

advances.sciencemag.org/cgi/content/full/6/48/eabd7664/DC1

Supplementary Materials for

Evidence that investors penalize female founders for lack of industry fit

Dana Kanze*, Mark A. Conley, Tyler G. Okimoto, Damon J. Phillips, Jennifer Merluzzi

*Corresponding author. Email: dkanze@london.edu.

Published 25 November 2020, *Sci. Adv.* **6**, eabd7664 (2020)

DOI: 10.1126/sciadv.abd7664

This PDF file includes:

Supplementary text
Figs. S1 to S3
References

Supplementary Text

Below we provide additional sample coding and methodological detail.

Study 1

We captured data for every venture that launched at US-based TechCrunch Disrupt “TCD” competitions, which have taken place across launch locations of San Francisco (launch location = 1) and New York (launch location = 0), from inception in 2010 through the latest launch batch in 2018 at the time of our data retrieval (launch year mean = 2013, SD = 2.35). As each TCD participant and respective venture has a corresponding Crunchbase entry, we were able to obtain individual data points of information from venture and founding CEO Crunchbase profiles. If a venture has raised funding, each round will be listed on the Crunchbase profile, as well as the aggregate funds raised amount or, in certain instances, the label “undisclosed” will appear for the raised amount; 392 ventures had either zero for their funding rounds (\$0 raised) or fully-disclosed funding amounts for all rounds.

We were able to verify founder and venture values against LinkedIn profiles, venture websites, company press releases, and TCD videos. For instance, we could confirm founding CEO gender ($F = 1$) by cross-referencing Crunchbase photo and name data against videos of their TCD launch pitches. We converted founding CEO age information to ordinal values (0, 1, 2) to indicate whether the founding CEO was younger than, roughly equivalent to, or older than the 43.2 average of tech entrepreneurs with high growth new ventures (57). We were also able to capture operating status (binary 0, 1 value of closed vs. not closed) of each venture from Crunchbase. We separately obtained serial entrepreneurship and years of experience values but found they were not additive to our interaction models, likely because the models already accounted for other proxies of quality (TCD performance) and experience (age); this is also consistent with past Lack of Fit model research regarding the perpetuation and confirmation of gendered expectations (22-26).

We arrived at our continuous measure of BLS Percentage (mean = 44.32, SD = 17.85) using the “women as percentage of total employed by detailed industry category” obtained from the “2019 annual averages of employed persons by detailed industry, sex, race, and Hispanic or Latino ethnicity” available via the BLS (2). Table 2 shows a significant positive correlation of In funding with venture quality (binary 0, 1 value indicating whether the venture was a contestant

or a finalist at TCD, consistent with (16) findings on influence of status) and with operating status (binary 0, 1 value of closed vs. not closed) but a significant negative correlation of \ln funding with founding CEO gender ($F = 1$), as predicted. Notably, founding CEO gender does not have a significant correlation with key covariates such as venture quality, helping to rule out the alternative explanation that female-led ventures receive less funding because they are objectively inferior to male-led ventures.

For additional comparisons, we also converted our continuous BLS Percentage measure of industry gender dominance into female-dominated (56% of higher women employed) versus gender-neutral (45% through 55% women employed) versus male-dominated (44% or lower women employed) industry categories, corresponding to thresholds utilized for robustness tests conducted in recent work on gender-dominated sectors (48). Note that a preliminary (pilot) study conducted in advance of Study 1 involving blind coding of the industries as either female- or male-oriented arrived at similar results in terms of both direction of effects and their significance levels. Prior to finalizing our full model with control measures, we performed our main analyses testing for the interaction effect of founding CEO gender and industry gender dominance on logged funding by using alternatives, such as a binary industry gender dominance classification (female-dominated if greater than 50% women employed, male-dominated if less than 50% women employed) and tightened thresholds for gender neutrality (e.g. approximately 48 through 52% women employed), achieving consistent statistically significant regression results.

