

Liisa Husu, Jeff Hearn, Anna-Maija Lämsä and Sinikka Vanhala

Editors

*Women, Management and Leadership –  
Naiset ja johtajuus*

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Women, Management and Leadership – Naiset ja johtajuus  
NASTA Women's Leadership Project Final Report

Key words: careers, gender, hierarchy, interventions, leadership, management, organisations,  
men, women

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Vanhala and contributors

Liisa Husu, Jeff Hearn, Anna-Maija Lämsä and Sinikka Vanhala  
Hanken School of Economics  
Department of Management and Organisation  
P.O. Box 479, 00101, Helsinki, Finland

Distributor:

Library  
Hanken School of Economics  
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Telephone: +358 (0)40 3521 376, +358 (0)40 3521 265  
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## Introduction

*Liisa Husu, Jeff Hearn, Anna-Maija Lämsä and Sinikka Vanhala*

Leadership without women's full participation not only excludes women individually and collectively, but is also a huge waste of talent, knowledge and expertise. This aspect of gender inequality is likely to become even more important in the current state of society and the world. It is in this local and global context that the NASTA project can be located. These are not simply academic concerns but urgent matters for practice, organisations, management, policy, and society.

NASTA - Women's Leadership: A Research and Education Development Project (<http://nastaproject.fi/>) was established in 2005 as a national multi-university project mainly and generously funded by Finnish Ministry of Education. The project aims at producing new knowledge and increasing understanding about women's leadership, as well as promoting women's leadership through research, development of teaching, and public outreach. NASTA is a joint effort of three Finnish universities – Hanken School of Economics, University of Jyväskylä School of Business and Economics, and the Helsinki School of Economics (now part of Aalto University) – and has been coordinated by Hanken.

NASTA activities have been many and various. They have examined the position and experiences of women in relation to leadership, management, organisation and work more generally. They have sought to produce new knowledge about gender and leadership, women leaders' values, attitudes and behaviour, as well as about values, attitudes and behaviour in relation to women's leadership. Teaching and student supervision on gender and leadership has been developed, as has research on women's leadership conducted at postdoctoral and doctoral level in the participating universities. Networking among researchers in the field nationally and internationally has been actively promoted. Seminars and meetings, both between the three university researchers and with other researchers and stakeholders, have been held. These have addressed research, teaching, outreach and societal questions. A very successful final international conference was organised in 2009 (Husu et al., 2010). An important element of the project has been knowledge transfer on women and leadership into other sectors of society through publications and media outreach.

This report presents research and activities conducted within and around the project 2005-2009. The first section of the book introduces NASTA joint projects, such as web-based teaching material (E-NASTA, 2007), a survey of gender staffing and teaching on gender in business schools, critical review of previous research literature (Lämsä et al., 2007), and new empirical research. The next section on Research articles includes several research articles on gender, leadership and management topics from more individual projects conducted by participating researchers and research groups across the three universities, linked to NASTA. The section Ongoing

research includes short presentations of work-in-progress. The contributions are mostly published in English, with some in Finnish with short summaries in English. NASTA members have been publishing actively both nationally and internationally (journal articles, research reports, book chapters, co-edited journal special issues, popular journal articles, magazine articles) - and produced masters, licentiate and doctoral theses. A list of some of these can be found at the end of this publication.

A word should be mentioned about the two terms, “leadership” and “management”, especially comparing the English and Finnish usage. In English these terms are rather clearly distinguishable. Management refers both to those people, managers, named, often formally, as such for managing and organising the organisation, and to the wider process of managing, which may involve people, technologies, systems and social processes in organisations more generally. Leadership is usually used as a more specific term to indicate acts and processes of leading, that is, showing, however explicitly or implicitly, some direction and initiative. It is also sometimes used to mean those formally given the task of leading, as in “the leadership” – even if they, like some managers, do not necessarily show leadership, in the sense of direction or initiative.

In Finnish, the term often used corresponding to “management” is a generic term “johtaminen”, referring to both leading and managing; however, the exact meaning of the term compared to the English term remains somewhat obscure. A corresponding more accurate translation of “management” into Finnish is reached by referring to “management of issues”, “asioiden johtaminen”. “Leadership” in Finnish is quite unproblematically translated as “johtajuus”, also often referring to the leading of people (Lämsä & Hautala, 2005, 207).

