

Getting to the top : trajectories for breaking through the glass ceiling in Morocco

Doha Sahraoui

IN **QUESTION(S) DE MANAGEMENT 2016/4 n° 15** , PAGES 57 TO 69

PUBLISHER **EMS ÉDITIONS**

ISSN 2262-7030

DOI 10.3917/qdm.164.0057

Uploaded: 03/08/2017

Article available online at

<https://shs.cairn.info/revue-questions-de-management-2016-4-page-57?lang=en>



Discover the contents of this issue, follow the journal by email, subscribe...
Scan this QR code to access the page for this issue on Cairn.info.



Electronic distribution Cairn.info for EMS Éditions.

You are authorized to reproduce this article within the limits of the terms of use of Cairn.info or, where applicable, the terms and conditions of the license subscribed to by your institution. Details and conditions can be found at cairn.info/copyright.

Unless otherwise provided by law, the digital use of these resources for educational purposes is subject to authorization by the Publisher or, where applicable, by the collective management organization authorized for this purpose. This is particularly the case in France with the CFC, which is the approved organization in this area.

Getting to the top: trajectories for breaking through the glass ceiling in Morocco

Accéder au Top Management :
trajectoires pour briser le plafond de verre au Maroc

Doha SAHRAOUI BENTALEB

Summary ■

Women and Glass ceiling are the problematic of the century for companies. Breaking the glass ceiling is one of the means to be performant and competitive. Researches try to understand how women make it and reach high levels in Management. In Morocco, breaking the glass ceiling is very important for economy and development. Even if the cultural barriers are very strong, some women are able to make it, and break the glass ceiling. This article, based on careers theories, tries to explore and analyze the trajectories of these Moroccan women who are part of the top Management.

■ **Keywords:** glass ceiling, Morocco, women's career, Top Management.

■ **Résumé**

Les femmes et le plafond de verre sont la problématique du siècle. Briser le plafond de verre est un des moyens pour les entreprises de s'assurer la performance et la compétitivité. Les recherches tentent de comprendre comment les femmes managers arrivent à briser le plafond de verre et atteindre les postes de top Management. Au Maroc, briser le plafond de verre est primordial pour les entreprises et l'économie du pays. Même si, les barrières culturelles sont fortes, certaines femmes y arrivent et brisent le plafond de verre. L'objectif de cet article, en se basant sur les théories des carrières, est d'explorer ainsi que d'analyser les trajectoires de ces femmes marocaines qui font partie du top management.

■ **Mots-clefs :** *plafond de verre, Maroc, carrières féminines, Top Management.*

INTRODUCTION

The Glass ceiling is the barrier which blocks women in their advancement. Many researches focus on the business case of Women presence in leadership positions. The aim goal is to proof that firms win when they break the glass ceiling. In order to break it, firms need first to understand deeply women's career. For many years, researches focused on comparing between women and men's careers (Super, 1957, Kirchemeyer, 1999). Another approach was to consider that all women's careers were similar just because they belong to the same gender. Nowadays, an increasing number of researches analyze differently this problematic: they do not follow the same trajectory just because they are women. Just as men, they make different choices, according to their situation, personality, and priorities. Their careers are even more singular when we consider different contexts. Morocco, the context of this research, presents cultural specificities that have an impact on the trajectories of women managers.

Our goal is not to describe barriers that block them, but to describe the trajectories' shape of those women who had succeeded to be managers in Moroccan companies.

The main question when women break the glass ceiling in the Moroccan firms is: how do they make it and which trajectories have they taken to achieve it? Do their trajectories present similarities? How did these women make it despite of a restrictive social context?

Based on theories of women's careers, the objective of this article is to analyze, through a qualitative empirical research, the careers of women managers who have managed to break the glass ceiling in Morocco.

1. Career trough the sex gender

Basically, For Peretti (2000), the career is the set of past, present and future. It could also be someone's succession of jobs. It should be noted that "The concept of career is difficult to define because its contours are often blurred. When some researchs limit it to the framework of professional development in a given organization, others have a much broader view including a set of experiences throughout life, cultural context and the type of contract or profession of employees: designs that represents career are different" (*Igalens, Roger, 2007, p. 186*).

If the career in general has received a flurry of studies as well as the interest of the research community, specificities of women's careers have long been implicit or ignored. Several researchers have shown the inadequacy of models, frameworks and definitions specific to women's career. The model's career has been constructed for the male gender, specific career assessment models correspond only to men, and it was considered that women could only be integrated into such models (Davidson, Burke, 1994). But recent researches shows that the reality is different. Women do not naturally fit into the model of the male's carrier, we can't not even compare male and female careers. Kirchemeyer (1999) suggests that comparing the careers of men and women is like comparing apples to oranges "*Women's Vs Men's managerial careers: Is this the case of comparing apples and oranges?*"

In order to understand the shape of women's career whom had succeeded, we will try in this first part to present most of the theories and research that deals with female carriers. First we will start with the GOS theory that is considered as the founding theory of female carriers; we will then highlight both French and Anglo-Saxon researches describing female carriers, and we will conclude with the synthesis of O'Neil, Hopkins and Bilimoria (2008) that summarize the various paradoxes surrounding the description of female carriers.

1.1. Theoretical frameworks for women's career

One of the most commonly used theoretical frameworks for understanding the differences between men and women's career is gender theory (Fagenson, 1990), more specifically the GOS approach (Gender Organization System). "*gender-organization-system (GOS) was used to explain the diversity of management style*: It recognises that men and women are different, but the organizational situations also influence the behavior of individuals (Fagenson, 1990, 1993). In this approach, the individual and the organization cannot be understood separately from the company. In addition, when an individual, organization, or system in which they are rooted change, all these components also change (Fagenson, 1993).