Although ancillary to the paper's premise, we also performed separate analyses on gender neutral industries (those with 45% through 55% women's employment) to find that differences in logged funding raised by male- and female-led ventures was non-significant ($\ln_{funding} diff = 3.30$; $P = .385$). Post-hoc comparisons of male- and female-led ventures indicate the strength of our evidence increases with decreasing degrees of women's industry representation, with disparities widening from female-dominated to gender neutral to male-dominated industries. However, we caution drawing conclusions about neutral industries as the raw funding coefficient between amount raised by male- and female-led ventures indicates a sizable differential, and the sample size (of female-led ventures serving neutral industries) for neutral industry comparisons is not well-powered. See Fig. S1 for relevant comparisons across gender dominant industries.

Study 2

Sample Detail. We relied on simulations instead of benchmarked effect sizes to determine an appropriate sample size for our within-subjects experiment (65), counterbalanced to eliminate potential for primacy effects identified in prior work (21). First, we constructed a null model with four observations per participant where the dependent variable did not differ among the conditions presented in random order. Next, we adjusted this model so that 80% of participants allocated more funding to both male founding CEOs and to the female founding CEO in the female-dominated industry over the female founding CEO in the male-dominated industry. In other words, the female founding CEO trespassing into the male-dominated industry was allocated the least amount of funding by 4 out of 5 participants in this hypothesized model. Next, we inputted an effect size parameter of 15% less funding for the female founding CEO in the male-dominated industry compared to her female founding CEO counterpart in the female-dominated industry. We then ran the hypothesized model with these simulated parameters 1,000 times with increasing (by 5 participants) sample sizes, allowing the order and exact funding amounts to randomly vary around the constraint described above.

These simulations crossed our threshold for a 90% probability of correctly identifying the parameter effect of founding CEO gender in an industry marked by lack of fit at 125 participants. Available funding allowed us to be more conservative and recruit a panel of 130 participants. The sample mean age was 51.63 years, $SD = 16.21$; 67.7% male, 86.2% identifying as White, 100% had a bachelors or graduate degree, 50% had 10 or more years of investing experience, 95% invested in seed, Series A and B (vs. pre-seed) stages, and 79% participated in angel, crowdfunding, and venture funding (vs. pure friends-and-family) rounds. Participants reported investing in a wide range of industries. Table 4 indicates that \ln funding and \ln valuation are significantly correlated with each other and with perceived fit, as hypothesized. We performed a series of supplemental analyses that ruled out the effect of investor gender on our funding and valuation outcome measures, confirming female investors behave similarly to male ones, and that also dismissed the influence of industry homophily based on investor industry experience.

Method Detail. Participating investors received the following introductory remarks and specific instructions before being presented each venture. They were then asked to provide 7-point rating scale measures and funding allocations for each venture out of a constant sum of

\$400,00; see recent research for procedural precedent (31). We also captured uncapped responses to the question, “At what valuation would you invest in each of these ventures? Please place a USD (\$) valuation on each venture by using the open field below.” Throughout the survey, we reinforced the connection to female vs. male founding CEO and to female- vs. male-dominated industry by repeating the name and industry served (e.g. “How much funding would you allocate to [Kristen’s human resources] technology venture?”). Note that we deployed survey best practices to ensure response quality, including speeding, amount verification, open-ended and other quality checks. See introductory remarks and procedural details below:

Introduction. “In this study, you will have the chance to review Crunchbase profiles containing limited information about 4 ventures, including a brief description of the company and its founder, as well as key performance indicators. After doing so, you will be asked to allocate a fictional quantity of funds to each venture (out of a total \$400,000) as you see fit, then provide a bit of background information about yourself. As an attention check, you will have to make sure that your responses add up to \$400,000 across the 4 ventures. We will also conduct a speed check to ensure you are not just quickly allocating the exact same amount of \$100,000 to every venture without considering each one.”

Instructions. Read the following situation and answer the questions based on the Crunchbase venture profiles to follow! Note that there is no “Back” button, so you can't go back, but you will have the chance to double-check your funding allocations for each venture at the end. You may want to jot down notes for each venture so you have them handy as a reference point at the end. Make your decisions based on the instructions below, not your personal preferences.

The venture fund you work for has pre-vetted 4 ventures and determined each one meets the fund's investing criteria in terms of industry, geography and stage of development (this means you do not need to apply outside knowledge or personal preferences to the exercise). You now have the opportunity to review each venture’s description and key performance indicators, as well as information about the venture's founding CEO. After reviewing each venture, you will provide your thoughts on each investment opportunity. You will also be given the opportunity to allocate a fictitious sum of \$400,000 (IN TOTAL, across ALL 4 of these investment opportunities) as you see fit.

