpoint (Costa et al., 2017). These invisible obstacles can include male organisational culture, stereotypes and power relations within the organisation.

Castaño et al. (2009) also believe that patriarchal institutional and cultural barriers both inside and outside companies play a crucial role. Narayan's (1998) concept of ‘essentialisms’, which involves

determining a group's characteristics and ignoring differences within that group, plays an important role in, which Knoppers et al., 2015 applied to key positions held by women. The nature of corporate culture is another fundamental reason for the absence of women from management positions (Kanter, 1993). Another factor to be considered is the size of the company. Langer (2000) and Bertrand and Hallock (2001) found major differences between the size of the companies in which men and women held top management positions; female senior managers tended to be working much smaller corporations than their male counterparts. These results can be directly associated with the tendency for the salary of the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) tendency to increase with the size of the company.

Legislation, regulation and the establishment of policies to promote gender equity are key issues. Appropriate policies could compel organisations to adopt measures designed to lead to the breaking of the glass ceiling (G1;Dredge and Jamal, 2015). In Spain formal equality between men and women was legislated through the Organic Law 3/2007, March 22nd. This law obliges employers to treat men and women equally and organisations with more than 250 workers have to develop equality plans. Furthermore, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs has created a distinctive (Distintivo Igualdad en la Empresa (DIE) or Distinctive Equality in Business) that recognises the efforts of companies that have applied equality policies in an exemplary way. During 2017, 137 companies were distinguished with DIE, only one of which belonged to the hospitality sector.

In summary, broadening the study of hospitality to explore the wider social and philosophical contributions can improve understanding of hospitality management (Lashley, 2007). The social scientific evidence can be supported by feminist theories that approach a complex phenomenon from a holistic perspective, trying to identify solutions from different perspectives for the development of women career's in the hospitality industry.

3. Study design and method

3.1. Design of the research and approach

This article presents the results of the second phase of project Glass Ceiling in the Tourism Sector.² The results of Phase 1 showed that the proportion of positions filled by men increased with the level of the position and the degree of responsibility, corroborating previous studies (De Anca and Aragón, 2007). In chain hotels with less than 200 rooms the percentages of men and women in hotel management positions were almost equal (47.5% women), whereas in hotels with more than 200 rooms the percentage of management positions occupied by women dropped to 10%. These results leave no room for doubt that job stereotyping exists. Women tended to hold positions in very specific areas of the company: communications, marketing, human resources, housekeeping etc (Gonzalez-Serrano et al., 2018). These results motivated Phase 2, which focused on the identification of the various factors that hinder or facilitate the promotion of women to management positions in the hospitality industry.

The need to adopt an exploratory approach compelled us to use qualitative methods to evaluate women's experience of leadership positions in this industry. The qualitative analysis was based on semi-structured interviews (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006). Risman's model (Gender as a Social Structure) was key to the initial design of the interviews and data, providing the crucial element of a new model of gender in the hospitality industry: Gender as a Social Structure in the

² The results of the research presented in this article are part of a two-year, three-phase research project. Phase 1: census to determine the number of women in management positions at hotels and hotel chains in the community of Madrid (Gonzalez-Serrano et al., 2018); Phase 2: in-depth interviews with female executives in the hospitality industry; Phase 3: Survey (quantitative analysis) of female executives approaching the glass ceiling (Segovia-Perez and Figueroa-Domecq, 2014).

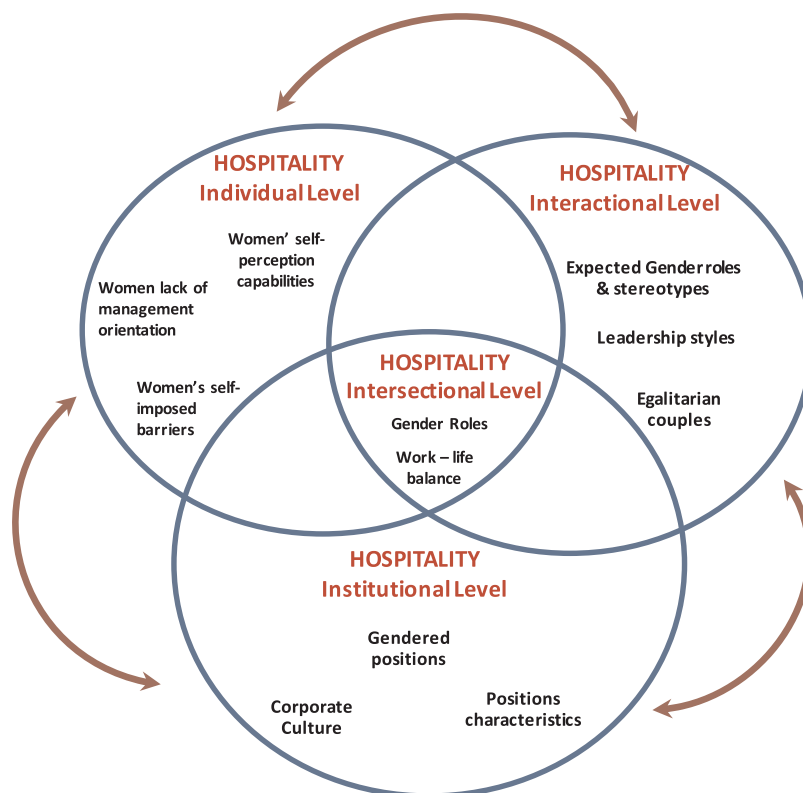


Fig. 1. Gender as a Social Structure in the Hospitality Industry.
Source: Authors, based on Risman (1998).

Hospitality Industry.

3.2. Participants

Thirty semi-structured face-to-face interviews were carried out with female executives in top positions in the hospitality sector. Senior management levels (hotel manager and hotel chain manager) as well as lower positions in the organisational hierarchy (i.e. management positions in reception or other departments) were also considered. Due to the difficulty of recruiting informants the first female executive was selected from the Spanish Confederation of Hotels and Tourist Accommodation (CEHAT) and subsequent interviewees were recruited using the 'snowball' technique. This sampling technique may lead to a homogeneous and misleading sample, because 'birds of a feather flock together', but given the heterogeneity of our interviewees (personal characteristics, position, company etc.) we do not think this is a problem in our case.