Many of the researches that have dealt with women's careers include part of the theory

of GOS and reflect the interaction between organizational, individual and social dynamics. Though, we could easily distinguish between the Anglo-Saxon works that were interested in determining career, and French studies that have focused on the lives of women and their identity construction through their career and family life. Women's career "is a search for identity, an identity based on renunciation nor any power and any career or the radical identification with the male model, in other words an identity based on dialectic between equality and difference" (Laufer, 1982, p.81).

1.2. Anglo-Saxon research on women's career

Following the basis of Anglo-Saxon works, Super (1957) was one of the first researches to identify the differences between women and men's career. For the author, women can have career just as men, but women do not have clear idea about their career choices that depend heavily on their marital status. Zytowski (1969) suggests three factors that influence women's careers: Women's age at the time of entry into the labor market, the extent and degree of participation in that market. Marshall (1989) demonstrates the absence of a female identity in research on careers for women, and calls for a new theoretical construction to understand women's career.

Larwood and Gutek (1987) suggest a list of five elements that we should pay attention to in women's careers: Career preparation, career opportunities available in society, the influence of marriage and pregnancy, children and age. For Rosen *et al.* (1989), the career motivations and needs of challenge are the same for men and women. But women have fewer opportunities than men to share ideas and get feedback from their superiors.

Lee (1993) reinforces the idea of a new approach to understanding women's careers. The author offers various models through which women integrate and manage their careers and family obligations. This categorization implies that some women clearly separate work and family, a sphere supersedes the other. While some women are heavily involved in both spheres, others choose a particular type of work and family style that allows them to combine the two easily. For the author there is not "one best way", each style has its advantages and disadvantages and

is suitable for one type of women and not the other.

Hackett (1997) identifies several factors that affect women's careers: The influence of parents, role socialization by gender and perceived self-efficacy. These factors determine if women opt or not for a certain occupation and sector. Gottfredson (2005), talks about the social roles including education which keep women confined out of several occupations such as the technical and power oriented functions, precisely the ones that lead to advancement and leadership positions.

Whitmarsh *et al.* (2007), studied women's careers in both groups: A group that performs in sectors that are dominated by women and another group called gender neutral. Despite differences in occupations, the results of these studies converge on the determinants of women's career. The most prominent is the choice of career centrality which operates on the basis of self-efficacy (Bandura, 2002), messages conveyed by society, and the weight of family responsibilities. The authors stresses on the double women's Day (Second Shift), after completing their day's work, they must perform other tasks and responsibilities within their homes.

1.3. French researches on women's career

Mostly Anglo-Saxon studies deal with the factors of women's career; other studies, generally French, take interest of female managers in companies. In 1979, Laufer developed the typical profiles of women managers:

- **The eminence brain:** This profile has a high status, and is known in her field for her expertise. She is attached to an influential power and involved in decisions informally.
- **Secretary extended:** Has a high position in an administrative or financial sphere. She is confined to the roles of preparation of records and is not involved in the decision making.
- **The university extended:** has an orientation in intellectual work, due to her specialized knowledge. She holds a high position of study and research
- **The technician:** Has technical knowledge and her hierarchical position is mediated by the technical expertise and defines the boundaries of her sphere of action.

Based on these profiles, career typologies were developed by the author. These types of

careers differ depending on the relation women take with femininity and the role that they can play in their carrier goals. Women can have similar careers to men, as they can have completely different trajectories (Harel Giasson, 1999). Femininity interferes with career paths.

In an analysis of women's identities within organizations and their relationship to work, Belle (1999) suggests that women are compared within two dimensions: The professional sphere and personal sphere. Their career is built on the basis of the possibilities offered by the organization, and the prioritization of a sphere over the other. Based on the interaction between these dimensions the author proposes a categorization:

- **The mummy manager:** Women executives listed in this category assign priority to their family, work is managed according to family constraints.
- **The ambivalent:** Between duty and desire, as the case may be attributed to the domestic sphere or the work one. The work is seen as an obligation, the family as a desire or vice versa, and the choices can be reversed to a second career stage.
- **The organization's wife:** The organization is at the center of the aspirations of the company, the woman fully integrates the obligations and opportunities offered by the organization. Unlike the mummy manager, in this case, it is the domestic sphere, which is organized according to the work.
- **The divided:** Occultation of privacy next to a professional project. This model career is a prism between two incompatible models.

All works on women's careers converge to the conclusion that women are not a homogeneous group or missed men (Aubert, 1982). They know that firms are a place of power predominantly owned by the male gender. Games of power between men and women build their professional identity. The social context and the domestic sphere have an impact on the career they carry out.

O'Neil, Hopkins, Bilimoria (2008) identify four patterns of women's career. Female carriers have to be approached through a model that includes family, private life, and social context. According to the same authors the definition of women's carrier continues to be influenced by the male carrier models. These authors investigated through articles published on female carriers, and identified paradoxes between the

reality of organizational practices and theoretical researches. According to the authors these patterns are:

"Pattern 1: Women's career comprises more than work, it is embedded in women's larger life's context.

Pattern 2: Families and careers are central to women's lives.

Pattern 3: Women's career paths reflect a wide range and variety of patterns

Pattern 4: Human Capital and social capital are critical factors for women's career development" (O'Neil, Hopkins, Bilimoria, 2008).