Rating Scale Measures. Please indicate the extent to which [Founding CEO Name]'s [name of industry] tech venture conveys the following to you (7-point rating scale from 1 = Extremely Low to 7 = Extremely High). A sense of:

1. Venture quality
2. Trust in the CEO's ability to execute
3. Fit between the CEO & the venture

Manipulations. See Fig. S2 for details on the Crunchbase profile manipulations that generated the experimental conditions: male founding CEO-male-dominated industry; male founding CEO-female-dominated industry; female founding CEO-male-dominated industry; female founding CEO-female-dominated industry. We patterned each fictitious venture profile after actual ventures in Study 1's sample. These were ventures that a) were all designated as finalists in the TCD competition and b) all raised hundreds of millions of dollars in funding, representing the top 3% of the sample. The male- vs. female-dominated industries they targeted were comparable in terms of having 30-40 vs. 70-80 percent employment of women. For the venture monikers, we created 1-word names reflective of each venture that were standardized in terms of letter length; for the founding CEO names, we created 2-syllable first names using the most identifiable tier of male vs. female names in comparable socioeconomic and racial categories (58). Each profile included varied yet comparable depictions of founding year, headquarters location, number of employees, funding stage, year-over-year growth, as well as quality and status via indications of performance at various TCD competitions.

The Crunchbase profiles included 3-line descriptions of financial advisory, family healthcare, automotive sharing, and employee benefits platforms, complete with comparable references to technology, to enabling everyday usage, and to successfully meeting user needs. The 3 lines of Founder information included reinforcements of founding CEO role and name, references to successful serial entrepreneurship, years of industry experience, passion and personal pain point for the offering, and relevant industry certifications. As a testament to their comparability, we observed non-significant rating scale response comparison results for standalone venture quality and for standalone trust in each CEO type. See Fig. S3 for both In funding and In valuation as outcomes.