Participants ranged in age from 32 to 50 years old and most of them were married or living with a partner (60%). Only nine were single, two were divorced and half (53%) had children. The women we interviewed held executive management positions at various levels: twenty-one women worked at the top level (manager or owner) and six at the second level (communications, marketing or human resources manager or strategic manager). The decision about sample size was based on the information saturation strategy (Vallés, 1997).

Most interviews were carried out at the interviewee's office; the average duration one and a half hours and interviews were recorded with the consent of the subjects. The location perhaps encouraged many of the women to adopt a more official tone initially in order to show socially acceptable information about an ideal management's image (false front), and most of them initially said they had never experienced discrimination in the workplace. These initial results were not aligned with previous literature nor with results of Phase 1 of the project. However as the interview progressed and the interviewee began to trust

the interviewer her responses would become more sincere; all the women admitted that they had faced barriers because of their sex. All the interviews were carry out in Spanish and the quotations presented here have been translated, which should be taken into account.

3.3. Interview guide

A script, proposed to unify the interview criteria, was used exclusively to guide the interviews, but in all cases it was decided to leave the interviewees enough flexibility to develop their own speeches. Also, because we were using Risman's model, certain topics were covered during the interviews:

- (i) Interviewee's professional trajectory (curriculum vitae, career history, departments in which they had worked, expectations, motivations and factors that had contributed to their success);
- (ii) Interviewee's personal trajectory (marital status, reconciliation of professional and personal goals, family life, sacrifices, aids etc);
- (iii) Interviewee's perception of the glass ceiling in the hospitality sector (barriers, causes, possible solutions, etc.).

3.4. Data analysis

The interviews were transcribed. The analysis progressed through the following steps: familiarisation, data reduction, pattern identification, re-construction and generalisation and development of theories (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Sandiford and Seymour, 2007). Data collection was inspired by Risman's model and when analysing the transcripts the researchers paid particular attention to the levels specified in the model. According with the initial decision of using Risman's model the data analysis followed two principal steps. First, we carried out directed analysis based on the model; this was followed by conventional content analysis (inductive analysis), in order to capture other relevant information (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). This two-step

process helped us to identify relevant variables in each layer, the intersection between them and led finally to the design of a model specific to the hospitality industry. Analysis was carried out manually without the help of any software or statistical techniques, providing a deeper understanding of the phenomenon investigated.

4. Findings and discussion

Combining directed and inductive analysis enabled us to develop a new framework “Gender as a Social Structure in the Hospitality Industry” (Fig. 1). This framework deals with the increasing complexity of theorising about the construction of gender in organisations (Wahl, 1998), the intersectionality of the different levels identified by Rismañs and the idiosyncrasies of hospitality industry and its socio-economic context. It provides a balanced overview of the characteristics that limit or foster women’s promotion to management positions, from a gender perspective.

Based on our findings, the ‘Gender as a Social Structure in the Hospitality Industry’ framework specifically identifies factors for the hospitality industry on the three different levels of Rismañs model (individual, interactional and institutional). It also recognises the intersectionality between these levels and identifies the factors that are shared between them, due to the fine distinctions between them. The model has been built around specific variables in each level, constructing a holistic approach to women’s professional development in the hospitality industry

4.1. Individual-level factors

According to the women we interviewed self-concept and internalised negative beliefs about their own capability were important barriers to their career development. All the participants were educated to an appropriate level for leadership positions (graduate and post-graduate studies) they had poor perceptions of their own capabilities. One of the interviewees commented that women limit their own-ambitions

“We don’t value ourselves enough, we are not as aggressive (...). We are more conservative and subject to greater social pressure, because if you have children, you tell yourself, shit, if I screw up, I’m out of a job.” (Interview 1)

This lack of self-confidence is also reflected in women’s negotiation of employment terms, including salary; it has been shown that women hesitate to negotiate (Babcock et al., 2003). This gender difference has implications for pay and promotion inequities (Wade, 2001).

“Women are much worse at negotiating their salaries (...)” (Interview 1)

Self-imposed barriers also influence women’s choice of career. It is argued that women seek certain jobs in order to accommodate their family commitments more easily (Sandybayev, 2015: 27). Results shown that women internalised gender roles within their families are closely linked with these self-imposed barriers. Around 50% of the women interviewed had children and all of these mothers were conscious of the impact that motherhood had on the professional prospects of women in the hospitality sector.

“The time when women can ascend to a management position coincides with the period when many women have young children (...)]” (Interview 6)

These two factors, self-perception and self-imposed barriers, lead to a lack of management orientation. Our results show that our interviewees initially did not aspire to management position and had no strategy for attaining one. For them a management position was the result of a successful career and a great deal of effort.

“We don’t set ourselves the obvious problem of a lifetime strategy (...). You often just go with the flow and basically try to survive” (Interview 18)

4.2. Interactional-level factors

At the interactional level expected behaviours become the main concern. At this point it is important to highlight that it is common for gendered processes not to be perceived as such. This is because gender roles are so deeply embedded in people’s subconscious that they are accepted as the ‘norm’ and hence not questioned. Sometimes the workings of gender can be identified through ‘silences’. According to Costa et al. (2017) the majority of managers can discuss what the desirable characteristics of a gender-neutral ideal worker are, but they are silent on what constitutes desirable characteristics in a male employee.

The female executives interviewed for this study told us that gender stereotypes and roles had affected their professional career and described how external cultural notions about what is appropriate for women and for men in decision-making positions constituted a barrier. The study revealed that hospitality organisations evaluate women’s ambitions in the light of these gender stereotypes and penalise women who demonstrate professional ambition, in order to safeguard the existing gendered organisational hierarchy.

