

Exploring gender differences in work orientations

Heidi Hughes PhD¹

Abstract

Despite research, workplace policies, and advances in social thinking, women continue to struggle with balancing the pull between the personal and professional life. This article builds on the understanding of how women interact with their work role. This case study explores the working lives of a small group of women and men in the UK fitness industry to uncover how they negotiate the balance between social, personal, and industry expectations regarding what their work should look like. The study frames these experiences around the 'work', 'career', and 'job' orientation. The study discovers that the men had a clear and articulate 'career' orientation, while the women varied between 'career', 'job', and 'calling'. To explain the differences between the women and men workers, it is suggested that social reference group feedback created tension for each of the women within their own work orientation.

Keywords: Work Orientation, Gender, Case Study, Qualitative Inquiry



Available online
www.bmdynamics.com
ISSN: 2047-7031

INTRODUCTION

Despite the UK being in the top twenty for gender equality (World Economic Forum) there continues to be gender gaps in many UK occupations. While some gaps are making some improvements, such as in sales, technical and professional occupations, the gap is widening in occupations such as managers, directors, and care and leisure service occupations (Smith 2019). In general, in sports and fitness occupations, men occupy more positions and earn 3.4% more than women (Smith 2019). Understanding why gender workplace inequality continues, therefore, remains to be an area of interest for academics.

Some past research has discussed that women and men have different latent vocational interest with women often preferring to work in nurturing (and often lower-paid) occupations (Aros, Henly, and Curtis 1998). Supporting this notion Oswald (2008) demonstrated that women strongly who identified with the traditional feminine stereotype found more satisfaction with traditional feminine occupations such as nursing or teaching. Conversely, it has been suggested that it is *expected* gender discrimination (Deschacht, De Pauw, and Baert 2017) or a social identity to a stereotype, that influences women and men to be drawn to certain occupations, and less so latent talent (Gati and Perez 2014). Some have demonstrated that women encounter more structural barriers in the workplace (Cech and Blair-Loy 2010) and have limited social capital that can network them into better paying jobs (Broadbridge 2010). In a different vein, some researchers examine gender and pay through preferences of work life or home life, suggesting that those who value home life will sacrifice career-growing (and more pay) opportunities (Gregor and O'Brien 2016; Hakim 2006).

This article explores gender work differences in the framework of work orientation as identified by Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton (1985) and Wrzesniewski, McCauley, Rozin, and Schwartz (1997). Exploring gender experiences through the lens of the 'job', 'career', 'calling' work orientation is one way to consider why there continues to be different work experiences between men and women. This work orientation is not about being drawn to a certain type of occupational role, but rather the perspective one has towards making plans and pursuing work goals (Praskova, Creed, and Hood 2015; Wrzesniewski, and Dutton 2001). Work identity and orientation is shaped through interaction between self, the environment, and reference groups, and, also what importance work will play in our life ((Barrick, Mount, and Gupta 2003; Holland 1973; Rosso, Dekas, and Wrzesniewski 2010; Schein 1978). This may be especially relevant when examining gender differences in work roles and orientations. As individuals gain work experience, the normative relationships within the arena of the workplace further shapes a person's interest and orientation (Hoff, Briley, Wee, and Rounds 2018).

¹ Central Connecticut State University, Faculty of Management and Organizations
E-Mail: h.hughes@ccsu.edu

This article is constructed from following the work experiences of six female and ten male fitness professionals working in a private gym in the U.K. Some workers are employed directly with the gym though all are on the path towards full self-employment. Research has shown that both men and women may choose the path of self-employment as a way to achieve subjective feelings of career success (Born and Van Witteloostuion 2013). Further, to overcome workplace gender biases that restrain growth, women may pursue self-employment paths, such as being a fitness trainer, in order to avoid the 'glass ceiling' (Rehman and Frisby 2000). However, Moodley and Coopoo (2006) have indicated even in this path, male fitness trainers are more likely to achieve work satisfaction than women. Self-employment can also be precarious because in order to make a living, one is dependent on finding and keeping clients (Rehman and Fisby 2000). Our study discusses that the ability to find and keep clients is related to the trainer's self-efficacy as well as stereotypes others hold regarding work role identity. The trainer's perceptions, based on social interactions with colleagues and potential clients, shape the trainer's work orientation; the work orientation further shapes setting short and long-term goals and feelings of success.

CAREER IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION VIA SYMBOLIC INTERACTION WITH REFERENCE GROUPS

Understanding work-identity is important in cultures where we define a large portion of who we 'are' with what we 'do' (or don't do) for a living (Becker and Carper 1956; Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler et al 1985; Chiu and Kosinski 1999). Identity can shape what type of work we choose to pursue and what role that work will have in our lives. Through experience and reflexivity, an individual learns from feedback provided by the organization and peers, what is expected in the chosen work role (Bravo, Seibert, Kraimer, Wayne, and Liden 2017). The reflexive dialogue is further based on our own understanding of our self, who we are, or who we believe we should be, based on our own interpretation of the beliefs of chosen reference groups (Ashforth and Schinoff 2016; Blumer 1969; Charon 2007). Self-evaluation with reference groups help us interpret how we act, what we value, what job roles are suitable to us, and the level of time and energy we devote to work (Charon 2007; Grote and Hall 2013; Low, Yoon, Roberts, and Rounds 2005; Obodaru 2017).

Self-evaluation within reference groups is not static. We move into an out of groups as we decide how well we match that particular group (Festinger 1954). Furthermore, perceptions are relative to the composite of a particular group and if we are more or less like other members of that group (Wood, Brown, Maltby, and Watkinson 2012). Further, when we identify with well-functioning or positive 'others' we will be more inspired and engaged in proactive career behaviour (Buunk, Piero, and Griffioen (2007). Having a strong job identity provides purpose and direction for the individual in regards to pursuing career objectives (Crocetti, Avanzi, Hawk, Fraccaroli et al 2014) and can also influence our perspective as to if we are ahead or behind in achieving work success such as climbing the hierarchal ladder (Lawrence 2011).