Fig. S1. Study 1 Female Founder Disadvantage Due to Lack of Fit

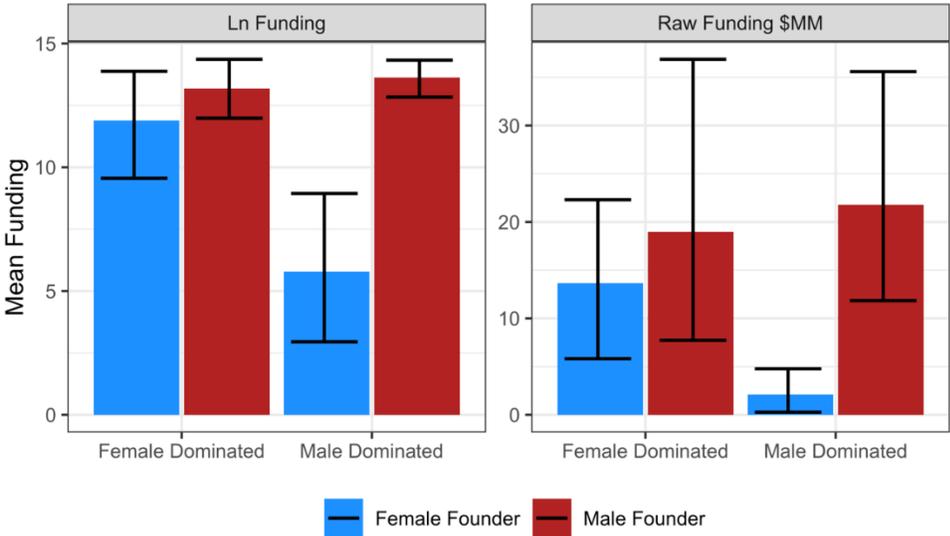
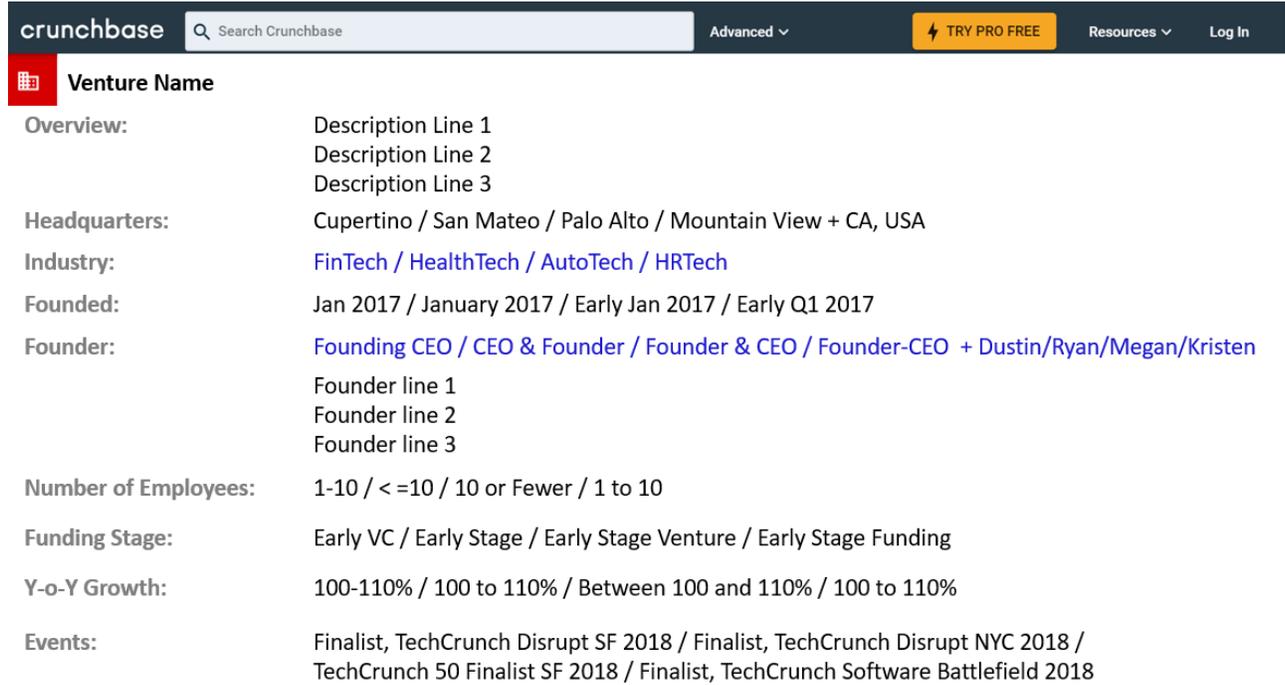


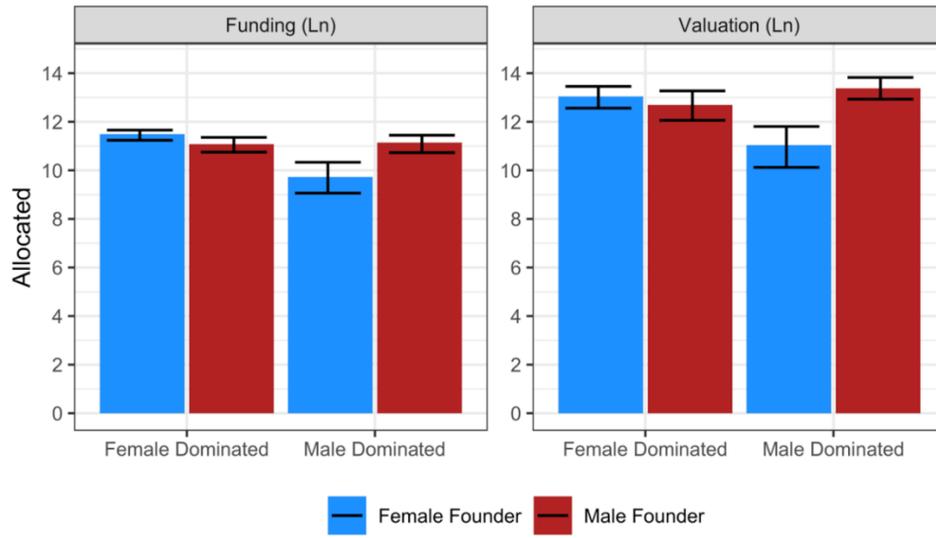
Fig. S2. Study 2 Crunchbase Profile Manipulations for 4 Conditions