“(…) When women show professional ambition, it is perceived as a negative characteristic, whereas in men professional ambition is perceived as a positive trait.” (Interview 7)

Women participating in the study generally believed that a cultural-social change in the socialisation of roles was needed to break down the barriers to female access to management positions in the hospitality industry:

“There is a huge cultural barrier (...). Many people still don’t understand that women want to progress and become executives(...)” (Interview 15)

“If we continue to assume that we have to take on more family responsibility, we will never achieve equality with men in management positions” (Interview 20)

Also, gender expected behaviour associated with leadership style showed up in the interviews. The existence of gender differences in leadership style is a controversial issue, because it creates stereotyping (Steele, 1997; Campbell et al., 1993; Jonsen et al., 2010); detailed analysis of the interaction between gender and the attributes of successful leaders is beyond the scope of our research. We do not wish to reinforce gender stereotypes but should be noted that female leadership has been described as placing more emphasis on interpersonal relations, collaboration, team working and empathy than male leadership (Buttner, 2001; Baumgartner and Schneider, 2010) whilst the prevailing male leadership style is characterised by greater aggression, task orientation, efficiency and certainty (Fernandez-Palacín et al., 2010). The women we interviewed revealed that it is an issue in the interactional arena, since according to them the positive social attributes associated with women (empathy, communications, beauty) do not fit with the leadership style expected by hospitality companies. Some of the interviewees felt that they had to adopt an aggressive style of leadership in order to reach position of responsibility.

“Men dominate and only women of strong character can survive.” (Interview 26)

“Women are less commercially aggressive and this could be our main barrier to professional promotion.” (Interview 22)

Networking is also relevant to women’s career development. According to Storey (2004), women have less access to the resource required to start a business or expand an existing one, which affects

their networks, resulting in women having smaller networks than men.

“The idea of networking and going for drinks after work has not really been taken up by women and men close many deals over lunch. When women leave work, all they are thinking of is that they have to rush home to take care of the children.” (Interview 13)

Nevertheless, when questioned about the reasons for their professional success, many of our interviewees highlighted devotion to the organisation, flexibility, sacrifice and passion.

“A great deal of devotion to work, flexibility of functions, leadership, responsibility, sacrifice...” (Interview 16)

However, workaholic behaviour that complies exactly with image of the “ideal tourism worker” (Costa et al., 2017) creates a problem with work-life balance, since women still adopt the leading role in the family sphere. For Baum (2013), putting family above a professional career, at least in the medium term, can lead to women’s segregation to certain positions.

“We have an real working hour problem, which makes it much more difficult for women.” (Interview 15)

“I totally agree that the family situation affects women. Having small children closes many doors for women. As soon as they become pregnant, they are not considered by the company for higher positions.” (Interview 30)

In addition, the need for women to reconcile their professional and family life not only means that they do not have access to management positions, they are also excluded from the arenas of real power.

“Because women want to conciliate and, if they can't, they become public servants. Terrible, terrible! Women must be in private companies, that's where the power is (...). Banking, finance. But, because they can't conciliate” (Interview 15)

The unbalanced relation between family and work determines the roles that women have at a professional level. All our interviewees considered family support fundamental to their ability to pursue a professional career. Specifically, those of our interviewees who had children and were living with a partner believed that women start thinking about promotion when their family offers support. Consequently, in these cases, egalitarian couples become a key issue because it can become a factor that foster women professional career.

“I am lucky because my husband has very convenient working hours and normally he doesn't have to be at work at lunchtime. This means that I have a few more hours at work when need it. In addition, my family helps a lot and supports my husband and children if I have to travel. And we have domestic help four hours a week to clean the house” (Interview 24).

4.3. Institutional-level factors

The existence of a male culture (gendered culture) in organisations, along with certain organisational practices (maintaining male power, lack of mentoring, lack of careful career planning, stereotyping (Boone et al., 2013), is the most important obstacle to women becoming managers in the tourism field (Mooney and Ryan, 2009; Costa et al., 2017).

The tourism sector can be considered as family- and male-dominated industry (Kensbock et al., 2015). In addition, it is a traditional and conventional sector: the majority of hospitality companies have been operating for fifty or sixty years and the prevailing organisational culture is a true reflection of the prevailing culture over this period (Gonzalez and Talón, 1999).

According to the women we interviewed, there are a number of factors inherent in nature of the hospitality industry and the tourism

sector that have a decisive influence on women’s professional careers. Although none of our interviewees mentioned the dark side of sex discrimination (abuse and sexual harassment) (Costa et al., 2017: 66), they highlight the relevance of power relations and nepotism.

“It is a male dominated sector, which I think also comes from its family origins.” (Interview 4)

“I have worked in other sectors and the hospitality sector is the most traditional and old-fashioned in this respect [.]” (Interview 28)

“... but it is true that it is quite a male dominated sector at the top (...). Quite paternalistic.” (Interview 9)

Tourism, and consequently hospitality, is a business with predominantly male values, in which women hold positions that are an extension of their traditional domestic roles, such as receptionist, chambermaid and cook (Campos-Soria et al., 2011; Segovia-Pérez et al., 2014), creating gendering of positions and workplace segregation (Santero-Sanchez et al., 2015). Several interviewees emphasised that the organisational culture of the sector was one of the central limiting factors for the professional advancement of women.

“Women tend to end up in the same areas (...) and [in jobs that] require lower qualifications (...). You can find women in the areas of marketing or human resources, that are softer (...). But where the true power exists, women are still not present” (Interview 15)

Also, the women we interviewed highlighted that female employees tended to be employed in second-level positions and in jobs that were considered to be ‘women's work’ (Watson, 2008; Harris et al., 2011):

“Yes. There are lots of stigmatised jobs. As I said before, the world is still dominated by men, even though this is more covered up.” (Interview 27)

“Women take care of cleaning and men take care of maintenance in hotel structures and although there are female hotel managers, it is more common to find men [in these positions] (...) (Interview 29)

The size and internationalisation of the hospitality sector may also have a direct effect on women’s promotion prospects (Segovia-Pérez et al., 2014). According to our interviewees the criteria for promotion tend to be more ambiguous, and the procedure less objective, in small and independent hotels. One of the women we interviewed explained the differences in promotion procedures:

“If we are talking about a small hotel, it will depend on the owner or the manager. But, in my opinion, hotel chains have more global rules (...)” (Interview 5)

The characteristics of the jobs are another important feature of the hospitality sector. First, there is the need for constant availability (24/7), which makes reconciliation of family and professional life difficult and secondly, the need for geographical mobility. All the women interviewed mentioned these factors and highlighted how difficult it was to reconcile professional and personal life, corroborating the findings of Costa et al. (2017).

