The Origins and Real Effects of the Gender Gap: Evidence from CEOs' Formative Years



Motivation

- Academic and policy debate
 - Evidence that women get fewer resources (pay, promotion, etc.) than men
 - Extensive policy efforts to bridge the gap
- Open questions → this paper
 - 1. What are the origins of the gender gap?
 - Statistical discrimination \rightarrow fundamentals correlated with gender
 - Subjective managerial preferences
 - 2. What are the real effects on the firm?
 - Capital investment
 - Performance

Challenge: Preferences, resource allocations & performance are hard to observe

Empirical Setting

 Allocation of investment capital to male and female division managers and their professional appointments in conglomerates



- Centralized decision agent → CEO
 Graham, Harvey, Puri (2015)
- Division manager $\rightarrow 2^{nd}$ most important factor after NPV
- **One-to-one correspondence** between a manager and division
- Capital allocations, appointments, and outcomes are observable

Eliciting CEOs' Preferences

- <u>Foundation</u>: social learning theory (Mischel 1966; Bandura 1977, 1986)
 - Individuals form gender attitudes at an early age by observing the roles of men and women in their immediate surrounding → family, community, and school
 - Validated in over 180 studies in psychology and social economics
- <u>Focus</u>: CEO's exposure to gender imbalances in **formative years**
 - Mostly exogenous at a young age \rightarrow youth to early parenthood
- Sources of variation:
 - Family → employment & edu balance between the parents and the parenting of daughters vs. sons
 - Community \rightarrow local gender gap in wages, employment, edu
 - Education → single-gender vs. mixed gender schooling

Main Findings

Resource allocation

- Female division managers obtain 50-70 bps less CapEx than males with similar characteristics and are appointed to peripheral, non-core divisions
- The gap nearly disappears for male CEOs with early-life exposure to gender equity

Which CEO characteristics matter?

- Familial factors most important
- Community effects matter on their own, but are subsumed by family characteristics

Governance

- Effect specific to CEO \rightarrow within-firm variation from CEO turnovers
- Gender gap attenuated in the presence of a female board chair

Performance

• Gender effects in CapEx erode investment efficiency and performance

One of the first to investigate the **family background** of U.S. CEOs A novel link between exposure to gender equity and financial policy

1. Identifying CEOs' Family Descent and Formative Experiences

CEO Background



Family Data: Birth Records

Manager's full name + date of birth (Lexis Nexis Public records) \rightarrow state birth record \rightarrow identify parents

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Family Data: Marriage Records

Example: Norman Allen Scher, CEO of Tredegar

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Family Data: Individual Census Records

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Family Variables Example: Norman Allen Scher, CEO of Tredegar

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Data on CEO's family:

- Each parent's employment status and occupation
- Years of education and annual outside income
- Residential address and neighbors \rightarrow community variables

Data on div. managers:

1,788 managers

James B. Stake

4617 Edina Blvd, Minneapolis, MN 55424 333 Coast Blvd, La Jolla, CA 92037



Education	University of Pennsylvania, MBA in Finance, 1979 Purdue University, BS in Mechanical Engineering, 1974
Experience	<i>3M Co.</i> Executive VP, Precision Optics Division, 01/2007 – 12/2008 Executive VP, Display & Graphics Division, 01/2002 – 12/2006 VP, Industrial Tape & Specialties Division, 01/2000 – 01/2002
Board Memberships	Otter Tail Corporation (NASDAQ: OTTR), CH Robinson Worldwide (NASDAQ: CHRW), Ativa Medical Inc (private)
Club memberships	White Bear Yacht Club, since 04/1992 Minneapolis Club, since 02/1998 Hazeltine National Golf Club, since 04/1996
Philanthropy	Twin Cities Public Television (Trustee) American Road and Transportation Association (Director)
Personal	Age: 59, Married to Miriam M. Stake

2. Which Families Do CEOs Come From?

Families Where CEOs Grew Up

Characteristic	CEOs' Parents	General population	National Percentile
Father income (2016 dollars)	\$91,545	\$40,560	74.7
Mother income (2016 dollars)	\$40,155	\$35,620	57.7
Working mother, indicator	0.21	0.36	32.7
Home value (2016 dollars)	\$654,000	\$312,000	79.8
Number of servants	0.14	0.02	93.0

- 1. Ave. CEO comes from a family with income & wealth in the 75-80% percentile
- 2. The income gap between CEOs' parents exceeds that in the population
- 3. CEOs' mothers more likely to stay at home than women in the population
- 4. CEOs more likely to grow up with (female) servants