The image shows a screenshot of a Crunchbase profile page. At the top, there is a dark navigation bar with the Crunchbase logo, a search bar, and links for 'Advanced', 'TRY PRO FREE', 'Resources', and 'Log In'. Below the navigation bar, the profile name is partially visible as 'Venture Name'. The main content area lists several key metrics and details:

- Overview:** Description Line 1, Description Line 2, Description Line 3
- Headquarters:** Cupertino / San Mateo / Palo Alto / Mountain View + CA, USA
- Industry:** FinTech / HealthTech / AutoTech / HRTech
- Founded:** Jan 2017 / January 2017 / Early Jan 2017 / Early Q1 2017
- Founder:** Founding CEO / CEO & Founder / Founder & CEO / Founder-CEO + Dustin/Ryan/Megan/Kristen
Founder line 1
Founder line 2
Founder line 3
- Number of Employees:** 1-10 / <=10 / 10 or Fewer / 1 to 10
- Funding Stage:** Early VC / Early Stage / Early Stage Venture / Early Stage Funding
- Y-o-Y Growth:** 100-110% / 100 to 110% / Between 100 and 110% / 100 to 110%
- Events:** Finalist, TechCrunch Disrupt SF 2018 / Finalist, TechCrunch Disrupt NYC 2018 / TechCrunch 50 Finalist SF 2018 / Finalist, TechCrunch Software Battlefield 2018

Fig. S3. Study 2 Female Founder Disadvantage Due to Lack of Fit



REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. World Economic Forum, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2020* (World Economic Forum, 2019); www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2020.pdf.
2. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Data from "Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population Survey"* (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019); www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat18.htm.
3. F. D. Blau, L. M. Kahn, The gender wage gap: Extent, trends, and explanations. *J. Econ. Lit.* **55**, 789–865 (2017).
4. A. Born, A. E. Ranehill, A. Sandberg, "A man's world? The impact of a male dominated environment on female leadership" (University of Gothenburg, 2019).
5. M. T. Cardador, Promoted up but also out? The unintended consequences of increasing women's representation in managerial roles in engineering. *Organ. Sci.* **28**, 597–617 (2017).
6. M. Gumpertz, R. Durodoye, E. Griffith, A. Wilson, Retention and promotion of women and underrepresented minority faculty in science and engineering at four large land grant institutions. *PLOS ONE* **12**, e0187285 (2017).
7. J. Hunt, Why do women leave science and engineering? *ILR Rev.* **69**, 199–226 (2016).
8. M. Rubin, S. Paolini, E. Subašić, A. Giacomini, A confirmatory study of the relations between workplace sexism, sense of belonging, mental health, and job satisfaction among women in male-dominated industries. *J. Appl. Soc. Psychol.* **49**, 267–282 (2019).
9. M. E. Heilman, J. J. Chen, Entrepreneurship as a solution: The allure of self-employment for women and minorities. *Human Res. Manag. Rev.* **13**, 347–364 (2003).
10. K. Hwang, D. J. Phillips, Entrepreneurship as a response to labor market discrimination for formerly incarcerated people (2020); <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3563421>.
11. J. B. Sørensen, A. J. Sharkey, Entrepreneurship as a mobility process. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* **79**, 328–349 (2014).

12. M. J. Budig, Gender, self-employment, and earnings: The interlocking structures of family and professional status. *Gend. Soc.* **20**, 725–753 (2006).
13. D. J. Phillips, Organizational genealogies and the persistence of gender inequality: The case of Silicon Valley law firms. *Adm. Sci. Q.* **50**, 440–472 (2005).
14. Institute for Women’s Policy Research, *Women-Owned Businesses Have Increased in Number, But Still Face Obstacles to Growth* (Institute for Women’s Policy Research, 2020); <http://iwpr.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Kauffman-Fact-Sheet-for-layout-2-7-2020-1.pdf>.
15. Amex, *The 2019 State of Women-Owned Businesses Report* (American Express OPEN, 2019); https://about.americanexpress.com/files/doc_library/file/2019-state-of-women-owned-businesses-report.pdf.
16. E. Tak, S. J. Correll, S. A. Soule, Gender inequality in product markets: When and how status beliefs transfer to products. *Soc. Forces* **98**, 548–577 (2019).
17. A. Levanon, P. England, P. Allison, Occupational feminization and pay: Assessing causal dynamics using 1950–2000 U.S. census data. *Soc. Forces* **88**, 865–891 (2009).
18. U. Muench, J. Sindelar, S. H. Busch, P. I. Buerhaus, Salary differences between male and female registered nurses in the United States. *JAMA* **313**, 1265–1267 (2015).
19. C. J. Taylor, Occupational sex composition and the gendered availability of workplace support. *Gend. Soc.* **24**, 189–212 (2010).
20. C. L. Williams, The glass escalator: Hidden advantages for men in the “female” professions. *Soc. Probl.* **39**, 253–267 (1992).
21. A. W. Brooks, L. Huang, S. W. Kearney, F. E. Murray, Investors prefer entrepreneurial ventures pitched by attractive men. *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U.S.A.* **111**, 4427–4431 (2014).
22. M. E. Heilman, Sex bias in work settings: The lack of fit model. *Res. Organ. Behav.* **5**, 269–298 (1983).