2. Women's career: Glass Ceiling or succeeding?

When it comes to women's careers, both success and career plateau are mutually exclusive and complementary. Whatever the direction taken by the career, there is a constant:

Women are not progressing as well as men, but they live their career plateau as a success (Sturges, 1999). They include other criteria in evaluating their career success; hierarchical advancement is part of the evaluation of success, but not a decisive one.

The limited number of women in decision-making positions in the world demonstrates the glass ceiling faced by women at work (Davidson, Burke, 2011). This situation is theorized by economists. Recent researches are conducted to explain the segregation of realizing why employers prefer to hire either men or women for certain jobs, and why women prefer some other positions (Rodhain Belghiti, 2001).

These authors argue, as a human capital, female staff is a lower level, given the capabilities it brings to the market, more expensive and more often absent than male staff. The theory of labor market segmentation distinguishes between the primary and secondary sectors, the static and dynamic jobs, as well as the formal and informal sectors. Depending on the competition and the levels of remuneration offered by the firms in each sector, women find themselves confined to certain activities. Other models, including those of Becker and Arrow (1972, 1973) explain that discrimination against women is not only a decision based on maximizing profits. They believe that the productivity of women and men are equal, but male employers are looking to increase their non-monetary utility by favoring other men in employment.

The founding theories of segmentation work originally developed by Doeringer and Piore (1971), Piore (1978), have been widely reported and subsequently adapted in explaining different segmentations. The theory of statistical discrimination, initiated by Phelps (1972), explains that discrimination in the job market is due to imperfect information. It argues that employers, in the absence of reliable information on the qualifications of employees, use of easily observable characteristics such as sex, race, age and tend to favor the dominant group. This behavior led to discrimination in favor of men, given the statistical trends observed.

2.1. The Glass Ceiling

If there is abundance of economic explanations of segregation, we can point out their limitations because of the theories used based on the inferiority of the female staff qualifications. Today, in fact, women have the same qualifications as men but do not have access to decision-making positions.

Careers' theories deflect notions of success and cap. Success is an accomplishment in the organization along with the satisfaction of individuals in relation to their achievements (Judge *et al.* 1999). The cap, or limit, refers to a stop position where career advancement opportunities are low. The aim of this paragraph is to present these concepts for a better understanding of women's situation.

The figurative expression of "glass ceiling" or "glass ceiling" appeared in the famous book of Ann Morrison, Randal White and Ellen Van Velsor (1987) "Breaking the Glass Ceiling". They define the glass ceiling as "The set of artificial barriers created by behavioral or organizational prejudice, which prevent qualified individuals to advance within their organization." This image of the glass ceiling was then reinforced following a Wall Street Journal article. According to the ILO (1997), "the glass ceiling designates "artificial invisible barriers created by behavioral and organizational prejudices that prevent women's access to the highest responsibilities. The term glass ceiling illustrates the fact that when there is no objective reason why women do not rise, as do the men to the highest functions, there is an inherent discrimination structures and organizational arrangements of businesses in which the company operates". Laufer (1995) defines the glass ceiling as "all visible or invisible bar-

riers that may account for a certain scarcity of women in positions of power and decision-making in public organizations, companies, but also associations or unions ". Other more poetic or more striking expressions have been used to focus on the situation of women within companies. Among them are "picking edelweiss" (Meynaud, 1988) to image the scarcity of women in top management spheres of a French public company. Another expression, "Pipe pierced", used by the European Commission (2000), refers to the evaporation of women from leaving education university professor rank.

2.2. Women's career success

The same formula that leads to career success for men has no impact on the career success of women. Studies show that the subjective success is more representative for the concept of women's career success (Henning and Jardim, 1978, Nicholson and West, 1988). For women, professional career is one component among others in a successful life. This implies an interesting job, challenges, and the ability to balance work and personal life (Asplund, 1988; Marshall, 1984; Powell, Mainiero, 1992, Sturges, 1999, Bastid, 2007).

Dann (1995), shows that women have less success than men because of career breaks. However, the perception of career success remains the same. The author concludes that women enjoy their successful career based on different criteria than those used by men. Lemire and Saba (2002) reveal a sense of subjective career success higher than men, even if they occupy lower positions. Nevertheless, women have the same aspirations as men when it comes to salary, promotion and status.

Based on a study conducted by (Sturges, 1999) on career success for men and women, the author presents to the following categorization:

- **Climbers:** Describe their success in terms of external criteria including salary and promotions. Their definition of success is close to the traditional definition. Their goals are set and they have developed clear strategies to achieve these goals. Climbers take pleasure to work, and appreciate the organization in which they operate. They have a very high competitive spirit and do not attach great importance to internal criteria of success as the fulfillment or realization. This category is only represented by men.

- **Experts:** For experts, career success is linked to the acquisition of a high level of expertise in the organization. Their success is the result of organizational recognition of their expertise. Progress for them is a way to acquire more expertise and competence. This category is dominated by women respondents.
- **The influencers:** The goal for influencers is to leave a trace within the organization. The purpose is not hierarchical advancement in itself, but the influence that comes with the position they occupy. The internal criteria of success are important, particularly achievement which is connected to what they can accomplish in their business. The recognition is also important not for the value but for the influence it provides. This category includes almost as many men as women.
- **The auto-realisateur:** The objective lies in realization and self-fulfillment through work. Career success is understood and expressed in terms of internal criteria of success, including family work balance. Hierarchical position, status and salary are not a priority. Career success is closer to personal fulfillment. This category is dominated only by women.