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## Johdanto

Johtajuus, johon naiset eivät voi osallistua täysipainoisesti, ei merkitse vain naisten ulossulkemista yksilöinä ja ryhmänä, vaan myös kykyjen, tiedon ja asiantuntemusten tuhlausta. Tasa-arvovajeesta johtajuudessa on tulossa yhä polttavampi yhteiskunnallinen kysymys nykyisessä yhteiskunnallisessa ja maailmantilanteessa. NASTA-hanke sijoittuu tähän paikalliseen ja globaaliin yhteyteen. NASTA-tutkimushankkeen käsittelemät kysymykset eivät ole vain akateemisia, vaan keskeisiä ja ajankohtaisia yhteiskunnan, politiikan, johtamisen, organisaatioiden ja käytännön kysymyksiä.

NASTA – Naisjohtajuuden tutkimus- ja koulutushanke (<http://nastaproject.fi>) aloitettiin 2005 kansallisena usean yliopiston hankkeena. Hanketta rahoitti pääasiassa opetusministeriö. Hanke pyrkii tuottamaan uutta tietoa ja ymmärrystä naisjohtajuudesta sekä edistämään naisjohtajuutta tutkimuksen, opetuksen kehittämisen ja tutkimustiedotuksen avulla. NASTA on kolmen suomalaisyliopiston yhteishanke, jossa ovat mukana Hanken Svenska handelshögskolan, Helsingin

kauppakorkeakoulu (nyt osa Aalto-yliopistoa), sekä Jyväskylän yliopiston kauppa-  
korkeakoulu. NASTAn koordinaattorina on toiminut Hanken.

NASTA on toiminut monipuolisesti tutkimuksen, opetuksen ja tutkimustiedon välityksen alueilla. NASTAssa on tutkittu naisten asemaa sekä kokemuksia johtajuudessa, organisaatioissa ja myös yleisemmin työelämässä. NASTA on pyrkinyt tuottamaan uutta tietoa sukupuolesta ja johtajuudesta, naisjohtajien arvoista, asenteista ja käyttäytymisestä, sekä arvoista, asenteista ja käyttäytymisestä, jotka liittyvät naisten johtajuuteen. Hankkeessa on kehitetty opetusta ja opiskelijoiden ohjausta liittyen sukupuoleen ja johtajuuteen, ja mukana olevissa yliopistoissa on harjoitettu tohtoritason ja postdoc-tason tutkimusta liittyen naisjohtajuuteen.

NASTA on edistänyt alan tutkijoiden verkottumista kansallisesti ja kansainvälisesti. Hanke on järjestänyt useita seminaareja jäsenilleen ja muille alan tutkijoille. Näissä on käsitelty tutkimusta, opetusta, tutkimustiedon välittämistä laajemmalle yhteiskuntaan sekä tutkimusalueen yhteiskunnallisia kytkentöjä. NASTAn tuloksia esiteltiin kansainvälisille kollegoille erittäin onnistuneessa kansainvälisessä konferenssissa *Leadership through the Gender Lens*, jonka NASTA järjesti vuonna 2009 Helsingissä (ks. Husu ym., 2010). Tutkimustulosten tunnetuksi tekeminen laajemmalle yleisölle ja avainsidosryhmille on ollut tärkeä osa hanketta.

Tämä raportti esittelee NASTAn tutkimusta ja muita toimia vuosina 2005-2009. Ensimmäinen osio esittelee NASTAn yhteisiä hankkeita, kuten verkko-opetusaineiston (E-NASTA, 2007); kyselytutkimuksen kauppatieteiden opetus- ja tutkimushenkilökunnan sukupuolirakenteesta ja sukupuolen merkityksestä kauppatieteiden opetuksessa; kriittisen katsauksen aiempaan alan tutkimukseen Suomessa (Lämsä ym., 2007) sekä uutta empiiristä tutkimusta. Tutkimusartikkeleita esittelevä osio sisältää useita yksittäisten NASTAn tutkijoiden että NASTAssa mukana olevien tutkijaryhmien tutkimusartikkeleita sukupuolesta ja johtajuudesta. Käynnissä olevaa tutkimusta esittelevä osio sisältää lyhyitä esittelyjä NASTAn piirissä vireillä olevasta tutkimuksesta. Suurin osa artikkeleista ja esittelyistä julkaistaan englanniksi, joitakin artikkeleita suomeksi, englanninkielisin abstraktein.