Acknowledging there are biological differences between men and women, the majority of what is accepted as 'appropriate' work for women versus men, is socially bound. The 'social role model' informs us as to how we see gender roles, while the 'artefact model' informs us as to what importance we place on certain gendered traits (Feingold 1994). For example, in some cultures 'nurturing' is a positive trait for women, but negative for men (Feingold 1994). Hyde (2014) used the concepts of 'social learning' to explain how we adapt our gendered behaviours based on rewards and punishment. Furthermore, Hyde (2014) explains how the 'sociocultural theory' links how work roles first emerged from assumed biological differences, such as men historically occupying manual work which required mass and strength because men are typically larger and stronger than women. However, in situations where men/women take on the opposite gendered work-roles, they develop the skills and ability to fulfil those roles. There is also evidence that cultural dimensions, such as Individualism versus Collectivism, can influence acceptable gender behaviours (Costa, Terracciano, and McCrae 2001). This is to say, as individuals, we learn from our social environment what types of gender behaviour is accepted and rewardable; we then internalize these norms (Hyde 2014).

There has been a large body of work that explores these relationships between social gender differences and work. For example, Gati and Perez (2014) demonstrate due to social influences, men pursue STEM jobs, while women pursue nurturing jobs. 'Nurturing', 'Agreeable', and 'Warm' are traits that conform to the feminine stereotype and conflict with the masculine. Some traits are rewarded or punished based on the gender of the worker (Curhan and Overbeck 2008) – for example 'agreeable' men earn less than low agreeable men (Judge, Livingston and Hurst 2012). Most often women are likely to make career choices based on their social perceptions of what is gender-acceptable. When the woman finds they are in a mismatch to what they believe is acceptable, they might make a career change to fit the 'correct' narrative (Herrback and Nignonac 2012; LaPoint 2013) and to "conform to the judgements of others in order to be accepted" (Carnaghi and Yzerbyt 2007, 918). It is important to note these studies are highlighting the importance of both the sociologically held gendered beliefs, *and*, the perceptions of the individual.

Some research has made the attempt to demonstrate men and women have different latent interest in work types (for example Aros, Henly and Curtis 1998) which could result in more or less work satisfaction. However, more recent research suggest the construction of interest inventory questions can lead to the gender differences due to an 'interpretation' of the questions, not by actual differences in interests (Passler, Beinicke, and Hell 2014), suggesting that occupational choices are made based on social interpretations.

WORK ORIENTATION

Theories regarding work orientation, anchors, or preferences, are one stream of inquiry that can help us understand how individuals choose one particular path of paid work over another in regards to work type and whether work is organizationally bound or self-employed (Hall and Chandler 2005; Warr and Inceoglu 2018). 'Orientation', 'anchor', and 'preferences' are different constructs but are sometimes used interchangeably. For example, Bravo et al., (2017), Gerber, Wittekind, Grote, Conway and Guest (2009), and Rodrigues, Guest and Budjanovanin (2013) link the concept of 'orientation' to Schein's (1978) concepts of 'anchors', while others, such as Nolan (2009) link 'orientation' to Hakim's (2000; 2006) concept of 'preferences'. Metaphorical differences suggest one concept grounds us (anchor), provides a compass (orientation), or is fluid to our changing tastes (preferences). The commonality in each of these concepts outline how individuals interact with their social and psychological identity to make choices regarding the role work plays in their lives (Hakim 2006; Bravo et al 2017; Schein 1978). In this paper we adopt the term 'orientation' as used by Wrzesniewski, McCauley and Rozin (1997).

Wrzesniewski et al., (1997) suggest there are three different viewpoints an individual can use to measure their work-life relationship – job, career, calling. In a 'job', the individual works to live and the main priorities are in non-work activities and relationships. In a 'career', the individual is more interested in the work itself and the resulting outcomes such as promotion, salary, or heightened state of status. In a 'calling', the individual has an emotional connection where the work has 'meaning' or fulfilment that goes beyond salary or prestige.

Work orientation can influence the specific type of work we pursue (Schein 1978; Holland 1973; Leong, Rosenberg and Chong 2013), but differing orientations can exist within the same job role (Schein 1978; Wrzesniewski et al 1997) and can have an influence on the level of engagement with work, and the resulting satisfaction we receive back. For example, those with a Managerial orientation are more likely to achieve objective career success, while those with a Lifestyle orientation are less likely to do so. (Tremblay, Dahan, and Gianecchini 2014). Other studies suggest the Calling orientation brings more feelings subjective success (Rawat and Nadavualkere 2015) but can also cause more personal sacrifices such as consuming time commitment to the work, or accepting lower pay (Bunderson and Thomspson 2009). Zou (2015) provides evidence that men and women differ in intrinsic/extrinsic and human orientations, and women overall tend to have higher levels of job satisfaction. Further, part-time women tend to have higher job satisfaction than full-time women. Heslin (2005) has suggested our work orientation may also influence the relevance of social comparison: for example, those with a 'calling' orientation may be less influenced by comparing the self to others because the measures of success are

more subjective to the individual; those who have a ‘career’ or ‘job’ orientation may be more influenced by comparison to others because success is based on objective measurements such as salary or rank. Despite the body of research on gender differences and work roles, there are limited studies that explores the iterative nature between gender and work orientation. In this paper, I specifically focus on exploring how symbolic interaction within social relationships might account for gender differences amongst the ‘job’, ‘career’, ‘calling’ orientation and how this might impact work outcomes such as setting goals and feeling successful.

METHODOLOGY

Sample

Similar to many other ethnographies, this study focuses on the social engagement *within* a setting, rather than the setting itself (Geertz 1993). The impetus for the study was to explore the meaning of career success for workers in meritocratic work environments. As such, the study needed an arena where the informants were able to pursue and articulate objective and/or subjective feeling of success (Arthur, Khapova, and Wilderom 2005) and were, to a degree, based on competition with one another (Hall and Chandler 2005; Ng, Eby, Sorensen, and Feldman 2005). Based on my personal network, I negotiated access to a small private fitness facility in Southwest England. The setting met the criteria: There was a high level of social interaction required for the job, and from my lay perspective, career success was based on competition with peers. Upon approval from the university ethic’s board and informed consent from the owners of the fitness facility, I immersed myself as an overt participant-observer for eight months; following the working lives of the fitness professionals.

