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

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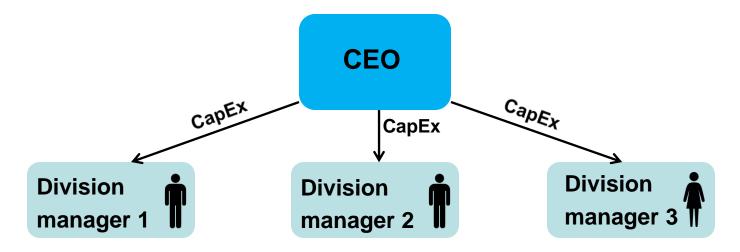
Motivation

- 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 → fundamentals correlated with gender
 - Subjective managerial preferences
 - 2. What are the real effects on the firm?
 - Capital investment
 - Performance

<u>Challenge</u>: 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
- Division manager → 2nd most important factor after NPV
- Graham, Harvey, Puri (2015)
- One-to-one correspondence between a manager and division
- Capital allocations, appointments, and outcomes are observable

Eliciting CEOs' Preferences

- Foundation: 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
- Focus: CEO's exposure to gender imbalances in formative years
 - Mostly exogenous at a young age → youth to early parenthood
- Sources of variation:
 - Family → employment & edu balance between the parents and the parenting of daughters vs. sons
 - Community → 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 → 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

1. CEO edu & career

Source: Execucomp and Boardex

Data: managers' names, year of birth, and career progression

Source: High school yrbooks

Data: HS location, single

gender or co-ed

Source: Dept of Education

Data: fraction of females in college, year of going co-ed

596 CEOs

Nearly all male (98.5%)

2. Family background

Source: Lexis Public Records

Data: date of birth, SSN state, SSN (5 digits), spouse, residential addresses, real estate property transactions

Step 1: Birth records

Data: place of birth, parents

Step 2: Marriage records

Data: parents

Step 3: Death records

Data: parents and siblings

3. Family details

Source: Nat'l Archives

Individual household census records

41 standardized household attributes

Source: Archives of white page directories

Home address and occupations of both parents

Next: illustrations of the main types of records

Family Data: Birth Records

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

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Family Data: Marriage Records

Example: Norman Allen Scher, CEO of Tredegar

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OCCUPATION Student INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS	SINESS						
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MOTHER'S Sonia Coldstein	MOTHER'S Ethel Shull						
MOTHER'S Sonia Goldstein	MAIDEN NAME						
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the county or city of	, year 19.5 /_, which authorizes me to cele-						
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	(Person who performs ceremony sign here.)						

Family Data: Individual Census Records

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Family Variables Example: Norman Allen Scher, CEO of Tredegar

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Name of each person whose usual place of residence on April 1, 1940, was in this household. BE SURE TO INCLUDE: 1. Persons temporarily absent from household. Write "Ab" after names of such persons. 2. Children under 1 year of age. Write "Infant" if child has not been given a first name. Enter (x) after name of person furnishing information.	Relationship of this person to the head of the household, as wife, daughter, father, mother-in- law, grandson, lodger, lodger's wife, servant, hired hand, etc.	CODE (Leave Blank)	Sex	Color or Race	Age at Last Birthday	Marital Status	Attended school or college at any time since March 1,	Highest grade of school	completed	OCCUPATION Trade, profession, or particular kind of work, as – Frame spinner Salesman Laborer Rivet heater Music teacher	INDUSTRY Industry or business, as— Cotton mill Retail grocery Farm Shipyard Public school	INCOME
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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 → 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	3M Co. 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