NASTAn tutkijat ovat julkaisseet aktiivisesti niin kansallisilla kuin kansainvälisillä julkaisukanavilla (artikkeleita tieteellisissä lehdissä, tutkimusraportteja, artikkeleita tieteellisissä kokoomateoksissa, tieteellisten lehtien teemanumeroita, artikkeleita aikakauslehdissä ja sanomalehdissä) ja tuottaneet pro gradu –tutkielmia, lisen-siaatintutkielmia ja väitöskirjoja. Luettelo näistä julkaisuista löytyy kirjan lopusta.

Suomen kielessä “managementista” usein käytetään yleistermiä johtaminen. Käsitteen tarkka merkitys verrattuna englannin kielen merkitykseen jää kuitenkin jonkin verran epäselväksi. Tarkemmin merkitys tavoitetaan ilmaisulla asioiden johtaminen. ”Leadershipistä” puolestaan käytetään suomen kielessä melko vakiintuneesti termiä johtajuus. Myös ilmaisu ihmisten johtaminen on melko tavallinen puhuttaessa ”leadershipistä”. (Lämsä & Hautala, 2005, 207).

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## **NASTA members**

**Project manager**, Professor Liisa Husu

## **Research teams**

*Hanken, Department of Management and Organisation*

**Research Director**, Professor Jeff Hearn  
Dr Liisa Husu  
Dr Marjut Jyrkinen (postdoc researcher)  
Charlotta Niemistö (doctoral student)

*Conference assistance*: Tricia Cleland (doctoral student), Tina Karme

*Helsinki School of Economics HSE, Management and Organisation*

**Research Director**, Professor Sinikka Vanhala  
Dr. Kirsi LaPointe

*University of Jyväskylä, School of Business and Economics*

**Research Director**, Professor Anna-Maija Lämsä  
Marianne Ekonen (doctoral student)  
Suvi Heikkinen (doctoral student)

Former members: Dr Minna Hiillos (project manager) (Hanken)  
Dr Sinikka Pesonen (postdoc researcher) (HSE)  
Nea Kontoniemi (doctoral student) (HSE)  
Tuomas Puttonen (doctoral student) (JY)  
Katlin Omair (doctoral student) (JY)

## Joint projects

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### Review of research on women's leadership in Finland

*Anna-Maija Lämsä*

To create an overall picture of academic research on women's leadership in Finland, on the one hand, and to evaluate the development of this research, in the other hand, a review of research published between 1985 and 2005 was conducted together with the NASTA partners. The data comprised 92 publications, which were analysed by content analysis.

The results showed that the research debate on women's leadership became widely established in Finland only towards the latter half of the 1990's, that is, following a 10-15 years time lag compared to much of the international discussion (Figure 1).

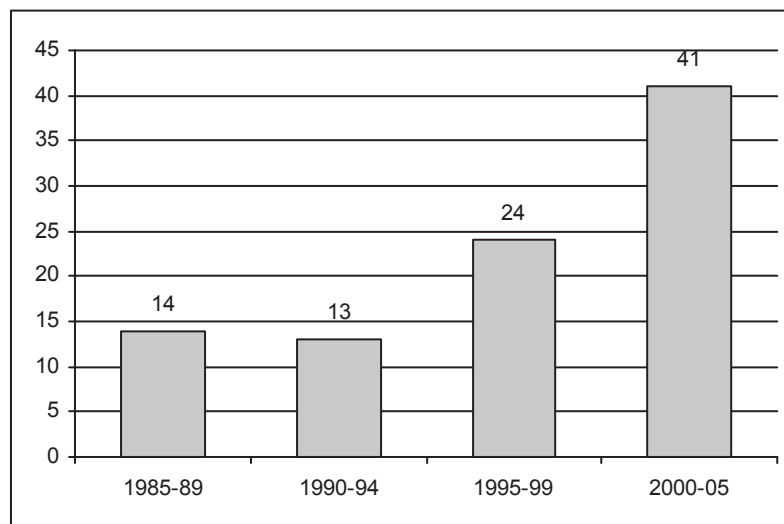


Figure 1. Number of research publications on women and leadership in Finland 1985-2005

Epistemologically, the Finnish research has seemed to follow international trends, specifically the relative proportion of qualitative research increased in the 2000's (Table 1). In particular, recent research has emphasized gender as a dynamic phenomenon and socially constructed while earlier understanding stressed gender as a stable background variable.