There were sixteen informants in this study; six women and ten men, all of whom earned their primary living as fitness professionals. The informants included in the study were invited and approved through informed consent. All of the informants were qualified minimally at level 3 Register of Exercise Professional (REPs), with additional qualifications for sports-specific training such as Pilates. Additionally, many of the informants had, or were pursuing, graduate and post-graduate degrees in sports related degrees. See Table 1 for a list of the informants. (Names of the informants have been changed to maintain anonymity).

Table 1. Case Study Informants

Gender Informant Number	Gender	Stated Work Orientation	Years as Fitness Professional
Alice	Female	Calling	10+
Ava	Female	Calling	3
Chloe	Female	Career	5
Charlie	Male	Career	4
Daisy	Female	Career	2
Emily	Female	Job	6
Fred	Male	Career	10
George	Male	Career	20+
Isaac	Male	Career	10
Jack	Male	Career	10
Jacob	Male	Career	>1
Noah	Male	Career	10
Oliver	Male	Career	8+
Poppy	Female	Career	8+
Reggie	Male	Career	8+
Tom	Male	Career	2

The majority of the informants earned their living through direct payments from their clients and/or contracting services to the gym, such as teaching classes. Those new to the industry (less than six months experience) worked directly for the gym until they were able to build a large enough book-of-business to become fully self-employed. Self-employed trainers were responsible for generating their own book of business, and oftentimes this meant finding new clients outside and bringing them into the gym. Therefore, trainers not only competed for new clients within the arena of the gym, but also in the local surrounding community. In essence these fitness professionals had, or were in the process, of creating portfolio protean careers (Baruch 2014; Gold and Fraser 2002).

Data collection and analysis

Open coding of field notes and interview transcripts began during the observation period. This involved reviewing and reflecting on the field notes and assigning as many concept labels that emerged (Strauss and Corbin 1990). In starting this process early in the study, I was able to focus observations around emerging concepts to help guide topics during the semi-structured interviews (Charmaz and Mitchell in Atkinson et al 2001; Corbin and Strauss 2008). Selective coding was used in exploring and writing up suggested theoretical explanations. Themes were constructed iteratively through working back and forth with the ethnographic material, the original research aims, and the continued reading of contextual literature (Holliday 2007; Corbin and Strauss 2008). 'Work orientation' was a natural theme to explore from the outset of the study as it was a helpful lens to view career success. The nuances of the relationship between *gender* and work orientation became an interest during in-depth observations and was further explored during interviews using the grounded theory approach (Corbin and Strauss 2008).

FINDINGS

The work orientation

Careers

We start with the 'career' construct. There was a noticeable difference between the way the men and women of this study discussed how they labelled their current work orientation, and the view of their future working self. All of the men, without hesitation, claimed their work was a 'career', regardless of their career stage. Most of the women, however, seemed to struggle with how to classify their work - to the researcher, to others, and to themselves - and hedged their comments. For example, Chloe, a 25 year-old female, recounted a conversation she had recently had with a stranger on a plane:

"My friend and I were on the plane coming back from holiday and this guy was asking what we did. My friend said "I work for KPMG" which is this massive London company, they earn millions. Then he asked me what I do and I said "I'm a personal trainer" and he's like "that's a job not a career" and it got quite heated on the plane. I got quite annoyed at him and he's just like "it's not really. It's a job" and I was like "career" and he said "It can't be a career. You're just in a gym, stood next to people" and I'm like "Mwha. Okay fine. That's fine." So yeah, some people have quite a weird view about it. People think it's so easy, like your job is easy, you just have to stand by people and just shout at them and things, but it's like "no, it's isn't like that. There are so many other kinds of things to it as well". (Chloe, Interview)

In this passage, Chloe defends her work as a 'career' to a stranger, who insists it can only be a 'job'. In this instance, she is battling a stereotype a stranger has regarding fitness work in general. She is saying the work is more than standing around watching people. It requires skill and knowledge (human capital). In fact, throughout the study, the trainers consistently discuss and demonstrate the importance of developing human capital in order to become a successful fitness professional (Broadbridge 2010).

Further into the interview she indicates her friends and family also do not consider fitness to be a "proper job". She does not indicate whether her family and friends do not view fitness as a 'proper job' in general, or not a proper job for women. However, the men did not vocalize doubts regarding if friends and family consider fitness training to be a career or not.

She also stated she was “starting to fret about it at the moment” regarding her future in the industry. She worried how having a career as a self-employed fitness professional would impact starting a family or buying a house:

“My friend’s a PT and she just had a baby and it’s been so difficult trying to kind of, you don’t get maternity and just living off one salary self-employed wage, trying to pay a regular house and bills and all your debt and pay for the baby is quite scary. I kind of don’t want to be like that.” (Chloe, Interview)

Her conflict highlights how social opinions can influence work labels. While a stranger on a plane rouses her defences, pressure from the external environment and from her friends and family (Grote and Hall 2013) stimulate internal reflections on her choices.

Chloe’s concerns about becoming a mother were echoed by several of the other female trainers, who at the time of the interviews, considered fitness to be a career. For example, Poppy stated:

“It’s [a fitness career] also quite unsustainable. As a woman, I do want a family one day. There’s no way you can work 40 hours personal training, and you’re not going to earn money unless you’re actually doing the job.” (Poppy, Interview)

Here, Poppy is saying the trainer has to be physically present to perform the job. This does not account for the off-the-job activity that takes time, such as preparing classes, working on client training portfolio, traveling from appointment to appointment, marketing to obtain new clients, and answering emails from existing clients, which also requires time away from the family. Even in this self-employed, service-related job, conflict between professional and personal life still continue for women (Dyke and Murphy 2006; Fischlmayr and Puchmuller 2016; Munkejord 2017). Ironically, one of the male trainers sees the flexibility of his self-employment as a *benefit*, rather than conflict, to being a father:

“Advantages [to the self-employed career] is the flexibility. Being able to change your diary and move it around things. Having just had a little baby boy, now I spend a lot of time with him during the day and it will work out when my partner goes back to work that I’ll be able to take a lot of the child care on.” (Tom, Interview)

Being self-employed, the male fitness trainer does not have the structural norm of an organization instilling guilt on him for negotiating more time and space to care for his family (Holth, Berman, and MacKenzi 2017).