23. M. E. Heilman, Sex stereotypes and their effects in the workplace: What we know and what we don't know. *J. Soc. Behav. Pers.* **10**, 3–26 (1995).
24. M. E. Heilman, Description and prescription: How gender stereotypes prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder. *J. Soc. Issues* **57**, 657–674 (2001).
25. M. E. Heilman, Gender stereotypes and workplace bias. *Res. Organ. Behav.* **32**, 113–135 (2012).
26. M. E. Heilman, S. Caleo, Combatting gender discrimination: A lack of fit framework. *Group Process. Intergroup Relat.* **21**, 725–744 (2018).
27. M. E. Heilman, A. S. Wallen, D. Fuchs, M. M. Tamkins, Penalties for success: Reactions to women who succeed at male gender-typed tasks. *J. Appl. Psych.* **89**, 416 (2004).
28. H. Ahl, Why research on women entrepreneurs needs new directions. *Entrep. Theory Pract.* **30**, 595–621 (2006).
29. R. A. Baron, Cognitive mechanisms in entrepreneurship: Why and when entrepreneurs think differently than other people. *J. Bus. Ventur.* **13**, 275–294 (1998).
30. L. Huang, J. L. Pearce, Managing the unknowable: The effectiveness of early-stage investor gut feel in entrepreneurial investment decisions. *Adm. Sci. Q.* **60**, 634–670 (2015).
31. D. Kanze, L. Huang, M. A. Conley, E. T. Higgins, We ask men to win and women not to lose: Closing the gender gap in startup funding. *Acad. Manage. J.* **61**, 586–614 (2018).
32. D. Kirsch, B. Goldfarb, A. Gera, Form or substance: The role of business plans in venture capital decision making. *Strat. Manag. J.* **30**, 487–515 (2009).
33. S. Thébaud, Gender and entrepreneurship as a career choice: Do self-assessments of ability matter? *Soc. Psychol. Q.* **73**, 288–304 (2010).
34. D. Kahneman, A. Tversky, Subjective probability: A judgment of representativeness. *Cogn. Psychol.* **3**, 430–454 (1972).

35. A. Tversky, D. Kahneman, Judgment under uncertainty: Heuristics and biases. *Science* **185**, 1124–1131 (1974).
36. Pitchbook & National Venture Capital Association, Pitchbook-NVCA Venture Monitor (2019); <https://pitchbook.com/news/reports/q4-2019-pitchbook-nvca-venture-monitor>.
37. Catalyst, *Women CEOs of the S&P 500* (Catalyst, 2020).
38. B. G. Tabachnick, L. S. Fidell, J. B. Ullman, *Using Multivariate Statistics* (Pearson, 2007), vol. 5.
39. L. Huang, A. Wu, M. J. Lee, J. Bao, M. Hudson, E. Bolle, “The American angel: The first in-depth report on the demographics and investigating activity of individual American angel investors” (Harvard Business School, 2017).
40. G. Charness, U. Gneezy, M. A. Kuhn, Experimental methods: Between-subject and within-subject design. *J. Econ. Behav. Org.* **81**, 1–8 (2012).
41. I. Bohnet, A. Van Geen, M. Bazerman, When performance trumps gender bias: Joint vs. separate evaluation. *Manag. Sci.* **62**, 1225–1234 (2016).
42. R. Amit, L. Glosten, E. Muller, Entrepreneurial ability, venture investments, and risk sharing. *Manag. Sci.* **36**, 1233–1246 (1990).
43. J. A. Baum, B. S. Silverman, Picking winners or building them? Alliance, intellectual, and human capital as selection criteria in venture financing and performance of biotechnology startups. *J. Bus. Ventur.* **19**, 411–436 (2004).
44. C. M. Beckman, M. D. Burton, C. O’Reilly, Early teams: The impact of team demography on VC financing and going public. *J. Bus. Ventur.* **22**, 147–173 (2007).
45. J. Hall, C. W. Hofer, Venture capitalists’ decision criteria in new venture evaluation. *J. Bus. Ventur.* **8**, 25–42 (1993).
46. D. Hoenig, J. Henkel, Quality signals? The role of patents, alliances, and team experience in venture capital financing. *Res. Policy* **44**, 1049–1064 (2015).