Education Characteristics



16% of CEOs attend all-male high schools and 10% attend all-male colleges

3. Capital Allocation to Male & Female Managers

Allocation of Capital to Male and Female Managers

-0.005** -0.005*** -0.007*** Female division manager [2.218] [3.709] [3.463] 0.005*** 0.004* 0.002 Tenure at the firm [0.799] [2.617] [1.889] 0.004** 0.004** 0.002* Performance record [2.229] [1.749] [2.160] 0.009*** 0.012*** 0.011*** Social ties to CEO [2.911] [2.853] [2.892] 0.001 0.001 0.002 Graduate degree [0.136][0.272] [0.661]0.004 0.001 0.002 **Board member** [1.205] [0.637] [0.105]0.001 0.001 0.001 Age [1.090][0.040][1.005]Industry Tobin's Q, ROA, **Division controls** size, core division indicator Size, ROA, EPS, **Firm controls** number of divisions, Tobin's Q Age, external board seats, tenure with **CEO** controls firm, graduate degree, network size Year, Year, industry, **Fixed effects** Year industry firm Adjusted R² 0.062 0.294 0.575

Dep. variable: Division CapEx (as a ratio to assets)

Female managers receive about 50-70 basis points less in annual CapEx

For the average division, this difference amounts to 9-12% of the annual investment budget

The Effect of CEO's Formative Years

Dep. Va	ariable = Div	vision Car	зЕх		
Female division manager	-0.003 [1.473]	-0.003* [1.819]	-0.004** [2.072]	-0.002 [1.320]	CEOs' formative experiences explain 70+% of the gap
CEO family index	0.004** [2.296]			0.004** [2.418]	
Female division manager x CEO family index	-0.004** [2.163]			-0.004** [2.226]	CEOs who grew up in
CEO education index		0.003** [2.049]		0.003* [1.903]	male-dominated environments allocate less
Female division manager x CEO education index		-0.004** [2.303]		-0.004** [2.447]	capital to female managers
CEO community index			0.004* [1.883]	0.003 [1.461]	
Female division manager x CEO community index			-0.004* [1.735]	-0.001 [1.466]	
Controls Year, industry firm F.E. Adjusted R ²	Yes Yes 0.584	Yes Yes 0.580	Yes Yes 0.578	Yes Yes 0.592	Effects identified from CEO changes within a firm

Family and education factors have a stronger effect

and drive out the influence of community characteristics

Robustness: CEO & Manager Fixed Effects

Dep. Variable = Division CapEx

Female division manager	-0.296* [1.908]	-0.118* [1.702]	
CEO Gender Imbalance Index	0.398** [2.515]		
Female division manager x CEO Gender Imbal. index	-0.481** [2.089]	-0.312** [2.025]	-0.236** [2.099]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year, industry, firm F.E.	Yes	Yes	Yes
CEO * Firm F.E.	No	Yes	Yes
Division Manager F.E.	No	No	Yes
Adjusted R ²	0.597	0.619	0.718

- 1. Robust to holding constant **CEO-firm matches**
- 2. Robust to controlling for time-invariant

division managers' characteristics

4. Economic Mechanisms:i. The appointment channelii. The capital allocation channel

Economic Channels

- Two complimentary, non-mutually exclusive channels:
 - Appointment to divisions
 - Capital allocation, holding the appointment constant

The appointment channel

- To which divisions are female managers appointed?
 → study the appointments of division managers
- <u>Evidence</u>: female managers are appointed to non-core, less profitable divisions that historically receive less capital

The capital allocation channel

 Exploit CEO turnover, where the assignment of managers to divisions is inherited from the prior CEO and remains constant in the short term

The Capital Allocation Channel

Exploit CEO turnovers: shock CEO characteristics at the time of CEO turnover,

while holding constant managers' assignments to divisions

	Depend	ent variable	: ΔCapEx
Female division manager	0.005 [0.805]	-0.004 [0.674]	0.001 [0.417]
ΔCEO family index	0.013* [1.753]		Lielding division menegers constant
Female division manager x ΔCEO family index	-0.023* [1.883]		Holding division managers constant a new CEO from a male-dominated
ΔCEO education index		0.017** [0.539]	background reduces CapEx to
Female division manager x ΔCEO education index		-0.028** [2.267]	"inherited" female managers
ΔCEO community index			0.015* [1.680]
Female division manager x ΔCEO community index			-0.023** [1.994]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year , industry, and firm F.E. Adj. R ²	Yes 0.753	Yes 0.757	Yes 0.755

During CEO turnovers, the characteristics of division managers remain constant

 \rightarrow effect unlikely to be explained by an omitted variable correlated with gender