In further contrast to the female trainers, the male informants have short-term and long-term plans they are able and willing to verbalize, such as:

“The next step for me would be [owning] a little studio, a private studio where there are maybe just one or two trainers who work together, and from there progress on to owning a gym.” (Tom, Interview)

[In going back for a degree]. I really wanted to fill these gaps in my knowledge. Now that I’m getting older, to have a more senior position...then...I want to have my own [rehabilitation] clinic one day, which I work out, and have other people also operating there.” (Oliver, Interview)

“I want to stay in the fitness industry, definitely. What I’d like to do is move my way into a club, somewhere like Rugby Club or Football club. Being a strength and conditioning coach for a club.” (Charles, interview)

“I’ve gone up in qualification, some from level two to level three. If you imagine a table, instead of going up, now I’m going to go across, so I can broaden and get a wider range of knowledge. Maybe look into more specialized strength and conditioning. Getting qualifications in those sort of areas will probably be where I go in the next year or two.” (Jacob, interview)

For some of the male trainers, being a self-employed trainer at Private Gym was their foreseeable end goal. For those who aspired to own their own club or to become a conditioning coach, working at Private Gym was a protean (Gerber et al 2009; Gold and Fraser 2002) strategic bridge between their previous experiences and their future. They viewed their relationship with Private Gym as an opportunity to learn how to manage their own business while being networked within an organization. This was also their time to build a large, loyal clientele that would be able to transfer with them when they opened their own studio.

Job

Only one informant, female, used the 'job' label. There was little hesitation when Emily called her employment a 'job'. There were three reasons she considered it a job instead of a career - focus of family life over work, her perceptions of work longevity, and what she considered a career to be. She talked about how her schedule will change as her children get older; picking up additional shifts to pay for life events such as home improvements, or to supplement her husband's income. In this sense, Emily's view of her employment emulates the concept of 'job' (Wrzesniewski et al 1997) - working provides financial benefits which allow her to find fulfilment in her life that is beyond her work. Similar to Tom, she does recognize the flexibility her work provides as an advantage for raising children, but several times she mentioned how difficult this was on her relationship with her partner. For example, she stated:

"By the end of the week I need a Friday night just to stay in, sit down, and do nothing. I'm out in the evenings teaching, and HUSBAND and are always like passing ships. He'll be coming in from work, and I'd be, 'bye, I'm off to work', and I'd be in at nine and ten o'clock p.m., and off we go again at six [the next morning].(Emily, Interview)

Her second concern was that she perceived that fitness did not have longevity, as only 'young' people work in fitness: These were her comments regarding her work orientation:

"Emily: It's my job rather than my career.

Me: Do you see it as something you want to do long term?

Emily: Yes and no (She lets out a long breath). I'd like to, but realistically, I don't know. Um. I suppose because you start to think, how many people, when you go to the gym, do you see that there are older teachers? They are all younger."

Emily is a Pilates instructor. In the setting of this ethnography there are two additional Pilates instructors - Reggie and Alice - both of whom are over the age of fifty-five. Therefore, age and career longevity are stereotypes, or limitations from Emily perspective, not necessarily the industry's perspective.

Lastly, she indicates her work can only be a 'job', because as a self-employed person, there is not an organizational structure attached to the work she does:

"I always think of a career as being based within somewhere so you can build up. Whereas with this, because you work for yourself, you can't really build up from anywhere else." (Emily, Interview)

Although the protean, freelance careers, are becoming more commonplace (Arthur, Khapova, and Wilderom 2005), Emily bases her perception of 'job' and 'career' on traditional, hierarchical paths (Kanter 1977; Schein 1978). For her, a 'career' can only be something that happens within a structured organization, where the worker can 'build up' to higher ranked positions. However, many of the other self-employed trainers believed having their own practice was what allowed them the opportunity to 'build up' their *own* career, rather than having to follow the structured career path of an organization. As demonstrated from Charles interview below, using the self-employed path could be a stepping stone to lateral and vertical movements leading to an end goal. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated women *have* used self-employment in the fitness industry as a way of creating a career that might not be found in traditional organizations (Rehman and Frisby 2000). This again highlights how Emily's own perceptions may limit her work orientation and opportunities.

Calling

Two informants, both female, referred to their work as a 'calling' or vocation. We describe Alice below.

"It's a job in as much as it earns me money. I think I'm very lucky because I actually get paid to do what I love doing and not many people can say that...I've got no intention of hanging up my trainers yet [and] it has become more of a vocation. I believe passionately if people are going to exercise do it properly. And to some extent that is down to me. But, at the same time, as my husband says you can't be an evangelist [about making sure people exercise right.] (She laughs) (Alice, interview)

Alice is the oldest informant of the study and her financial and familial needs were different than the needs of the younger female trainers. For her, work was not about gaining financial security, but about fulfilment. She believed fitness could be a career for those who wanted to work at it, but for her, working in fitness was an opportunity to earn money while she does what she loves, and to help other people. Similarly, Ava considered training people an opportunity of "sharing my hobby, sharing my passion" with others. However, because she felt her work was a 'calling', she often had a crisis of conscience charging people for her services. She stated:

"I really struggled with this. I feel guilty charging people for something like this because I absolutely love it." She continues on to say "I know I'm not, financial-wise, focused. Quite a lot of people tell me that I should be charging a bit more for my services, but yeah I'm still struggling with charging people".

When I further asked Ava if she thought her feelings of guilt were related to being a woman she explained that rather than it being a gender issue, it had much more to do with her political-cultural background as an Eastern European which informed her belief that services should be available to all people, regardless of their ability to pay.

As the above discussions demonstrates, work orientation and goals are influenced by the internal perception of each informant as they interact within their social and professional groups. There is a distinct difference between the male and female informants and also a wide variance among the female informants.