47. D. H. Hsu, Experienced entrepreneurial founders, organizational capital, and venture capital funding. *Res. Policy* **36**, 722–741 (2007).
48. C. Hébert, Gender stereotypes and entrepreneur financing. *Soc. Innov. eJ.* (2020).
49. E. G. Pontikes, Two sides of the same coin: How ambiguous classification affects multiple audiences' evaluations. *Adm. Sci. Q.* **57**, 81–118 (2012).
50. M. Ewens, R. R. Townsend, Are early stage investors biased against women? *J. Financ. Econ.* **135**, 653–677 (2020).
51. L. Balachandra, T. Briggs, K. Eddleston, C. Brush, Don't pitch like a girl!: How gender stereotypes influence investor decisions. *Entrep. Theory Pract.* **43**, 116–137 (2019).
52. C. Brush, P. Greene, L. Balachandra, A. Davis, The gender gap in venture capital- progress, problems, and perspectives. *Venture Cap.* **20**, 115–136 (2018).
53. J. Guzman, A. O. Kacperczyk, Gender gap in entrepreneurship. *Res. Policy* **48**, 1666–1680 (2019).
54. M. Goldstein, P. G. Martinez, S. Papineni, *Tackling the Global Profitarchy: Gender and the Choice of Business Sector* (The World Bank, 2019).
55. T. V. Menzies, M. Diochon, Y. Gasse, Examining venture-related myths concerning women entrepreneurs. *J. Dev. Entrep.* **9**, 89–107 (2004).
56. P. G. Greene, M. M. Hart, E. J. Gatewood, C. G. Brush, N. M. Carter, Women entrepreneurs: Moving front and center: An overview of research and theory. *Coleman White Paper Ser.* **3**, 1–47 (2003).
57. P. Azoulay, B. Jones, J. D. Kim, J. Miranda, “Age and high-growth entrepreneurship” (National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. w24489, 2018).
58. M. Bertrand, S. Mullainathan, Are Emily and Greg more employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A field experiment on labor market discrimination *Am. Econ. Rev.* **94**, 991–1013 (2004).

59. M. Lee, L. Huang, Gender bias, social impact framing, and evaluation of entrepreneurial ventures. *Org. Sci.* **29**, 1–16 (2018).
60. X.-P. Chen, X. Yao, S. Kotha, Entrepreneur passion and preparedness in business plan presentations: A persuasion analysis of venture capitalists' funding decisions. *Acad. Manage. J.* **52**, 199–214 (2009).
61. J. M. Jachimowicz, C. To, S. Agasi, S. Côté, A. D. Galinsky, The gravitational pull of expressing passion: When and how expressing passion elicits status conferral and support from others. *Organ. Behav. Hum. Decis. Process.* **153**, 41–62 (2019).
62. D. Bates, M. Mächler, B. Bolker, S. Walker, Fitting linear mixed-effects models using lme4. arXiv:1406.5823 [stat.CO] (23 June 2014).
63. D. A. Magezi, Linear mixed-effects models for within-participant psychology experiments: An introductory tutorial and free, graphical user interface (LMMgui). *Front. Psychol.* **6**, 2 (2015).
64. K. Barton, M. K. Barton, Package 'MuMIn'. R package version 1 (2019).
65. P. Green, C. J. MacLeod, SIMR: An R package for power analysis of generalized linear mixed models by simulation. *Methods Ecol. Evol.* **7**, 493–498 (2016).