“You don't earn much money in this sector (...). Basically, it's the hours, which also seriously limit your family life. The geographical mobility (...) because it is very uncommon for a family to follow the wife, but that's the Spanish family mentality.” (Interview 7)

These features, common to many jobs in the hospitality sector influence the career trajectories of women in the sector. Hospitality is a feminised industry, in terms of the participation of women, but highly masculine in that men and male values predominate in management positions.

4.4. Intersectional Level (individual-interactive-institutional)

Risman's conceptual model is designed to integrate dynamism in the evolution and analysis of gender and consequently integrates the existence of intersectional factors among levels. Two factors are represented at the intersectional level, gender roles and work-life balance, because they are influenced and reinforced by factors on all levels (individual, interactional and institutional) included in the 'Gender as a Social Structure' model.

Gender roles influence conceptualisation of women and imply that women are predisposed to family care, meaning that they impose barriers on their own professional careers in order to dedicate more time to family and define the kind of jobs to which women have access or are expected to prefer (individual level). Women's lower professional ambition and the difficulty of reconciling family and work obligations sustain the stereotyping of women in couple relationships. This means that division of responsibility for household and family tasks may be a key determinant of women's career development, as the female executives in our sample demonstrated (interactional level). Finally, the hospitality sector's conception of a woman's role is old-fashioned and behaviour, attitudes or positions that do not comply with this conception are deprecated. This leads to stereotyped jobs and vertical segregation (institutional level).

"As long as we continue to assume that it's our responsibility to take care of our family (...) our families do not support us and while the company is not aware of the importance of having women in decision-making positions (...) we will never achieve equality in management positions." (Interview 24)

The term work-life balance refers to the complex intersections between life-cycle or vital moments (individual), family and private life (interactional) and professional careers in the hospitality industry (institutional). [Castaño and Webster \(2011\)](#) emphasised that women's careers rarely follow a linear pattern, unlike men's, the typical trajectory involves multiple stages and turning points and is strongly influenced by family events and family-related decisions. The women with children that we interviewed (50% of participants) felt that women needed to accommodate decisions between maternity (life-cycle) to their professional careers. The fact that many jobs in the hospitality sector demand 24/7 availability has a massive impact on women working in the hospitality sector.

"(...) at a certain point you have to choose between taking care of your children or taking a step forward [professionally]" (Interview 6)

The impact of these intersectional variables, gender roles and work-life balance is key to the professional development of women in the hospitality industry, as factors at the individual, interactional and organisation levels reinforce traditional gender roles and notions of work-life balance, which influence the decisions of women, society and organisations. Hence improvement in women's career prospects requires action at all three levels if the impact is to be significant and enduring.

5. Conclusions

The main barriers to women's career advancement are the invisible ones. Although many of the results of studies in other countries and sectors can be at least partially generalised to the Spanish hospitality industry, a great deal of relevant information is lost when not applied to a specific context (hospitality industry) and when feminist theory is not applied.

The implementation and adaptation of Risman's model to this industry has helped to identify important factors, including contextual factors that hinder or facilitate the promotion of women to management positions. The idiosyncratic features of the hospitality industry meant that Risman's original model had to be adapted to include

industry-specific factors at each level (individual, interactional and institutional) as well as a new intersectional level that recognises the importance of gender roles and work-life balance. Thus, our first conclusion is that a gender perspective helps us to understand women's position in the hospitality industry (RQ1).

This perspective also enables us to identify the main factors that influence women's careers in the hospitality industry (RQ2). The 'Gender as a Social Structure in the Hospitality Industry' model shows that an individual level, women create barriers to their own professional growth in the form of self-perceptions and self-imposed barriers.

At an interactional level stereotyping becomes a relevant factor. Stereotyping processes lead to perception of a dichotomy between male and female leadership styles and their effectiveness. Women are expected to behave like women, but traditionally female behaviour is not considered desirable in a leader; at the same time, however, any women's behaviour that conflicts with the traditional female gender role is deprecated. For example, ambition is not considered a feminine trait. Our results also show that female executives who have been able to reach management positions have had to challenge traditional gender roles both at work and in their personal lives, where their partners play an essential role in childcare. Choices about work-life balance determine women's professional roles.

With regard to RQ3, the 'Gender as a Social Structure in the Hospitality Industry' model shows that there are factors specific to the hospitality sector. The long working hours and need for constant availability are key for women and men developing their career in this industry. Our study also shows that the hospitality industry is a highly traditional sector, in which male values prevail and there are lots of stigmatised jobs. Moreover, in Spain the majority of hotel companies have been operating for fifty or sixty years and the prevailing organisational culture is a true reflection of the prevailing culture over this period. This contributes directly to the pattern of employment in the industry, in which women are appointed to traditionally female roles.

One of the novel contributions of this research is the inclusion of an intersectional level, nested between levels and the variables that are shared among them. The intersectional factors (gender roles and work-life balance) faced by women, have shown a multilevel construction in the hospitality industry. The fluid process between these variables helps to explain how women's self-perceptions, life-cycle, family and private life, and women's professional careers in the hospitality industry, reinforce a traditional gender roles and traditional notions about work-life balance.

In summary, factors at every level of analysis have a direct impact on women's representation in decision-making positions. The implementation of specific policies to improve this situation requires a holistic perspective encompassing all three levels.

6. Implications

This section deals with the practical and research implications of our findings. They have practical implications for hospitality managers, tourism policy makers, universities and hospitality schools. Finally, the limitations of the study are highlighted.