How perceptions/stereotypes create or limit career opportunities

The findings demonstrate the male and female informants are impacted differently by external social stereotypes. We start by comparing Chloe and Charles hopes, experiences, and expectations. Chloe indicated her biggest career goal was to become a strength and conditioning coach for a sports team. This is similar to Charles's career goals. However, she claimed it was very unlikely for her, a woman, to get this sort of position. She had the required human capital and had been a competitive power lifter. She also had more than five years of strength and conditioning experience; two and a half times more than Charles. Additionally, she was one of the most favoured instructors at Private Gym. People liked her. However, regarding a career as a sports coach she claimed:

"my chances would be slight. If I were applying, you would get ten other blokes and there would be a slight holding off against me. If you've got somebody who's doing rugby strength and conditioning coach and you've got two guys who've played rugby, even though I've done years of experience more than they have, I think I'd be a bit shunted down the bottom of the pile a little bit more."

This is suggestive of the 'good ol' boys club' (Lovett and Lowry 1994), where men hire other men regardless of experience or qualification. Chloe perceived she would not be considered for the position, because men who were networked into the rugby club would be chosen instead of her, even though she had more human capital suited to the position. Though she uses language to claim a career orientation, her own perception prevents her from believing the goals are legitimate and therefore does not follow through with performative action (Norholm 2011).

Charles is part of the 'good ol' boys club', having been taken under George's wing at Private Gym. George was also an experienced team manager at a local rugby club. In this way, Charles is not just gaining on-the-job experience at Private Gym (informal development of his human capital), he is also sponsored (Kanter 1977) by George, linking Charles into a social network with professional contacts in the sporting industry. Chloe did not have this sponsorship.

Charles *also* indicated it would be difficult for women to become a sports coach for a sports team. However, from his perspective, it was not because of a lack of human or social capital, but rather it was due to the existing stereotypes people have regarding personality differences between men and women (Broadbridge 2010). He explained that career gender limitation is about the different style of coaching, and the levels of acceptance men and women bring to the role:

"I'm not saying women can't do the job, but I think there are certain aspects men bring that women struggle to bring. Take circuits for example, having a man shout at you, someone like George, if he goes 'get your act up', you get your act up. Sometimes it's harder for a bloke in a class to get revved up if it's a woman shouting at them."

From Charles' viewpoint, sport players perceive a male coach as a legitimate authoritarian, someone to be obeyed. He goes on to explain how this is especially important in the sporting environment:

"It's not even the coaching, it's the whole banter that goes with it. People just see 'sport', but it's a lifestyle, it's family, it's, there's a lot more than just a sport. A lot of times these players are looking for a male role model in their lives, you know? They don't want a mum who's going to mother them. They want somebody who's going to shout at them and say 'do this and do this'. Sometimes a woman is seen as a mother, unfortunately, and I wouldn't say there's no place for it, but I think a lot of rugby teams or football teams or any sport where they need to knuckle down and train..."

Charles' position explains how a woman is perceived as the 'Mother Figure' archetype and it affects what type of career is acceptable for a woman to pursue. His view is if men on a sports team believe a woman can only be 'mothering', then men will be less likely to listen to her, even if she is shouting 'get your act up' in a similar way as a male trainer. This supports similar experiences detailed in Woodfield's (2016) research. Neither Chloe nor Charles have said a woman is not biologically able to be a sports coach, but that stereotypes based on gendered social construction (Feingold 1994; Hyde 2014) limits each participating member of the exchange – coach; employer; team player.

Tom spoke about two additional stereotypes regarding women and fitness.

" there are both sexes doing the same thing at the top all the way down but you'll probably find that there will be more of one sex doing one thing. In [Franchise Gym] girls are more of a class orientation or group PT thing and they tend to be looked at as softer, softer trainers ... generally speaking the girls are more class oriented and the guys stay on the floor doing the weights and all of that. And the clients that have all trained with me wouldn't go to a female trainer."

Here he is saying that both female trainers and club members are more aerobics class oriented. He claims women prefer the sociality and structure of class more than one-on-one training. These kinds of shared stereotypes can limit career growth for the female trainer. The female trainer might be conditioned through stereotype-feedback to believe they should focus on teaching classes rather than choosing a role based on latent vocational interest (Holland 1973; Aros, Henly, and Curtis 1998) such as being a conditioning coach for a sports team, or providing the more lucrative one-on-one training sessions.

The second point he makes is that none of his clients (male or female) would go to a female trainer because they are considered 'soft'. Conversely, Poppy, Chloe, and Daisy (all female trainers) indicated their clients (male and female) would not go to a male trainer because male trainers are considered 'intimidating'. This echoes Charles' comment regarding members of team sports preferring *perceived*

gendered-behaviour: masculine versus feminine, intimidating versus soft. In each scenario, team sports or Private Gym, it is the stereotypes of the groups or client that can influence how the trainer sets goals and defines their work orientation.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study provides a longitudinal eight-month look into the working lives of self-employed (Warr and Inceoglu 2018) fitness professionals to demonstrate the shaping of work orientations. In these social interactions the trainers and clients 'interpret' their environment (Charon 2007). The trainers receive feedback from their national heritage, their meso-level social groups such as friends and family (Fine 2010; Shibutani 1955), professional peers (Becker and Carper 1956; Bravo et al 2017), and even from clients (Lin, Chiu, and Hsieh 2001; Madson, Hultquist, Church, and Fisher 2010) regarding how the trainer should behave, what types of traits to exhibit, and what work orientations are appropriate (Gati and Perez 2014). The narratives of this study illustrate the differences the women and men have regarding how experiences influence their orientation towards work. In this study, social comparison was relevant to the gender, not to the work orientation (Heslin 2005). The men do not vocalize ways in which men might be influenced by social beliefs and pressures regarding work roles yet they are able to weigh in on how *women* might be influenced by these parameters. The women however, both explicitly discuss, and, implicitly demonstrate social influences on their work orientation. These are similar findings to those such as Dyke & Murphy (2006), Hakim (2006), Rodrigues et al (2013), and LaPoint (2013), wherein women change their work goals based on the worker/motherhood/family dynamic. However, as a contrast to Rydzik and Ellis-Vowles' (2018) research, rather than engage in identity work to redefine stereotypes, the women of our study use identity work to redefine their orientation - the orientation is not necessarily what the woman prefers, but rather what she feels is acceptable or *achievable* to her. Women have an iterative relationship with moving in and out of the labour market, what type of work to pursue based on flexibility and promotions (Glass and Fodor 2018; Herman 2015) or comparing themselves to the culture and norms practiced within a given industry (Seron, Silbey, Cech, and Rubineau 2016; Styhre, Remneland-Wikhamn, Szczepanska, and Ljungber 2018). Our study demonstrates how the symbolic interaction feedback-loop influences their perceptions and decisions.