At the end of the study (Sturges, 1999) noted that no woman is in the category of climbers. According to the author, while the career is perceived by men as a competition where success is the result of a competitive game where the winner takes all the market, the perception is quite different for women. Career for women is built with milestones and targets to achieve. The challenge is not to be the winner but not to be left out. Women according to Sturges (1999) were more likely to describe their careers with references to valuation criteria and recognition. The content of the work is crucial to the success of the hierarchical career. Women perceive external success criteria differently from men. The salary and advancement are important but not central. These criteria represent for women an acknowledgment signal from the organization, a way to gain more influence and have the opportunity to do more interesting work. Sturges (1999) joined previous studies and concluded that career success is perceived by women globally, as component of a successful life, while for men career success leads to success of life.

The affirmation of Coffey (1994) on the importance of spending long hours at work for career success remains true. The dedication and the

long hours spent at work are crucial for career success (Bastid, 2007). Tough spending long hours at work and reconciling work and family is not easy for executive women, in this sense their perception of career success will depend on what is manageable for them.

Different approaches have been developed to understand why women are as satisfied as men with lower wages and positions, and why they are more satisfied than men with equal acquired rights.

For women, career stops when advancement opportunities are always present in organizations, because of the glass ceiling. From our review of the literature we can conclude that the way to break the glass ceiling is not clearly pre-defined. Several options could be taken, and factors of advancement are sometimes mutually exclusive. These options are even more ambiguous when it comes to dealing with careers of women managers in Morocco. Culture has more impact on the shape careers in a country that saw its first generation of female managers just a decade or less ago. We try to highlight women's trajectories in Moroccan context: how do they make it and which trajectories have they taken to achieve it? Do their trajectories present similarities? How did these women make it despite of a restrictive social context?

To answer these questions, we undertook an empirical research with women executives who broke the glass ceiling in order to analyze their careers and their experiences of women managers.

3. How to make it: The case of female managers in Morocco

Although the problem of Western women's careers may seem far from Moroccan priorities, women matter for the Moroccan economy.

A package of reforms was implemented to allow a real evolution of the situation of women in Morocco. Thus, the education index of gender parity achieved in 2008/2009 is 89% in elementary education, 80% in junior high, 97% in high schools and 90% in higher education.

Nevertheless, the evolution of women's situation in Morocco is not only related to economical matters. The Moroccan women are prisoners of all the cultural, religious and social dimensions, which are the strongest obstacles against any change of the status of women.

In 2013, according to the Global Gender Gap,

Morocco was ranked 129th of 136 nations, after the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. According to the report, Morocco marks no change in its ranking since 2006. It should be noted that this classification can be explained not only by the poor performance of the country, but also by the weakness of the writings and reports on the subject. The few references are from the High Commission for Planning (HCP), or studies that give a partial and not comprehensive view of the situation.

In Morocco, the survey quoted in the introduction shows that the rate of women in the boards is 11% in listed companies and 7% in Top500 companies. The evolution of the situation of women is still new but the pressure to force these changes is intense, Nouamane Guessous (1993).

Under the influence of international organizations, the economic imperative and ratified international conventions, women are now, for the Moroccan government, a key driver of development.

In this context, the feminization of management positions becomes imperative for Moroccan companies. However, Moroccan women still represent only 11% of governance members.

Moroccan companies are now obliged to meet these requirements and integrate women equally with men. Similarly, Moroccan companies have always aspired to modernity (Mezouar, 1998). The integration of women in Moroccan companies fits in the quest for modernity, and is in line with legal requirements.

If it's clear that Moroccan women and companies have to break the glass ceiling, it is still necessary to know women's career in order to implement appropriate practices to promote them in Morocco. In this sense, our empirical research will analyze women's career of those who broke the glass ceiling in Morocco.

3.1. Methodology

To respond to our initial problem, the methodology is inductive based on qualitative interviews. The exploratory nature of the Moroccan context, but also the weakness of models of women's careers, has led us to this methodology. We constructed an interview guide for women managers, based on our review of the literature. The aim goal is to take the basic items while allowing freedom to executive women to talk about their careers.

We conducted interviews with women who are in leadership positions in six major Moroccan companies: Department Head or Division Head in every business, a correspondent has been named to put us in touch with the profiles and facilitate contact. We then contacted these women directly to arrange appointments.

All interviews were recorded and transcribed. We conducted 35 interviews with female managers. Transcripts resulted in 245 pages word "New York Times" size 12, 1.5 line spacing. We have coded interviews, based on theoretical frameworks for closed codes and open codes for the new items. We have used N'Vivo. As a first step, we coded 10 interviews, in an initial grouping of topics based on categories from our conceptual framework, then by analogy to the open codes. In a second step, we have coded the 25 interviews remained. We also performed a double coding that enabled us to reach 85.3% of liability.

3.2. Results analysis

It appears that the characteristics of our sample are fairly homogeneous. Women managers are mostly married with two children on average. They come from the upper classes, fathers are active and educated, and mothers are housewives. Spouses also hold important positions.

Women managers encountered mainly led their career in the same company and accumulate an average of 15 years of professional experience. Thematic analysis of the careers of women managers has led us to distinguish three categories of career-related profiles of the women concerned; that we denote by: resigned, experts and careerists. These categories consist of nine sub-categories, which are further subdivided into

27 items. Below, we present these different categories and the related items .

- **The resigned:** represents a class of career, defined primarily by the corporate HR policies, and the priority given to the domestic sphere. The category of resigned is defined by:

- **A progress related to the organization:** which translates into positive organizational policies for gender equality, and also a personality marked by a certain fatalistic view of life. Resigned paths were determined by the organization policies encouraging promotion of women. They are in positions of responsibility because it is in the

evolution of things. It is their company that decided their evolution. These women have adapted to the needs and changes without seeking to understand more or search for better opportunities.