6.1. Practical implications

First, our findings have implications for human resource management in the hospitality industry. Under Spanish law development of Equality Plans is mandatory for companies of more than 250 employees. In view of our results, further action is necessary and such action should apply to all companies regardless of size. Given that work-life balance was found to be an important issue the hospitality industry should: (i) make better use of technologies (e.g. videoconferencing, home-working) to reduce the requirement for geographical mobility and make it easier for workers in the industry to balance work and family commitments; (ii) implement flexible working to allow

workers to meet both family and work commitments. Hospitality organisations should be held accountable for their gender policies and encouraged to provide female employees with more opportunities for promotion and training (Ferguson, 2009).

The second implication of this study is related to tourism and hospitality industry policies. There is a need for a more open debate about women's empowerment and gender equality in the tourism sector. Ferguson (2009) argued that this would promote development of more creative and innovative tourism products and destinations. Collaboration between academics and practitioners on development of tourism policy could help to ensure that policy has a real impact on female empowerment.

The study also has implications for universities and hospitality schools. Our results show that education does not appear to be a determining factor in their vertical segregation (given the female university education ratings); nevertheless educational institutions play an important role in transmitting competences related to equity and respect and in eliminating stereotypes and gendered positions in the hotel sector. There are several methods that could be applied by educators: (i) incorporation of modules dealing specifically with corporate social responsibility and sustainability into the curriculum; (ii) case studies and debate implementation about gender and the position of women in the hospitality industry; (iii) including training in awareness of gender discrimination in training programs.

The fourth group of recommendations is addressed to hospitality employees, who should actively avoid gender segregation in hotel organisations. Both women and men can take action to eradicate the glass ceiling phenomenon. For instance: (i) both men and women should take advantage of work-life balance programs; (ii) men as well as women should take advantage of the reduction of working hours to care for young (less than eight years old) children; (iii) men should use their existing parental rights; (iv) women should be involved in talent development programs in order to improve networking amongst women.

6.2. Research implications

The 'Gender as a Social Structure in the Hospitality Industry' model is an evidence-based structural and explanatory model dealing with the impact of industry-specific factors on women's professional careers. This new analytical framework is important not only because it identifies features that influence women's career progression in the hospitality sector, but also because it addresses a gap in research.

6.3. Limitations and future research directions

This qualitative study yielded an in-depth evaluation of how women working in the hospitality industry perceived their work environment and the impact of gender discrimination. However, qualitative research also has limitations and, importantly, there are ways in which future research could complement the results and conclusions of this study.

It is important to highlight that generalisation of the findings of qualitative research is more problematic than generalisation of quantitative findings. Nevertheless, qualitative analysis is the best choice when, as in our case, there is a need for multilevel understanding that acknowledges complexity and context. Furthermore, in assessing validity of qualitative research, one of the main concerns is the self-reflection meaning that the researcher is engaged in the research process and include their own positionality as part of the design, analyse and interpretive process. In our case, the interviews we carried out may have been influenced by the assumptions we brought to the table; but this weakness can also be viewed as a strength since researchers pushed to a deep analysis that help to bloom up issues that may be hidden.

We offer three suggestions for future research. First, as we only investigated women's perceptions our work would be enriched and extended by information about men's perspective on gender equality in hospitality. Such data would provide a more comprehensive picture of

the situation in the industry. Similarly including the perceptions of women at other levels in the occupational hierarchy would also provide a more comprehensive overview. Analysing data at these different levels could provide confirmation of our results and validate the model we have proposed. Secondly, combining the results of our qualitative analysis with quantitative analysis of data about perceptions of the hospitality industry and the impact of segregation from a large sample of women and men would provide a different perspective and enrich our understanding of the issues. Using a mixture of methods enhances both the research process and the reliability and generalisability of the findings. Also, both public administration and companies promote equality plans that improve the situation of equality at work. One line of research would be to analyse how effective these equality plans are at delivering gender equality. Finally, a comparison of sectors, regions or countries would help to determine the validity of our theoretical model and determine whether it applies across all production sectors and locations. This comparison should take into account the impact of different cultures, social structure or economic sectors on the design of the model and the weight of the identified variables, within the model.