The findings of this study also demonstrate how the women are implicitly influenced by the social 'other' that is bigger than their identifying meso-level groups (Fine 2010; Kossek et al 2017). The women did not need direct contact to a group to be influenced by real or perceived gendered stereotypes. Furthermore, the female trainers are able to witness a type of informal 'organizational' support the male trainers provide to one another which they further interpret to mean that male trainers are considered sociologically better and/or more important to the work-role of fitness trainer.

This study also provides a contrast to other orientation research. Unlike Praskova et al (2015) and Park and Rothwell (2009) our informants who had a 'career' orientation were most likely to make both short- and long-term work goals and also pursued the most challenging work (Shea-van Fossen & Vredenburg 2014) which demonstrates the protean mindset (Baruch 2014), whereas those with a 'calling' did not necessarily have long term work goals. Their satisfaction came from being able to share their interest and passion with others regardless of work outcomes.

The findings from our study are important not just in discussing gendered workplace experiences, but also self-employed workers as well. Those who are independent workers may need even more positive reinforcement to know their orientation and contributions to the work world is valuable (Petriglieri, Ashford, and Wrzesniewski, 2019). Looking into the iterative nature between an individual's work and where and with whom work occurs contributes to the understanding of how self-evaluation and social comparison can reinforce stereotypes and impact work orientations.

There are many workplace policies and initiatives to create parity between men and women in the organizational setting yet there continue to be differences between men and women (Deschacht, De Pauw, and Baert 2017; Gati and Perez 2014; Macneil and Liu 2017). While the self-employed route may avoid organizational glass ceilings, it is not a guarantee to financial security and work-related longevity (Rehman and Frisby 2000). Understanding how social ideas and stereotypes influence work decisions can

help individuals bring to the conscious the implicitly held beliefs about what they 'should' be and do (Cech and Blair-Loy 2010; Elliott and Meltzer 1981; Gati and Perez 2014; Moog and Backes-Geiner 2009). Helping women to differentiate between their own implicit self-theories and stereotypes held by others may help the woman in setting their own stepping stone to a work orientation is fulfilling to them.

LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

This is a study of women and men in the fitness industry in a small, privately owned gym in the UK. Their experiences may differ from other fitness professionals who are employed in large franchised gyms and may differ from other women and men employed in different industries. An advantage to the ethnographic methodology employed in this study is the ability to engage with the informant in an in-depth fashion. However, the findings of this particular study rely on the narratives of informants in a particular space (the work space of the private gym) and time of their employed lives (the eight months of the study). That is, we rely on their feedback on their experiences as they understand them at the moment. A more holistic longitudinal study that follows informants in their personal private and public work life could be useful to more fully understand how social experiences influence work orientations.

Funding

The author received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Data Availability

The author confirms that the data supporting the findings of this study are available within the article.

REFERENCES

- Aros, J.R., Henly, G.A. & Curtis, N.T. (1998). Occupational sextype and sex differences in vocational preference-measured interest relationships. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 53(2), 227-242
- Arthur, M.B., Khapova, S.N., & Wilderom, C.P.M. (2005). Career success in a boundaryless career world. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*. 26(2), 177-202
- Ashforth, B.E. & Schinoff, B.S. (2016). Identity under construction: How individuals com to define themselves in organizations. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behaviour*. 3, 111-137
- Barrick, M.R., Mount, M.K., & Gupta, R. (2003). Meta-analysis of the relationship between the five-factor model of personality and Holland's occupational types. *Personnel Psychology*, 56(1), 45-74
- Baruch, Y. (2014). The development and validation of a measure for protean career orientation. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 25(19), 2702-2723
- Becker, H.S. & Carper, J. (1956). The elements of identification with an occupation. *American Sociological Review*, 21(3), 341-348
- Bellah, R.N., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W.M., Swidler, A. & Tipton, S.M. (1985). *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*. University of California Press: Berkley, CA
- Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. Los Angeles: University of California Press
- Born, A. & Witteloostuijn, A. (2013). Drivers of Freelance Career Success. *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 34 (1): 24–46. doi:10.1002/job.1786.
- Bravo, J., Seibert, S.E., Kraimer, M.L., Wayne, S.J. & Liden, R.C. (2017). Measuring career orientations in the era of the boundaryless career. *Journal of Career Assessment*, 25(3), 502-525
- Broadbridge, A. (2010). Social capital, gender and careers: evidence from retail senior managers. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 29 (8)
- Bunderson, J.S. & Thompson, J.A. (2009). The call of the wild: Zookeepers, callings, and the double-edged sword of deeply meaningful work. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 54(1), 32-57
- Buunk, A., Peiro, J.M., & Griffioen, C. (2007). A positive role model may stimulate career-oriented behaviour. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 37(7), 1489-1500