**Table 1. Research on women and leadership in Finland from an epistemological perspective**

<b>EPISTEMOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF RESEARCH ON WOMEN AND LEADERSHIP IN FINLAND IN 5-YEAR PERIODS 1985-2005</b>					
	<b>1985-89 %</b>	<b>1990-94 %</b>	<b>1995-99 %</b>	<b>2000-05 %</b>	<b>Total, %</b>
<b>Gender as a variable</b>	69	69	63	29	50
<b>Women-centred</b>	8	23	8	22	17
<b>Gender as socially constructed</b>	8	8	29	49	32
<b>None of the above</b>	15	0	0	0	2
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100
<b>N</b>	14	13	24	41	92

During the 20 year time span covered, most of the work has been published in university or research centre series, while internationally refereed journal articles were quite a few. However, in the 2000's the number of international journal articles has increased somewhat. Over 50% of the articles (=14) were published in 2000 or afterwards, and 20% of all authors (=68) had published an international article. Articles were published in the following journals: *Business Ethics – A European Review*; *Gender, Work and Organization*; *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*; *Journal of Business Ethics*; *Journal of Management Inquiry*; *Journal of Occupational & Organizational Psychology*; *Journal of Social Psychology*; *Leadership*; *Organization Studies*; *Scandinavian Journal of Management*.

In general, the review revealed that research on women's leadership in Finland has been conducted predominantly by women, with only few men showing interest in this area. 76 publications (83 %, n=92) were written by only women while 8 % (7 publications) were written by only men.

With regards to content, themes related to equality and discrimination have been the most prevalent, even if research on women's careers and women manager's position in work life were quite often a focus. Moreover, leadership behavior was investigated rather often.

Finnish research on women's leadership is growing and becoming more diverse in orientation and focus. The next step is likely to be greater internationalisation, involving increasing international publishing and networking, as well as

multinational research projects. The review has been published in Finnish in 2007 in *Liiketaloudellinen Aikakauskirja – Finnish Journal of Business Economics* as:

Anna-Maija Lämsä, Sinikka Vanhala, Nea Kontoniemi, Minna Hiillos, and Jeff Hearn: 'Naisjohtamisen tutkimus Suomessa historiallisesta näkökulmasta' [Research on Women's Leadership in Finland – a Historical Perspective]. *Liiketaloudellinen Aikakauskirja – Finnish Journal of Business Economics* 3, 2007: 294-321.

The whole article can be read at the following website:

[http://lta.hse.fi/2007/3/lta\\_2007\\_03\\_a3.pdf](http://lta.hse.fi/2007/3/lta_2007_03_a3.pdf)

## Work commitment of women and men managers

*Sinikka Vanhala and Kirsi LaPointe*

### Introduction

This paper is based on a survey in a research project focusing on work, career and other work-related issues of female and male managers with a business school background. The survey study was conducted among members of SEFE (The Finnish Association of Business School Graduates) in 2006 (Vanhala & Pesonen, 2008). This paper focuses on commitment issues via three work commitment constructs: organizational commitment, work involvement, and career commitment. The purpose of the paper is to evaluate the commitment structure of SEFE managers paying special attention to gender and the position of the managers under study.

In comparison with other EU countries, the Finnish labour market is strongly segregated both horizontally and vertically (Eurostat, 2007). This concerns the managerial labour market as well: women managers are the majority in women-dominated fields and male managers in male-dominated industries. The vertical segregation in managerial jobs means that the higher levels of managerial hierarchy are dominated by men while women remain on the lower managerial ranks (Vanhala, 2003). In terms of gender segregation, the SEFE members make an interesting target group as they all have a university-level degree in economics and business administration, and half of the members are women.