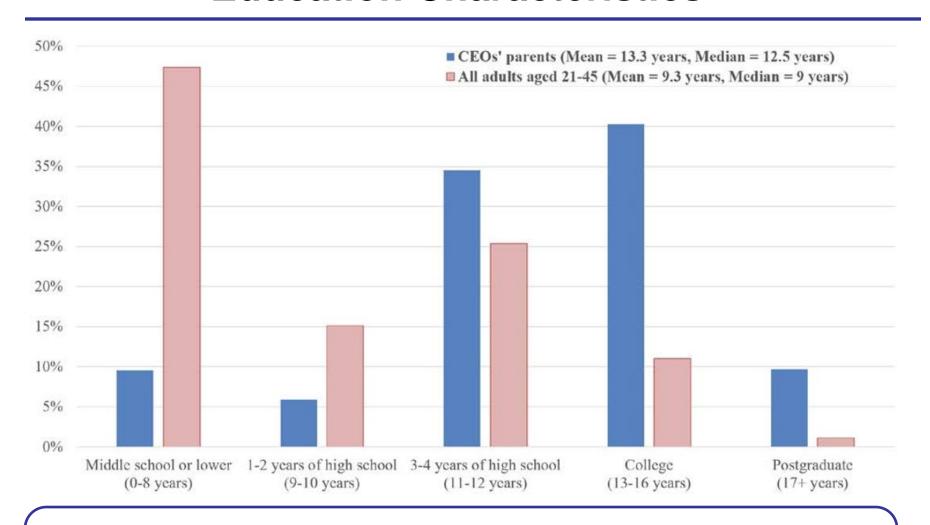
2. Which Families Do CEOs Come From?

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



CEOs' parents have 4 more years of education than the general population

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

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

Fomala division manager	-0.005**	-0.005***	-0.007***				
Female division manager	[2.218]	[3.463]	[3.709]				
Tenure at the firm	0.005***	0.004*	0.002				
ienure at the iirm	[2.617]	[1.889]	[0.799]				
Doufousses as assaud	0.004**	0.002*	0.004**				
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]				
December 2	0.004	0.002	0.001				
Board member	[1.205]	[0.637]	[0.105]				
_	0.001	0.001	0.001				
Age	[1.090]	[0.040]	[1.005]				
Division controls	Industry Tobin's Q, ROA,						
Division controls	size, core division indicator						
Firms controls	Si	ize, ROA, EPS	,				
Firm controls	number (of divisions, 1	ōbin's Q				
CEO controle	Age, external	board seats,	tenure with				
CEO controls	firm, gradua	ate degree, n	etwork size				
Fixed offects	Voor	Year,	Year, industry,				
Fixed effects	Year	industry	firm				
Adjusted R ²	0.062	0.294	0.575				

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.	Variable =	Division	CapEx
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Female division manager	-0.003 [1.473]	-0.003* [1.819]	-0.004** [2.072]	-0.002 [1.320]
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]
CEO education index		0.003** [2.049]		0.003* [1.903]
Female division manager x CEO education index		-0.004** [2.303]		-0.004** [2.447]
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	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year, industry firm F.E.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Adjusted R ²	0.584	0.580	0.578	0.592

CEOs' formative experiences explain 70+% of the gap

CEOs who grew up in male-dominated environments allocate less capital to female managers

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**	-0.312**	-0.236**
	[2.089]	[2.025]	[2.099]
Controls Year, industry, firm F.E. CEO * Firm F.E. Division Manager F.E. Adjusted R ²	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Yes	Yes	Yes
	No	Yes	Yes
	No	No	Yes
	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 channel
- ii. 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	dent variable	: ΔCapEx
Female division manager	0.005 [0.805]	-0.004 [0.674]	0.001 [0.417]
ΔCEO family index	0.013* [1.753]	_	Holding division managers constant
Female division manager x ΔCEO family index	-0.023* [1.883]		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 → effect unlikely to be explained by an omitted variable correlated with gender

5. Possible Explanations

Possible Explanations

- Statistical discrimination: 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

Dep. Variable = Audit Scores of Policies toward Females

	Promo	otion of we	omen and	V	Vork/life ber	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	

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** [2.051]	-0.014* [1.759]	-0.028* [1.855]
Tobin's Q	0.010** [2.355]	0.008** [2.229]	0.007** [2.148]
CEO imbalance index x Tobin's Q	-0.006* [1.860]	-0.004* [1.735]	-0.005 [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