- Carnaghi, A. & Yzerbyt, V.Y. (2007). Subtyping and social consensus: the role of the audience in the maintenance of stereotypic beliefs. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 37(5), p.902-922
- Cech, R., & Blair-Loy, M. (2009). Percieving glass ceilings? Meritocratic versus structural explanations of gender inequality among women in science and technology. Conference papers: American Sociological Association, 2009 Annual meeting
- Charmaz, K., & Mitchell, R.G. Grounded Theory in Ethnography. In Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. & Lofland, L (2001) *Handbook of Ethnography*. London. Sage.
- Charon, J.M. (2007). *Symbolic Interactionism: An introduction, an interpretation, an integration*. (9th ed.). Uppers Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall
- Chiu, R.K. & Kosinski, F.A. (1999). The role of affective dispositions in job satisfaction and work strain: comparing collectivist and individualist societies. *International Journal of Psychology*, 34(1), 19-28
- Corbin, J. M., & Strauss, A. L. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Costa, P., Terracciano, A., & McCrae, R.R. (2001). Gender differences in personality traits across cultures: Robust and surprising findings. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81(2), 322-331
- Curhan, J. & Overbeck, J.R. (2008). Making a positive impression in a negotiation: gender differences in response to impression motivation. *Negotiation & Conflict Management Research*, 1(2), 179-193
- Crocietti, E., Avanzi, L., Hawk, S.T., Fraccaroli, F., & Meeus, W. (2014). Personal and social facets of job identity: A person-centered approach. *Journal of Business Psychological*, 29, 281-300
- Deschacht, N., De Pauw, A.S., & Baert, S. (2017). Do gender differences in career aspirations contribute to sticky floors? *International Journal of Manpower*, 38(4), 580-593
- Dyke, L.S. & Murphy, S.A. (2006) How we define success: A qualitative study of what matters most to women and men. *Sex Roles*, 55 (5-6), 357-371
- Elliott, R.D. & Meltzer B.N. (1981). Symbolic interactionism and psychoanalysis: Some convergences, divergences, and complementarities. *Symbolic Interactionism*, 4(2), 225-244
- Feingold, A. (1994). Gender differences in personality: a meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 116(3), 429-456
- Festinger, L. (1954). A theory of social comparison processes. *Human Relations*, 7(2), 117-140.
- Fine, G.A. (2010). The sociology of the local: Action and its publics. *Sociological theory*, 28(4), 355-376
- Fischlmayr, I.C., & Puchmüller, K.M. (2016). Married, Mom and Manager - How Can This Be Combined with an International Career? *International Journal of Human Resource Management* 27 (7): 744-65. doi:10.1080/09585192.2015.1111250.
- Gati, I. & Perez, M. (2014) Gender differences in career preferences from 1990 to 2010: Gaps reduced but not eliminated. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 61(1)
- Gerber, M., Wittekind, A., Grote, G., Conway, N. & Guest, D. (2009). Generalizability of career orientations: A comparative study in Switzerland and Great Britain. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 82, 779-801
- Gerber, M., Wittekind, A., Grote, G., & Staffebach, B. (2009). Exploring types of career orientation: a latent class analysis approach. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 75(3), 303-318
- Glass, C. & Fodor, E. (2018). Managing motherhood: Job context and employer bias. *Work and Occupation*, 45(2), 202-234
- Gold, M. & Fraser, J. (2002). Manging self-management: Successful transitions to portfolio careers. *Work, Employment and Society*, 16(4), 579-597
- Gregor, M.A., & O'Brien, K.M. (2016). Understanding career aspirations among young women: Improving instrumentation. *Journal of Career Assessment*, 24(3), 559-572
- Grote, G. & Hall, D. T. (2013). Reference groups: a missing link in career studies. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 83, 265-279
- Hakim, C. (2000). *Work-lifestyle choices in the 21st century: Preference theory*. Oxford University Press
- Hakim, C. (2006). Women, careers, and work-life preferences. *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling*, 34(3), 279-294

- Hall, D. T. & Chandler, D.E. (2005). Psychological success: When the career is a calling. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 26 (2), 155-176.
- Herman, C. (2015). Booting and rerouting: Women's articulations of frayed careers in science, engineering and technology professions. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 22(4), 324-338
- Herrbach, O. & Mignonac, K. (2012). Perceived gender discrimination and women's subjective career success: the moderating role of career anchors. *Industrial Relations*, 67(1)
- Heslin, P.A. (2005). Conceptualizing and evaluating career success. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 26(2) Special Issue: Reconceptualising Career Success, 113-136
- Hoff, K. A., Briley, D.A., Wee, C.J.M., & Rounds, R. (2018). Normative Changes in Interests From Adolescence to Adulthood: A Meta-Analysis of Longitudinal Studies. *Psychological Bulletin* 144 (4): 426-51. doi:10.1037/bul0000140.
- Holland, J.L. (1973). *Making vocational choices: a theory of careers*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall
- Holland, J.L. (1958). A personality inventory employing occupational titles. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 42(5), 336-342
- Holliday, A. (2007). *Doing and writing qualitative research*. (2nd ed.). London: Sage
- Holth, L., Bermgan, A., & MacKenzi, R. (2017). Gender, availability and dual emancipation in the Swedish ICT sector. *Work, Employment and Society*, 31(2), 230-247
- Hyde, J.S. (2014). Gender similarities and differences. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 65, 373-398
- Judge, T.A., Livingston, B.A., & Hurst, C. (2012). Do nice guys – and gals – really finish last? The joint effects of sex and agreeableness on income. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 102(2), 390-407
- Just, S. (2011). "I wasn't originally a banker, but..." - Bridging individual experiences and organizational expectations in accounts of "alternative career paths." *Culture & Organization*, 17(3): 213-229.
- Kanter, R.M. (1977). *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Kossek, E.E., Su, R., Wu, L. (2017). "Opting out" or "pushed out"? Integrating perspectives on women's career equality for gender inclusion and interventions. *Journal of Management*, 43(1), 228-254
- LaPointe, K. (2013). Heroic career changers? Gendered identity work in career transitions. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 20(2), 133-146
- Lawrence, B.S. (2011). Who is they? Inquiries into how individuals construe social context. *Human Relations*, 64(6), 749-773
- Leong, F.T.L., Rosenberg, S.D. & Chong, S. (2013). A psychometric evaluation of Schein's (1985) Career orientations inventory. *Journal of Career Assessment*, 1-15
- Lin, N.P., Chiu, H.Ch., Hsieh, Y.C. (2001). Investigating the relationship between service providers' personality and customers' perception of service quality across gender. *Total Quality Management*, 12(1), 57-67
- Lovett, D.J. & Lowry, C.D. (1994). "Good old boys" and "good old girls" clubs: myth or reality? *Journal of Sport Management*, 8(1), 27-35
- Low, K.S.D., Yoon, M., Roberts, B. & Rounds, J. (2005). The stability of vocational interests from early adolescence to middle adulthood: a quantitative review of longitudinal studies. *Psychological Bulletin*, 131(5), 713-737
- Macneil, J., & Liu, Z. (2017). The role of organizational learning in soft regulation of workplace gender equality. *Employee Relations*, 39(3), 317-334. <https://doi.org/10.1108/ER-01-2016-0022>
- Madeson, M.N., Hultquist, C.N., Church, A. & Fisher, L.A. (2010). A phenomenological investigation of women's experiences with personal training. *International Journal of Exercise Science*, 3(3), 157-169
- Moodley, P. & Coopoo, Y. (2006). Job satisfaction of self-employed trainers and personal trainers employed at commercial gymnasiums: a comparative study. *South African Journal of Research in Sport, Physical Education & Recreation* 28(2): 105-112
- Moog, P., & Backes-Gellner, U. (2009). Social Capital and the willingness to become self-employed. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, 39(2), 33-64.