References

- Acker, J., 1990. Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: a theory of gendered organizations. *Gen. Soc.* 4 (2), 139–158. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/089124390004002002>.
- Albrecht, J., Bjorklund, A., Vroman, S., 2001. Is there a glass ceiling in Sweden? *J. Lab. Econ.* 21 (1), 145–177. <http://ssrn.com/abstract=267219>.
- Arfken, D.E., Bellar, S.L., Helms, M.M., 2004. The ultimate glass ceiling revisited: the presence of women on corporate boards. *J. Bus. Eth.* 50 (2), 177–186. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/B:BUSI.0000022125.95758.98>.
- Babcock, L., Laschever, S., Gelfand, M., Small, D., 2003. Nice girls don't ask. *Harv. Bus. Rev.* 81 (10), 14–16.
- Back, K., Lee, C.K., Abbott, J., 2011. Internal relationship marketing: Korean casino employees' job satisfaction and organizational commitment. *Cornell Hosp. Quart.* 52, 111–124. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1938965510370742>.
- Baum, T., 2013. International Perspectives on Women and Work in Hotels, Catering and Tourism. International Labour Organization, Geneva.
- Baumgartner, M.S., Schneider, D.E., 2010. Perceptions of women in management: a thematic analysis of razing the glass ceiling. *J. Career Dev.* 37 (2), 559–576. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0894845309352242>.
- Bertrand, M., Hallock, K.F., 2001. The gender gap in top corporate jobs. *Ind. Lab. Relat. Rev.* 55 (1), 3–21. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/001979390105500101>.
- Bjørkhaug, H., Sørensen, S.Ø., 2012. Feminism without gender? Arguments for gender quotas on corporate boards in Norway. *Compar. Soc. Res.* 29, 185–210. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/S0195-6310\(2012\)0000029010](http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/S0195-6310(2012)0000029010).
- Boone, J., Veller, T., Nikolaeva, K., Keith, M., Kefgen, K., Houran, J., 2013. Rethinking a glass ceiling in the hospitality industry. *Cornell Hosp. Quart.* 54 (3), 230–239. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1938965513492624>.
- Brandth, B., Haugen, M., 2005. Doing rural masculinity – from logging to outfield tourism. *J. Gen. Stud.* 14 (1), 13–22. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0958923042000331452>.
- Bravo, P.C., Moreno, P.V., 2007. La interiorización de los estereotipos de género en jóvenes y adolescentes. *Revista de Investigación Educativa* 25 (1), 35–38.
- Budgeon, S., 2014. The dynamics of gender hegemony: femininities, masculinities and social change. *Sociology* 48 (2), 317–334.
- Bugeja, M., Matolesy, Z.P., Spiropoulos, H., 2012. Is there a gender gap in CEO compensation? *J. Corp. Finance* 18 (4), 849–859. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jcorpfin.2012.06.008>.
- Buttner, E.H., 2001. Examining female entrepreneurs' management style: an application of a relational frame. *J. Bus. Eth.* 29 (3), 253–269. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1026460615436>.
- Campbell, D.J., Bommer, W., Yeo, E., 1993. Perceptions of appropriate leadership style: participation versus consultation across two cultures. *Asia Pac. J. Manage.* 10 (1), 1–19.
- Campos-Soria, J.A., Ortega-Aguaza, B., Ropero-García, M.A., 2009. Gender segregation and wage difference in the hospitality industry. *Tour. Econ.* 15 (4), 847–866. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5367/00000009789955152>.
- Campos-Soria, J.A., Marchante-Mera, A., Ropero-García, M.A., 2011. Patterns of occupational segregation by gender in the hospitality industry. *Int. J. Hosp. Manage.* 30 (1), 91–102. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2010.07.001>.
- Casado-Díaz, J.M., Simon, H., 2016. Wage differences in the hospitality sector. *Tour. Manage.* 52, 96–109. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2015.06.015>.
- Castañó, C., Webster, J., 2011. Understanding women's presence in ICT: the life course perspective. *Int. J. Gen. Sci. Technol.* 3 (2), 364–386.
- Castañó, C., Laffarga, J., Iglesias, C., de Fuentes Martín, P., Llorente, J., Charlo, M.J., Giner, Y., Vázquez, S., Núñez, M., Martínez, J.L., 2009. Mujeres y poder empresarial en España (Title in English: Women and business power in Spain). Ed. Instituto de la Mujer, Madrid.
- Castañó, C., Martín, J., Vázquez, S., Martínez, J.L., 2010. Female executives and the glass ceiling in Spain. *Int. Lab. Rev.* 149 (3), 343–360. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1564->