5. Possible Explanations

Possible Explanations

- <u>Statistical discrimination</u>: females are allocated less capital because of economic fundamentals which are important for CapEx
- <u>Taste-based CEO preferences</u>: lower CapEx allocations reflect CEO's personal biases, whether conscious or unconscious
- <u>Test 1</u>: comparison of male and female division managers
 - <u>Evidence</u>: male and female managers are statistically indistinguishable on observable characteristics of education, experience, and historical record
- Test 2: CEO monitoring
 - If a personal CEO bias, it should shrink in the presence of strong monitoring
 - <u>Evidence</u>: the effect of CEOs' formative gender experiences on CapEx is reduced by 29-40% in the presence of a **female chair of the board**
- <u>Test 3</u>: external assessment of CEO's policies to women
 - Obtain independent scores of gender policies for each CEO (KLD analytics)

External Assessment of CEO Policies

Test for correlation with an external assessment of CEO policies towards female employees Source: audit scores by KLD Research and Analytics

	Promo	otion of wo	omen and es	v	Vork/life be	nefits	Women & Minority contracting		
	Family	Edu	Community	Family	Edu	Community	Family	Edu	Community
CEO background index	-0.372*** [2.766]	-0.084 [1.069]	-0.102** [2.131]	-0.323** [2.420]	-0.141 [1.163]	-0.154** [2.087]	-0.212** [2.010]	-0.154* [1.767]	-0.078** [2.460]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year and industry F.E.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Adj. R ²	0.200	0.203	0.208	0.181	0.159	0.163	0.129	0.139	0.136

Dep. Variable = Audit Scores of Policies toward Females

CEO's formative gender experiences are correlated with the promotion of women and the allocation of contracts to women \rightarrow extend beyond CapEx

6. Real Effects

- Investment Efficiency
- Performance

Investment Efficiency: Sensitivity of CapEx to Q

Dep. Variable = Division CapEx

Index type	Family	Education	Community
CEO imbalance index	-0.036**	-0.014*	-0.028*
	[2.051]	[1.759]	[1.855]
Tobin's Q	0.010**	0.008**	0.007**
	[2.355]	[2.229]	[2.148]
CEO imbalance index x Tobin's Q	-0.006*	-0.004*	-0.005
	[1.860]	[1.735]	[1.364]
Year. Industry, and firm fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Adj. R ²	0.328	0.323	0.331

The effect of CEO background on the allocation of capital dampens the sensitivity of investment to the marginal product of capital

Firm Performance

Dependent Variable	ROA	Tobin's Q	Stock returns	ROA	Tobin's Q	Stock returns
CEO imbalance index	-0.003** [2.386]	-0.121** [2.266]	-0.010** [2.174]	-0.001 [1.226]	-0.033 [1.485]	-0.004 [0.719]
Female Division Manager				0.008 [0.993]	0.020 [1.118]	0.002 [0.881]
CEO imbalance index x Female Div. Manager				-0.004** [2.293]	-0.106** [2.317]	-0.008** [2.064]
Industry fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Firm fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Adj. R ²	0.456	0.794	0.395	0.472	0.806	0.415

1. CEO exposure to gender imbalances is negatively correlated with firm performance

2. This effect operates when there are female division managers

Conclusion

- The gender gap in resource allocation is linked to CEO preferences, which can be traced to formative years
- Family background and early education have significant real effects

→ First evidence on the family background of U.S. CEOs and its role in resource allocation inside the firm

Managerial Labor Market

Dependent variable	Separation of division managers	Promotion of division managers	Demotion of division managers
Female division manager	0.082 [1.114]	-0.022 [1.360]	0.037 [0.918]
CEO imbalance index	0.029* [1.902]	0.058** [2.185]	0.016* [1.885]
CEO imbalance index x Female division manager	0.115** [2.266]	-0.046* [1.725]	0.073* [1.847]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Industry fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Firm fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Adj. R ²	0.117	0.088	0.094

Female division managers are more likely to separate from the firm and less likely to be promoted under CEOs with conservative backgrounds

Appendix: Division Performance

Division Performance measure	Cash flow/sales	Sales growth
Model	(1)	(3)
Female division manager	-0.018 [1.491]	0.042 [1.470]
CEO gender imbalance index	-0.032 [1.083]	-0.084 [0.832]
CEO gender imbalance index x Female division manager	-0.009** [2.033]	-0.032* [1.927]
Controls	Yes	Yes
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Industry fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Firm fixed effects	Yes	Yes
R ²	0.260	0.085

The reduction in investment efficiency is associated with a decline in operating performance