### Prior work commitment literature

In prior literature, 'work commitment' is used in two meanings: as a broad general concept referring to all types of work-related commitment (Morrow, 1993; Carmeli & Freund, 2004; Davis et al., 2006) and in a narrow sense, referring to job involvement or work involvement (Kanungo, 1982). Work commitment (in broader sense) is considered to cover different forms of commitment: work ethic endorsement, career commitment/professional commitment, job involvement, organizational commitment, and union commitment (e.g., Morrow, 1983). In this paper, we focus on three forms of commitment: organizational commitment, work involvement, and career commitment. Organizational commitment has received much attention in prior literature (e.g., Mowday et al., 1982; Cohen, 1992; Song & Kim, 2009) as compared with work involvement (e.g., Davis et al. 2006), and career commitment (e.g., Goulet & Singh, 2002).

The most widely used definition of *organizational commitment* refers to an individual's psychological affect, identification and attachment with the organization as well as willingness to exert effort and remain in the organization (e.g., Porter et al., 1974; Ferris & Aranya, 1983). Prior research identifies different forms of

organizational commitment: e.g., attitudinal and behavioral (Mowday et al., 1982), and affective, calculative/continuance and normative (Meyer & Allen, 1991).

Work commitment in a narrow meaning refers to *job and work involvement*. Job involvement is defined as the cognitive state of psychological identification with a job, while work involvement refers to a less specific work attitude about the importance of work in one's life (Kanungo, 1982). When job involvement tends to be a function of how an employee can satisfy his/her current needs, work involvement is referred as a normative belief about the value of work in his/her life. Highly job-involved employees make the job an important part of their personal identity, while employees with high work involvement tend to believe that work is central to their lives (Lapierre, 2001). However, in prior work/job involvement studies the measures are used quite loosely. In this paper, we use the term "work involvement" or "work commitment" to refer to work attachment and the meaning of work in one's life.

Compared to organizational and work commitment, there is much less research on *career commitment* (Goulet & Singh, 2002). According to Blau (1985), career commitment is defined as one's attitude towards one's profession or vocation. In general, career commitment involves the development of personal career goals and identification with these goals and one's involvement in them (Colarelli & Bishop, 1990). In prior work commitment literature, special attention has been paid to the relationship between career commitment and job involvement. According to Goulet & Singh (2002), the measure of career commitment is independent of Kanungo's (1982) job involvement and Porter et al.'s (1974) organizational commitment but correlates statistically significantly with both measures (positive correlation) (Goulet & Singh, 2002; Kidd & Green, 2006). In these studies, the demographic variables have had a minor role in career commitment models, and the results are contradictory.

While the significance of career commitment from the organizational point of view is unclear, organizational and work commitment/involvement has been linked to several desirable organizational outcomes such as lower employee turnover (Hom et al., 1979; Price & Mueller, 1981; Somers, 1995), lower absenteeism (Steers, 1981; Lydka, 1991; Somers, 1995), limited tardiness (Lydka, 1991), and enhanced job performance (Angle & Perry, 1981; Meyer et al., 1989).

The determinants (or antecedents) of organizational commitment can be divided into two groups: individual and organizational factors (Allen & Meyer, 1990). The individual-level "determinants" include demographic factors, such as gender, age, marital status and education, and the job-related factors include position and tenure. Of the individual-level "determinants", age and tenure (with a strong intercorrelation) correlate with organizational commitment. According to prior studies, organizational commitment increases with age (Hrebianik & Alutto, 1972; Brief & Aldag, 1980) and tenure (Hall et al., 1970; Mowday et al., 1979, Meyer et Allen, 1984). The relationship between educational level and organizational commitment has been mainly negative (Steers, 1977; Salancik, 1977). However, there is no constant relationship between gender and marital status and commitment (Angle & Perry, 1981; Aranaya et al., 1986; Briscoe & Finkelstein, 2009). The results

of the relationship between an individual's position and organizational commitment have also been contradictory (Cohen, 1992).

## **Methodology**

The survey data were gathered among SEFE members. The random sample included 1500 managers from lower middle management to top managers, both women and men. The response rate was 36%, and 536 accepted questionnaires were received, 50% from women and 50% from men. The survey covered the following topics: demographics, work and company related questions, job satisfaction, and commitment (Vanhala & Pesonen, 2008). This paper focuses on commitment measures, that is organizational commitment, work involvement (work commitment), and career commitment of female and male managers.