- 913X.2010.00090.x.
- Chambers, D., Munar, A.M., Khoo-Lattimore, C., Biran, A., 2017. Interrogating gender and the tourism academy through epistemological lens. *Anatolia* 28 (4), 501–513. (Retrieved from:). <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13032917.2017.1370775>.
- Cleveland, J.N., Vescio, T.K., Barnes-Farrell, J.L., 2005. Gender discrimination in organizations. In: Dipboye, R.L., Colella, A. (Eds.), *Discrimination at Work: The Psychological and Organizational Bases*. Psychology Press, New York, pp. 149–176.
- Cohen, P.N., Huffman, M.L., 2003. Individuals, jobs, and labor markets: the devaluation of women's work. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 68 (3), 443–463. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1519732>.
- Costa, C., Carvalho, I., Breda, Z., 2011. Gender inequalities in tourism employment: the Portuguese case. *Revista Turismo & Desenvolvimento* 15, 39–54.
- Costa, C., Bakas, F.E., Breda, Z., Durão, M., Carvalho, I., Caçador, S., 2017. Gender, flexibility and the 'ideal tourism worker'. *Anna. Tour. Res.* 64, 64–75. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2017.03.002>.
- Dambrin, C., Lambert, C., 2008. Mothering or auditing? The case of two big Four in France. *Acc. Audit. Acc. J.* 21 (4), 474–506. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/09513570810872897>.
- De Anca, C., Aragón, S., 2007. La mujer directiva en España: catalizadores e inhibidores en las decisiones de trayectoria profesional. *Academia. Revista Latinoamericana de Administración* 38, 45–63.
- DiCicco-Bloom, B., Crabtree, B.F., 2006. The qualitative research interview. *Med. Educ.* 40 (4), 314–321.
- Dredge, D., Jamal, T., 2015. Progress in tourism planning and policy: a post-structural perspective on knowledge production. *Tour. Manage.* 51, 285–297. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2015.06.002>.
- Eagly, A.H., Wood, W., Johannesen-Schmidt, M.C., 2004. Social roles theory of sex differences and similarities: implications for the partner preferences of women and men. In: Eagly, A.H., Beall, A., Sternberg, R.J. (Eds.), *The Psychology of Gender*. Guilford Press, New York, pp. 269–295.
- Eccles, J.S., 1994. Understanding women's educational and occupational choices. Applying the Eccles et al. model of achievement-related choices. *Psychol. Women Quart.* 18, 585–609. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1994.tb01049.x>.
- Emslie, C., Hunt, K., 2009. 'Live to work' or 'work to live'? A qualitative study of gender and work-life balance among men and women in mid-life. *Gen. Work Organiz.* 16 (1), 151–172.
- Farr-Wharton, R., Brunetto, Y., 2007. Women entrepreneurs, opportunity recognition and government-sponsored business networks: a social capital perspective. *Women Manage. Rev.* 22 (3), 187–207. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/09649420710743653>.
- Ferguson, L., 2009. Analyzing the Gender Dimensions of Tourism as a Development Strategy. Instituto Complutense de Estudios Internacionales, Universidad Complutense de Madrid (Retrieved from: http://eprints.ucm.es/10237/1/PP_03-09.pdf).
- Fernandez-Palacin, F., López-Fernández, M., Maestu-Herrera, I., Martín-Prius, A., 2010. El techo de cristal en las pequeñas y medianas empresas. *Revista de Estudios Empresariales* 1, 231–247.
- Fleming, S.S., 2015. Déjà vu? An updated analysis of the gender wage gap in the US hospitality sector. *Cornell Hosp. Quart.* 56 (2), 180–190. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1938965514567680>.
- García-Pozo, A., Campos-Soria, J.A., Sánchez-Ollero, J.L., Marchante-Lara, M., 2012. The regional wage gap in the Spanish hospitality sector based on a gender perspective. *Int. J. Hosp. Manage.* 31 (1), 266–275. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2011.06.007>.
- Geiler, P., Renneboog, L., 2015. Are female top managers really paid less? *J. Corp. Finance* 35, 345–369. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jcorpfin.2015.08.010>.
- Glass, C., Cook, A., 2016. Leading at the top: understanding women's challenges above the glass ceiling. *Leadersh. Quart.* 27 (1), 51–63. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2015.09.003>.
- Gonzalez, L., Talón, P., 1999. Dirección hotelera: Operaciones y procesos (Title in English: Hotel management: Operations and proceedings). Pirámide, Madrid.
- Gonzalez-Serrano, L., Villace-Molinero, T., Talon-Ballester, P., De La Fuente-Cabrero, C., 2018. Women and the glass ceiling in the community of Madrid hotel industry. *Int. J. Human Resour. Dev. Manage. in press*.
- Grasmuck, S., Espinal, R., 2000. Market success or female autonomy? Income, ideology, and empowerment among microentrepreneurs in the Dominican Republic. *Gen. Soc.* 14 (2), 231–255. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/089124300014002002>.
- Harris, C., Tregidga, H., Williamson, D., 2011. Cinderella in Babylon: the representation of housekeeping and housekeepers in the UK television series *Hotel Babylon*. *Hosp. Soc.* 1 (1), 47–66. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1386/hosp.1.1.47.1>.
- Hsieh, H.F., Shannon, S.E., 2005. Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qual. Health Res.* 15 (9), 1277–1288.
- Hultin, M., 2003. Some take the glass escalator, some hit the glass ceiling: career consequences of occupational sex segregation. *Work Occup.* 30 (1), 30–61. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0730888402239326>.
- Jonsen, K., Maznevski, M.L., Schneider, S.C., 2010. Gender differences in leadership – believing is seeing: implications for managing diversity Equality. *Divers. Inclusion* 29 (6), 549–572. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/02610151011067504>.
- Kanter, R.M., 1993. *Men and Women of the Corporation*, 2nd ed. Basic Books, New York.
- Kensbock, S., Bailey, J., Jennings, G., Patiar, A., 2015. Sexual harassment of women working as room attendants within 5-star hotels. *Gender Work Organiz.* 22 (1), 36–50. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12064>.
- Kiaye, E.R., Singh, M.A., 2013. The glass ceiling: a perspective of women working in Durban. *Gen. Manage.* 28 (1), 28–42. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/175424113113101556>.
- Knoppers, A., Claringbould, I., Dortants, M., 2015. Discursive managerial practices of diversity and homogeneity. *J. Gen. Stud.* 24 (3), 259–274. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2013.833086>.
- Kogovsek, M., Kogovsek, M., 2015. Hospitality and Tourism Gender Issues remain unsolved: a call for research. *QUAESTUS Multidisp. Res. J.* 6 (April), 194–203.
- Lacher, R.G., Oll, C.O., 2012. Is tourism a low-income industry? Evidence from three coastal regions. *J. Travel Res.* 51 (4), 464–472. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0047287511426342>.
- Langer, S., 2000. Factors affecting CFO compensation. *Strategic Finance Mag.* 81 (9), 38–44.
- Lashley, C., 2007. Discovering hospitality: observations from recent research. *Int. J. Cult. Tour. Hosp. Res.* 1 (3), 214–226. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/17506180710817747>.
- Livingstone, D.W., Pollock, K., Raykov, M., 2016. Family binds and glass ceilings: women managers' promotion limits in a 'knowledge economy'. *Crit. Sociol.* 42 (1), 145–166. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0896920514532663>.
- MacNell, L., Driscoll, A., Hunt, A.N., 2015. What's in a name: exposing gender bias in student ratings of teaching. *Innov. Higher Educ.* 40 (4), 291–303.
- Marco, R., 2012. Gender and economic performance: evidence from the Spanish hotel industry. *Int. J. Hosp. Manage.* 31 (3), 981–989. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2011.12.002>.
- McIntosh, B., McQuaid, R., Munro, A., Dabir-Alai, P., 2012. Motherhood and its impact on career progression. *Gen. Manage.* 27 (5), 346–364. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/17542411211252651>.
- Miles, M.B., Huberman, A.M., 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Sage, CA, Thousand Oaks.
- Mooney, S., Ryan, I., 2009. A woman's place in hotel management: upstairs or downstairs? *Gen. Manage.* 24 (3), 195–210. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/17542410910950877>.
- Muñoz-Bullón, F., 2009. The gap between male and female pay in the Spanish tourism industry. *Tour. Manage.* 30 (5), 638–649. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2008.11.007>.
- Munar, A.M., Biran, A., Budeanu, A., Caton, K., Chambers, D., Dredge, D., Nygaard, L., 2015. The Gender Gap in Tourism Academy: Statistics and Indicators of Gender Equality. Retrieved from: <http://www.tourismeducationfutures.org/about-tefi/gender-equity-in-the-tourism-ac>.
- Narayan, U., 1998. Essence of culture and a sense of history: a feminist critique of cultural essentialism. *Hypatia* 13 (2), 86–106. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.1998.tb01227.x>.
- Nelson, J.A., 2014. The power of stereotyping and confirmation bias to overwhelm accurate assessment: the case of economics, gender, and risk aversion. *J. Econ. Methodol.* 21 (3), 211–231. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1350178X.2014.939691>.
- Ng, C.W., Pine, R., 2003. Women and men in hotel management in Hong Kong: perceptions of gender and career development issues. *Int. J. Hosp. Manage.* 22 (1), 85–102. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0278-4319\(02\)00077-4](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0278-4319(02)00077-4).
- Parrado, E.A., Flippen, C.A., 2014. Migration, social organization, and the sexual partners of Mexican men. *Soc. Probl.* 61 (3), 380–401.
- Pinar, M., McCuddy, M.K., Birkan, I., Kozak, M., 2011. Gender diversity in the hospitality industry: an empirical study in Turkey. *Int. J. Hosp. Manage.* 30 (1), 73–81. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2010.06.007>.
- Pizam, A., 2017. The double bind phenomenon of hospitality female leaders. *Int. J. Hosp. Manage.* 60, 142–143. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2016.11.007>.
- Pritchard, A., Morgan, N., 2017. Tourism's lost leaders: analysing gender and performance. *Ann. Tour. Res.* 63, 34–47. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2016.12.011>.
- Pritchard, A., 2018. Predicting the next decade of tourism gender research. *Tour. Manage. Perspect.* 25, 144–146. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2017.11.014>.
- Reid, M., Millar, W., Kerr, B., 2004. Sex-based glass ceiling in U.S. state-level bureaucracies, 1987–1997. *Adm. Soc.* 36 (4), 377–405. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0095399704266747>.
- Ridgeway, C.L., 2009. Framed before we know it: how gender shapes social relations. *Gen. Soc.* 23 (2), 145–160.
- Risman, B.J., 1998. *Gender Vertigo: American Families in Transition*. Yale University Press, Durham.
- Risman, B.J., 2004. Gender as a social structure: theory wrestling with activism. *Gen. Soc.* 18 (4), 429–450. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0891243204265349>.
- Rodriguez-Dominguez, L., Gallego-Alvarez, I., Garcia-Sanchez, I.M., 2009. Corporate governance and codes of ethics. *J. Bus. Ethics* 90 (2), 187–202. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10551-009-0035-y>.
- Roper, S., Scott, J.M., 2009. Perceived financial barriers and the start-up decision: an econometric analysis of gender differences using GEM data. *Int. Small Bus. J.* 27 (2), 149–171.
- Sandiford, P.J., Seymour, D., 2007. A discussion of qualitative data analysis in hospitality research with examples from an ethnography of English public houses. *Int. J. Hosp. Manage.* 26 (3), 724–742. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2006.05.002>.
- Sandybayev, A., 2015. Generating factors for female managers in the tourism sector of northern Cyprus. *Int. J. Res. Tour. Hosp.* 1 (1), 23–28.
- Santero-Sanchez, R., Segovia-Pérez, M., Castro-Núñez, B., Figueroa-Domecq, C., Talón-Ballester, P., 2015. Gender differences in the hospitality industry: a job quality index. *Tour. Manage.* 51, 234–246. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2015.05.025>.
- Santos, L.D., Varejão, J., 2007. Employment, pay and discrimination in the tourism industry. *Tour. Econ.* 13 (2), 225–240. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5367/000000007780823186>.
- Segovia-Pérez, M., Figueroa-Domecq, C., Fuentes-Moraleda, L., 2014. Mujer y alta dirección en el sector turístico: Definición del Techo de Cristal y sus factores (Title in English: Women and executive positions in the tourism industry: Glass ceiling definition and factors). In: Segovia-Pérez, M., Figueroa-Domecq, C. (Eds.), *Mujer y Alta Dirección en el Sector Turístico*. Síntesis, Madrid, pp. 5–15.
- Segovia-Pérez, M., Figueroa-Domecq, C., 2014. *Mujer y Alta Dirección en el Sector*