"so I was financial accounting then I went to management as assistant to the CFO. Then I became a General Director assistant for ten years, after that I joined the HR department as head of department management."

Being lucky is important for resigned careers:

women have not chosen objectively their business, but are found in these companies and these routes by chance. The choice was made on the basis of very subjective criteria that are not in direct contact with the progress, as the proximity of the business, or an ad in a newspaper.

"At first when I agreed to work for it was especially close, I had no car! and then it was a good, we worked in a good atmosphere"

Fatalistic personality: Women in this kind of trajectory have a fatalistic personality. They are constrained without wanting to get free, they are aware that they could move more but integrate social constraints, and resign themselves to them. They cannot manage important responsibilities while managing their family household tasks. They manage to better their family responsibilities and advance in their career as well as allow the organization.

"Hey it's a shame, I wanted to finish my career on a high note as they say but it was a little lame towards the end, it's not a big deal though"

Family Low support environment: Resigned try somehow to overcome the lack of support around them to handle their professional tasks. They juggle between these constraints and their responsibilities at home that they cannot let down.

"I have not missed school and I have not chosen a small degree, no, but I have to get married, I sacrificed my dreams and here I am"

'We are trying to manage, sometimes through lies to our, small white lie here and there, but that's how it is for women'

• **The experts:**

The experts have a type of career where advancement was guided by the research of learning and expertise. Women who find themselves in this kind of progress do not necessarily want to reach positions of Management, but the expertise and learning they seek is combined with this kind of posts.

The experts are the most important part of our sample; they represent the perfect balance between career and private life. The category of experts is built around four determinants:

The desire for learning: Women managers in this category are motivated by training within and outside the organization. They are fully invested in their organizations and in projects to be pursued, they identify with their jobs and their organizations.

"I'm going to do my job even if I have to stay until 3am, because I am the type of person that when I commit myself to something I'll do it, no matter what"

The desire of learning and expertise led these women to want to lead new projects constantly. They change positions and wish to implement new things as they gain expertise. They have broken the glass ceiling, not to have management positions, but because they were looking for newness in every step they crossed.

'In fact, I have the impression that after every six months I must change, I like the beginning when nothing is set up, when you have to build everything and then enjoy the moment where everything works on its own and just after that I find myself asking what's new? and then looking for something new to do.'

Moderating hierarchical advancement: In this type of trajectory, women managers limit their advancement and are aware of all the constraints which may result in accepting such responsibilities. However, they do not attempt to access more responsibility, but to increase their expertise. This fear of advancement is even stronger when it comes to multinational firms, for veiled women and in an event of pregnancy. In Multinational firms, advancement is the equivalent of expatriation: Women are aware of the constraints that would result from a departure from family abroad, and they therefore limited their own advancement because they could not go abroad while leaving their families, or stop the career of their spouses to get a promotion. For veiled women, the ambiguity related to the management of veiled women is built in all women. They limit themselves their progress to avoid constraints and barriers that are related to their veils.

"If I take the management position, I must give the max, it will be at the expense of other things, my children, my family, something I cannot manage. And I do not know, maybe the veil is also a constraint."

In case of pregnancy, the experts prevent their companies to avoid getting the label of “the one betraying” the business. To manage motherhood they couldn't take more responsibilities.

“I said be careful, I'm pregnant I do not want to take more responsibility immediately. Because I've already gone through a bad experience, I wanted to ease things on a little bit”

Get accustomed to others: The experts in relation to their positions operate in a world of men. Mechanisms of the glass ceiling, including stereotypes and networks are barriers that women must overcome permanently. They are forced to adapt to this world's decision makers, where, in general, they represent the first generation of women. They opt for the communication to be accepted. They include teams of men communicating and trying to embrace the old rules without compromising their femininity.

“I put them at ease, without imposing the fact that I am a woman, it is a choice, I am with them, I feel good with them, I made sure that they accept me and they include me in the group with them.”

Family Support which refers to: spousal support, parental support, identity cleavage. This subcategory is common between the experts and careerists. Support environment, is the element that makes the difference between the categories of experts and careerists compared to the resigned. While resigned only receive little support from their environment, careerists and experts have strong support that allows them to handle the work family conflict. The majority of respondents are married, the spouse's role is crucial. In both cases, experts and careerists, the spouse is presented as an exceptional person who fully understands their private constraints, and supports them in their career.

“My husband has done the same school than me. And he's proud of everything I've done. I'm lucky he is very understanding”

In the case of careerists and experts, parents play a key role in the careers of women managers. Family or in-laws play a double role. First they take all family responsibilities when women managers are absent, and allow psychological support knowing that children are supervised by their grandparents. They represent the true relay for women managers between professional responsibilities and strong family constraints. Second, the parents' pride of their daughters trajectories, is a source of motivation for them. Self-efficacy of experts and careerists

is essentially related to their parents. The parental approval is a sign of success in the private sphere.

“I see that my parents are proud of me. I'm sure they are, in fact for them if I do not advance is that there is a problem; especially compared with before where lot of traveling was involved (abroad and here), etc. Now they say maybe my career has stagnated”.

• **Careerists:** The careerists are an advancement path where women plan and decide the future direction of their careers. The goal is to break the glass ceiling whatever happens. They have strong support from those around them as the experts, but they always try to go further, to excel. However, they are not in the negative model of career that eliminates the private sphere. Women in this category are on both fronts: business and private, they manage their privacy with the same method and rigor that they do their professional lives. Their successful model allows no fault nor in the professional sphere nor the private one, they are not willing to make sacrifices on a sphere or the other, but rather, concessions without changing goals.