- Munkejord, M.C. (2017). His or her work-life balance? Experiences of self-employed immigrant parents. *Work, Employment and Society*, 31(4), 624-639
- Ng, T.W.H., Eby, L.T., Sorensen, K.L., & Feldman, D.C. (2005). Predictors of objective and subjective career success: a meta-analysis. *Personnel Psychology*, 58(2), 367-408
- Nolan, J. (2009). 'Working to live, Not living to Work': An exploratory study of the relationship between men's work orientation and job insecurity in the UK. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 16(2), 179-197
- Obodaru, O. (2017). Forgone, but not forgotten: Toward a theory of forgone professional identities. *Academy of Management Journal*, 60(2), 523-553
- Oswald, Debra L. (2008) "Gender Stereotypes and Women's Reports of Liking and Ability in Traditionally Masculine and Feminine Occupations". *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 32:2, p196-203
- Passler, K., Beinicke, A. & Hell, B. (2014). Gender-related differential validity and differential prediction in interest inventories. *Journal of Career Assessment*, 22(1), 1-15
- Park, Y. & Rothwell, W.J. (2009). The effects of organizational learning climate, career-enhancing strategy, and work orientation on the protean career. *Human Resource Development International*. 12(4), 387-405
- Petriglieri, G., Ashford, S.J., & Wrzesniewski, A. (2019). Agony and Ecstasy in the Gig Economy: Cultivating Holding Environments for Precarious and Personalized Work Identities. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 64 (1): 124-70. doi:10.1177/0001839218759646.
- Praskova, A., Creed, P.A. & Hood, M. (2015). Career identity and the complex mediating relationships between career preparatory actions and career progress markers. *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 87: 145-153
- Rawat, A. & Nadavulakere, S. (2015). Examining the outcomes of having a calling: does context matter? *Journal of Business Psychology*, 30, 499-512
- Rehman, L. & Frisby, W. (2000). Is self-employment liberating or marginalizing? The case of women consultants in the fitness and sports industry. *Journal of Sport Management*, 14(1), 41-62
- Rodrigues, R., Guest, D. & Budjanovcanin, A. (2013). From anchors to orientations: Towards a contemporary theory of career preferences. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 83, 142-152
- Rosso, B.D., Dekas, K.H. & Wrzesniewski, A. (2010). On the meaning of work: a theoretical integration and review. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 30, 91-127
- Rydzik, A. & Ellis-Vowles, V. (2018). 'Don't use "the Weak Word"': Women brewers, identities and gendered territories of embodied work. *Work, Employment and Society*, 1-17
- Schein, E.H. (1978). *Career Dynamics: Matching Individual and Organizational Needs*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing
- Schein, E.H. (1990). *Career Anchors: Discovering Your Real Values*. San Diego Pfeiffer & Company
- Seron, C., Silbey, S.S., Cech, E. & Rubineau, B. (2016). Persistence is cultural: Professional socialization and the reproduction of sex segregation. *Work and Occupations*, 43(2), 178-214
- Shibutani, T. (1955). Reference groups as perspectives. *American Journal of Sociology*. 60(6), 562-569
- Shea-Van Fossen, R. J., & Vredenburgh, D.J. (2014). Exploring Differences in Work's Meaning: An Investigation of Individual Attributes Associated with Work Orientations. *Journal of Behavioral & Applied Management* 15 (2): 101-20. <https://search-ebscohost-com.ccsu.idm.oclc.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=buh&AN=94935800&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.
- Shibutani, T. (1955). Reference groups as perspectives. *American Journal of Sociology* 60(6): 562-569
- Smith, R. (2019). Gender pay gap in the UK: 2019 Office for the National Statistics. Release date: 29 October 2019. <https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/earningsandworking/hours/bulletins/genderpaygapintheuk/2019> accessed 24 Jan 2020

- Styhre, A, Remneland-Wikhamn,B., Szczepanska, AM, & Ljungberg, J. (2018). Masculine Domination and Gender Subtexts: The Role of Female Professionals in the Renewal of the Swedish Video Game Industry. *Culture & Organization* 24 (3): 244–61. doi:10.1080/14759551.2015.1131689.
- Strauss, A & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research*. London UK: Sage
- Todd in Coffey, A. & Atkinson, P. (1994). *Occupational Socialization and Working Lives*. Hants: Avebury
- Tremblay, M., Dahan, J. & Gianecchini, M. (2014). The mediating influence of career success in relationship between career mobility criteria, career anchors and satisfaction with organization. *Personnel Review*, 43 (6), 818-844
- Warr, P. & Inceoglu, I., (2018). Work orientations, well-being and job content of self-employed and employed professionals. *Work, Employment and Society*, 32(2), 292-311
- Wood, A.M., Brown, G.D.A., Maltby, J., & Watkinson, P. (2012). How are personality judgments made? A cognitive model of reference group effects, personality scale responses, and behavioural actions. *Journal of Personality*, 80(5), 1275-1311
- Woodfield, R. (2016). Gender and the achievement of skilled status in the workplace: The case of women leaders in the UK fire and rescue service. *Work, Employment and Society*, 30(2), 237-255
- World Economic Forum. (2020). Global Gender Gap Report 2020. Retrieved from <https://www.weforum.org/reports/gender-gap-2020-report-100-years-pay-equality>. Accessed January 10 2020
- Wrzesniewski, A. & Dutton, J.E. (2001). Crafting a Job: Revisioning Employees as Active Crafters of Their Work. *Academy of Management Review* 26 (2): 179–201. doi:10.5465/AMR.2001.4378011.
- Wrzesniewski, A., McCauley, C., Rozin, P. & Schwartz, B. (1997) Jobs, careers, and callings: people's relations to their work. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 31(1), 21-33
- Zou, M. (2015). Gender, work orientations and job satisfaction. *Work, Employment and Society*. 29(1), 3-22.