- Turístico (Title in English: Women and Management Positions in the Tourism Sector). Síntesis, Madrid.
- Segovia-Pérez, M., Figueroa-Domecq, C., 2016. Mercado laboral y género en turismo (Title in English: Labour Market and Gender in Tourism). UOC, Barcelona.
- Sinclair, M.T., 1997. Issues and theories of gender and work in tourism. In: Sinclair, M.T. (Ed.), *Gender, Work and Tourism*. Routledge, London, pp. 1–15.
- Spanish Ministry of Education, 2017. Educational Level Statistics. (Retrieved from: <https://www.mecd.gob.es/servicios-al-ciudadano-mecd/estadisticas/portada.html?jsessionid=CF90A666475FB04266B378B95B9ED6AD>).
- Stacey, J., 2015. Retrieved from. *Supporting Quality Jobs in Tourism*. OECD Tourism Papers, 2015/02. OECD, Paris. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5js4rv0g7szz-en>. (Retrieved from).
- Steele, C.M., 1997. A threat in the air: how stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *Am. Psychol.* 52 (6), 613–629.
- Storey, D., 2004. Promoting entrepreneurship and innovative SMEs in a global economy: towards a more responsible and inclusive globalisation. In: 2nd OECD Conference of Ministers Responsible for Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs). 3-5 June 2004, Istanbul.
- Terjesen, S., Singh, V., 2008. Female presence on corporate boards: a multi-country study of environmental context. *J. Bus. Eth.* 83 (1), 55–63. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10551-007-9656-1>.
- Thompson, M.E., Armato, M., 2012. *Investigating Gender: Developing a Feminist Sociological Imagination*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Thrane, C., 2008. Earnings differentiation in the tourism industry: gender, human capital and socio-demographic effects. *Tour. Manage.* 29 (3), 514–524. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2007.05.017>.
- United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), 2017. *Tourism Highlights*. (Retrieved from: <https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284419029>).
- Vallés, M., 1997. *Técnicas cualitativas de investigación social. Reflexión metodológica y práctica profesional*. Síntesis, Madrid.
- Wade, M.E., 2001. Women and salary negotiation: the costs of self-advocacy. *Psychol. Women Quart.* 25 (1), 65–76.
- Wahl, A., 1998. Deconstructing women and leadership. *Inter. Rev. Women Leader.* 4 (2), 46–60.
- Watson, S., 2008. Where are we now? A review of management development issues in the hospitality and tourism sector: implications for talent management. *Int. J. Contemp. Hosp. Manage.* 20 (7), 758–780. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1020228613796>.
- West, C., Zimmerman, D.H., 1987. Doing gender. *Gen. Soc.* 1 (2), 125–151.
- Wharton, A.S., 2009. *The Sociology of Gender: An Introduction to Theory and Research*. John Wiley & Sons, Victoria, Australia.