Get imposed: “Plan a career, set goals, and desire to move forward” personality fighter. To deal with stereotypes and to integrate a predominantly male world, careerists are required to have both skill and perseverance. They prove their competence; they deserve their position and present themselves as an asset to their businesses and team. They persevere despite the constraints, and sometimes take innovative initiatives to overcome barriers and achieve their goals for advancement.

Managing career: career planning, goal setting, desire to move forward are personality traits of women managers who pursue this type of career as they leave no room for chance. The choice of the company is part of a plan decided at the outset, their career is the result of a set of logical and reasoned choice, whose ultimate goal is the advancement. They enhance their skills and achievements and inform internal and external all these opportunities.

Discussion:

In our research, we move forward as the first result that women's careers as managers within Moroccan confirm still a classic. The majority of respondents have spent their entire career in the same company, or in some rare

cases started by one or two companies before spending a large part of their career in the same organization where they are still evolving.

If the personal determinants based on the model of Turner (1960) predict the direction of the career of the individual, in the case of female Moroccan manager's careers, these factors do not check like the advanced researches (Sturges, 1999; Kirchemeyer, 1999). Generally, the careers of these women match the work of Aubert (1982), which remain valid: Women are not a homogeneous category or men missed, the professional identity of women is built according to the social environment and family constraints (Aubert, 1982). Women's career is as a compromise between individual will and opportunities within the organization (Pigeyre, 2001). This compromise, in our research has three possible variations: The resigned, experts and careerists.

The resigned: The resigned is a woman whose career anchor is an anchor of security (Schein, 1978, 1996). Profiles leading this type of career are loyal to organizational rules in a perspective of long-term employment. They are also consistent with social norms and highlight the domestic sphere and submit the professional dimension to the constraints of the private sphere. This profile matches the first profile of Laufer's categorization (Laufer, 1982) "submit to the difference". They have to accept the choice between career and private life, and resign themselves to the social pressure. This profile also joined the profile of "mummy manager" presented by (Belle, 1999), where the woman gives priority to the family, and for whom the work is managed according to family constraints.

The resigned nonetheless arrive to break the glass ceiling, and if they manage to do this is through the organization and the opportunities offered by it, the company rewards their loyalty.

The experts: The experts represent a career profile where women are constantly learning. Their goal in the organization is to conduct innovative projects and increase their knowledge. Referring to the categorization (Schein, 1978, 1996), the anchor of these women is technology. Career choices of experts are based on the love of the dexterity and excellence in the workplace, regardless of vertical promotions and power issues. These women also prefer to build projects and build new ideas. This profile is similar to the second type of career by Laufer (1982): "the recognition of difference". It also

corresponds to the "experts" categorization of Sturges (1999). One can also argue that the way the experts manage the balance between personal and professional spheres approaches the profile "ambivalent" presented by Belle (1999), where women on a priority basis, attach importance to either the professional sphere or the private sphere.

The experts presents themselves as consultants (Sturges, 1999), and this status is the base of their relationship with their employees. They integrate a man's world with communication, and accompany their teams by providing advice and emotional support. The progress of experts is largely due to their research training. Reaching high positions is not an end in itself, these women are only slightly interested in the problems of supervision or management positions, but advancement allows them to carry out new projects and increase their field expertise. For these women to focus on learning itself is the best balance between the desire to make a career, have a family life, and adapt to a world of men.

The careerist: This third type of career fits the profile described by (Sturges, 1999): climbers. Women managers set goals and have developed clear strategies to achieve these goals. Their career anchor is the managerial anchor (Schein, 1978, 1996), which is characterized by the exercise of power and leadership. They put forward their external success criteria and display clear objectives to achieve the highest positions in the hierarchy. Careerists take pleasure to work and have a high competitive spirit. Despite the presence of careers devoted to the organization, these women are not "organization's wife" within the meaning of (Belle, 1990). In our research, careerists refuse the logic of career choice and privacy. They succeed equally well in both areas, and are working with the same method and rigor in which they manage their careers to manage their family.

Indeed, in the analysis of the portrait of women managers, we must take into account the social context of Morocco. If the resigned and the experts accept concessions on their professional lives to keep the balance between their professional and their private sphere, careerists cannot afford to compromise on their family life. Their professional success would not be considered a success in life in the absence of the domestic sphere, they then manage both spheres. This profile approaches the 4th type of career

described by Laufer (1982), where women claim the difference, and they reject the choice of private life or career.

Careerists are fighting for their teams and managers as needed in the traditional sense. Progress depends on careerists themselves and to a lesser extent on the company. Careerists fight, have the desire to advance, and are aware of issues of power and struggles within the company. They implement strategies and actions to achieve their goals, and are responsible for managing their privacy and adapting their professional ambitions.

The omnipresence of work / family conflict

Marital status of women managers interviewed highlights the work / family conflict (Greenhauss, Bettel, 1985). There are several controversial researches on the impact of marital status and the number of children on the advancement of women. Our results are consistent with those of (Burgess, Tharenou, 2002) which suggest that the majority of women leaders are married with children, but also the results of (Briere, 2006) which led to the same conclusion with Moroccan women managers in public administration. If, Cook, Heppner and O'Brien (2002; 2008) support this idea by arguing that theories of career continue to reflect a world of men with clear boundaries between the domestic sphere and the professional sphere. However, the literature shows that the barriers are deeply reduced between these two spheres when it comes to women. These arguments are more effective in the case of Moroccan women's managers.

If the personal determinants can predict the direction of the career-offs between family and working life conditions the career choices of women managers in Morocco.

The social role of women in Morocco imposes homemaking and family responsibilities as primary responsibility. However, parents of girls seem to play an important role in overthrowing a social trend. Parents encourage their daughters to invest in the professional sphere, they also allow flout social responsibility by supporting these responsibilities themselves, and especially mothers who are mostly housewives. These results also join results of (Briere, 2006). (Baudoux, 2000) shows that parents can provide initial benchmarks for the advancement of Women.

Women are also optimistic about their husbands who support them in their careers and in their progress. However, motivations of supporting

are different. If, for some it is financial need, for others it is unconditional and is part of a personality described as exceptional. The few single women met argue that their choice of future spouse fully integrates the acceptance condition of their career choices and resulting work patterns. These results are consistent with those of several authors on the role of the spouse in women's careers (Adler, Izraeli, 1988, Omar and Davidson, 2001; Briere, 2006).

Work and family conflict presents itself as a dialectical contradiction in the lives of women managers. It is rooted in the social construction of mental and individuals in society (Bourdieu, 1998), and these are the same people, including close relatives of women who support these responsibilities to enable women to invest all, as a man, in their professional careers.

Arguably, the work / family conflict for women managers in Morocco join the Turkish trend of researches. In fact, many Turkish authors (Carikci, 2002) favor a non-Western perspective to the understanding of work / family conflict in some Mediterranean societies where family solidarity and the presence of domestic help relieve women.

However, women should manage both dimensions; depending on their career goals and the weight of the domestic sphere, they opt for choices based on criteria that seem crucial to them. These choices are similar to the model (Mainiero, Sullivan, 2005). These authors present three criteria that underlie the choice of women engaged in a career (Authenticity, Balance, Challenge) and take the form of answers to the following questions: (Mainiero, Sullivan, 2005):

"- *Authenticity: Is the choice I make allows me to be in agreement with myself, with my core values?*

- *Balance (Balance): If I make this career choice, can I balance the different areas of my life into a coherent whole?*

- *Challenge (challenge): If I make this career choic, would I be challenged enough?*" (Bastid, 2007, p.382)

According to these criteria, women make choices about the priority of a sphere or the other, and how each sphere will be managed. Whatever choice is made, it appears that: The perception of work / family conflict and identity's cleavage are a constant. Perception of work/family conflict by managers (Hoobler, Wayne, Lemmon, 2009) is a real obstacle for women.

The second concerns the constant identity's cleavage (Belle, 1990) of women managers. These women feel guilty for not being able to give more time to family. This feeling of guilt has been cited by several researches done in the field (Adler and Izraeli, 1988), because even when women are able to manage different areas, they feel guilty.

CONCLUSION

Our research presents a new categorization of women's career. They break the glass ceiling, but for different reasons, and in different levels. They could be resigned, experts or careerists. These careers are mostly like the western typology, but different when it comes to managing the work family sphere. The way these women perceive it, and depending on their goals, their family support, they chose different ways. This categorization could be interesting to international firms operating in oriental contexts. HRM could be adapted to this new typology, when it comes to oriental contexts where women could never let down their family obligations. As every qualitative research, this typology needs to be confirmed by quantitative methods to generalize the results. Also, the quantitative methods could be interesting for having cartography of women's career trajectories in Morocco.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adler N.J., Izraeli D N. (1988), *Women in management worldwide*, New York, M.E.Sharp inc.
- Asplund G.(1988), *Women managers: changing organizational cultures*, John wiley.
- Aubert N. (1982), *Le pouvoir usurpé ? Femmes et hommes dans l'entreprise*, Robert Laffont.
- Bandura A. (2002), *Self efficacy : the exercise of control*, Freeman
- Bastid F. (2007), *La réussite de carrière des cadres : une approche selon le genre par la méthode des récits de vie*, Thèse de doctorat, Université Paul Cézanne, Aix Marseille III.
- Belghiti S. (2002), Etude exploratoire sur le plafond de verre : la perception du rôle de l'organisation dans la production de cette situation limitée, XVI^e journées des IAE.
- Belghiti S., Rodhain F. (2001), « Les femmes constituent-elles un potentiel pour l'entreprise ? », *La revue des sciences de gestion*, n°190-191, p.107-121.
- Belle F. (1999), « Les femmes cadres. Quelles différences dans la différence ? », in J.F. Chanlat J.F. (dir.), *L'individu dans l'organisation les dimensions oubliées*, ESKA, p. 431-466.
- Bourdieu P. (1998), *La domination masculine*, Editions du seuil.
- Brière S. (2006), *La Progression des femmes dans des postes de direction dans l'administration publique en Tunisie et au Maroc*, Thèse de doctorat, ENAP, Canada.
- Cook E.P., Heppner M.J., O'brien K.M. (2002), "Career development of women of color and white women: assumptions, conceptualization, and interventions from an ecological perspectives", *The career development quarterly*, n°50, vol.4, p.37.
- Crosby F. (1976), "A model of egoistical relative deprivation", *Psychological Review*, n°83, p. 85-113.
- Dann S. (1995), "Gender differences in self – perceived success", *Women in Management review*, n°8, vol.10, p.11-18.
- Davidson M.J., R.J Burke (1994), *Women in management: current research issues*, Paul Chapman publishing ltd.
- Davidson J.M., J.R. Burke (dir.) (2011), *Women In management worldwide: progress and prospects*, Gower e-Book.
- Doeringer P., Piore M. (1971), *Internal labour markets and manpower analysis*, Lexington.
- Fagenson E.A. (1990), "At the heart of women in management research: Theoretical and methodological approaches and their biases", *Journal of business ethics*, vol.9, p.267-274.
- Fagenson E.A. (1993), *Women in management trends: issues and challenges in managerial diversity*, Sage publications.
- Gottfredson L. S. (2005), "Applying Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise in career guidance and counseling", In S. D. Brown, R. W. Lent (dir.), *Career development and counseling: Putting theory and research to work*, Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, p.71-100.
- Greenhaus J.H., N.J. Beuttel (1985), "Sources of conflict between work and family roles", *Academy of management Review*, n°10.
- Guessous S.N. (1993), *Au-delà de toute pudeur*, Eddif.
- Hackett G. (1997), "Promise and problems in theory and research on women's career development", *Journal of counseling psychology*, n°44, vol.2, p.184-188.

- Harel Giasson F. (1999), Femmes gestionnaires-l'actrice et l'organisation, In J.F. Chanlat, *L'individu dans l'organisation : les dimensions oubliées*, ESKA, p.407-416.
- Heslin P.A. (2005), "Conceptualizing and evaluating career success", *Journal of Organizational behavior*, vol.26, n°2, p. 113 - 136.
- Henning M. et Jardim A. (1978), *Carrière de Femmes*, Paris, Presses de la Renaissance.
- Hoobler J.M., S. Wayne, G. Lemmon (2009), "Bosses perceptions of family-work conflict and women's promotability: glass ceiling effects", *Academy of Management Journal*, 2009, vol.52, n°5, 939-957.
- Igalens J. (2008), Le talent du griot : un défi pour le manager hyper moderne, Les cahiers de la CRSDD, collection recherche, n°05-2008.
- Kirchmeyer C. (1999), Women's vs men's managerial careers: is this a case of comparing apples and oranges?, *Annual Meeting of the academy of Management*, Chicago.
- Larwood L. et B. Gutek (1987), "Working toward a theory of women's career development" in Gutek B.A., L. Larwood, *Women's career development*, Sage, p.170.
- Laufer J. (1979), « Sociologie du cadre féminin », *Revue française de gestion*, Mai - Juin.
- Laufer J. (1982), *La féminité neutralisée : les femmes cadres dans l'entreprise*, Flammarion.
- Lee M.D. (1993), "Women's involvement in professional careers and family life: theme and variations", *Business and the contemporary world*, n°3, vol.5, p. 106.
- Lemire L. et Saba T. (2002), « Le défi de la gestion des carrières dans les organisations publiques : un examen de la notion de succès de carrière, de ses déterminants et de ses conséquences », *Revue de Gestion des Ressources Humaines*, n°43, p. 50-67.
- Mainiero L.A., Sullivan S.E. (2005), « Kaleidoscope careers: An alternate explanation for the "opt-out" revolution », *Academy of Management Executive*, n°1, vol.19, p.106-123.
- Marshall J. (1989), "Re-visioning career concepts: a feminist invitation", in Arthur M.B., D.T. Hall, B.S. Lawrence, *Handbook of Career Theory*, Cambridge University Press, p.275-291.
- Mezouar A. (dir.) (1998), *L'entreprise marocaine et la modernité*, Centre d'études et de recherche des dirigeants /LMS conseil.
- Omar, A., Davidson, M. (2001), "Women in Management: a comparative cross-cultural overview ", *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, vol.8
- O'Neil D., Hopkins MM., Bilimoria D. (2008), "Women's careers at the start of the 21st Century: Patterns and paradoxes", *Journal of Business Ethics*.
- Phelps E. S. (1972), "The Statistical Theory of Racial and Sexism", *American Economic Review*, n°62, p.659-661.
- Pigeyre F. (2001), Femmes dirigeantes : les chemins du pouvoir, in Bouffartigue P. (2001), *Cadres la grande rupture*, la découverte.
- Piore M. (1978), "Dualism in the labor market : A response to uncertainty and flux : The case of France", *Revue économique*, n°1.
- Powell G.N., L.A. Mainiero (1992), "Cross-currents in the river of time: conceptualizing the complexities of women's careers", *Journal of Management*, n°2, p.215.
- Rosen B., M. Miguel, E. Pierce (1989), "Stemming the Exodus of women managers", *Human Resource Management*, n°28, vol.4, p.435-491.
- Schein E.H. (1978), *Career Dynamics: Matching Individual and Organizational Needs*, Reading Ma, Addison-Wesley.
- Schein E.H. (1996), Career Anchors Revisited: Implications for Career Development in the 21st Century, MIT Sloan School of Management, February.
- Sturges J. (1999), "What it means to succeed: Personal conceptions of career success held by male and female managers at different Ages", *British Journal of Management*, vol.10, 239-252.
- Sturges J., D. Guest (2004), "Working to live or living to work? Work life balance early in the career", *Human resource Management journal*, vol.14, p.5-20.
- Super D.E. (1957), *The Psychology of Careers*, New-York, Harper.
- Wailly J. M. (2004), *Les différentes phases du travail des femmes dans l'industrie*, DeBoeck.
- Whitmarsh L., D. Brown, J. Cooper, Y. Hawkins-Rodgers, D.K. Wentworth (2007), "Choices and challenges: A qualitative exploration of professional women's career patterns", *The Career Development Quarterly*, n°55, 225-236.
- Zytowski D.G. (1969), "Toward a theory of career development for women", *Personnel and guidance journal*, n°47, 660-661