*Organizational commitment* was measured by a 6-item instrument based on Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (OCQ) that conceptualizes 'commitment' as three underpinning factors of commitment (Porter et al., 1974; Mowday et al., 1979): A strong belief in and acceptance of the organization's goals and values; a willingness to exert considerable effort on behalf of the organization; and a strong desire to retain membership in the organization. Examples of statements include the following: *"I'm willing to put in a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected in order to help this organization be successful"*; *"I talk about this organization to my friends as a great organization to work for"*.

*Work commitment* was measured by a 5-item scale covering work attachment, work enjoyment, and the meaning of work in one's life. The work commitment instrument is a shortened and modified version of Kanungo's (1982) job involvement instrument. Examples of statements include the following: *"This job is exactly what I want to do"*; *"If possible, I would like to change to a totally different kind of job"* (reverse).

*Career commitment* was measured by four items covering career satisfaction, meaning of career advancement, and the role of the present position. The career instrument is a shortened and modified version of Blau's (1985) career commitment instrument. Examples of career commitment statements include: *"Career advancement is not particularly important to me"* (reverse); *"My present position is only a phase on the way to more challenging tasks"*.

All scales applied a Likert-type 5-point scales varying between 1= strongly disagree/ weakly committed and 5= strongly agree/ strongly committed. A factor analysis was conducted in order to confirm the structure of commitment scales. The number of items, means, standard deviations, and Cronbach alpha coefficients are presented in table 1.

**Table 1. Means, standard deviations and Cronbach  $\alpha$  coefficients of commitment scales**

	Number of items	mean	sd.	$\alpha$ coefficient
1 Organizational commitment	6	3.93	1.01	0.876
2 Work commitment	5	3.61	1.09	0.795
3 Career commitment	4	2.95	1.27	0.870

The internal consistency of the combined scales is high, the values of Cronbach alpha varying between 0.795 and 0.876. The comparison of means reveals that organizational commitment gets the highest scores and the career commitment the lowest ones. Male managers were a little more committed to their organizations (mean=4.02) than female managers (mean=3.84). There were no differences in work and career commitment between women and men.

#### *Demographics*

The questionnaire covered the usual demographic variables, and also variables related to social background (see Vanhala & Pesonen, 2008). The mean age of the respondents was 44 years. Women were slightly younger (mean 43 years). The majority of respondents were married (82%). In accordance with prior studies (Kartovaara, 2003), women managers were more often single or divorced/widows than their male counterparts. The average number of children was 1.65. 38% of women and men managers had an academic family background: either a mother or a father had a university degree.

#### *Positional variables*

The positional variables covered, e.g., job title, position, tenure, number of subordinates, and membership in executive group and board. Over half of women (55%) were in middle management and the majority of men (65%) in upper management.

**Table 2. Managerial position according to gender**

	Women %	Men %	Total %
Top management	11	24	17
Management	34	41	37
Upper middle man.	31	18	25
Lower middle man.	24	17	21
Total	100	100	100
N	269	267	536

The mean tenure in present position was 6 years and in present tasks 5 years. 57% were members of executive committee, and 30% had a board membership, mainly in SMEs.

### **Organizational, work and career commitment of managers**

The correlations between commitment scales are presented in table 3.

**Table 3. Means, standard deviations and Cronbach  $\alpha$  coefficients of commitment scales**

	1 OC	2 WC	3 CC
1 Organizational commitment (OC)			
2 Work commitment (WC)	.621***		
3 Career commitment (CC)	-.324***	-.223***	

\*\*\* $p < .001$

There is a high positive correlation between organizational and work commitment, while career commitment correlates negatively with both organizational and work commitment.

Table 4 describes the ranges, means and standard deviations of and correlations between commitment scales and demographic and positional variables. The correlations between commitment scales and demographics and positional variables reveal some interesting issues. Similar to prior studies, organizational commitment increases with aging (age, tenure, graduation year) and the level of the position (position, member of executive committee, board membership). However, work commitment is (positively) related only with position and board membership. Career commitment is negatively related with aging and positional variables as well as with the number of children. In other words, younger managers with shorter tenure and lower position in the present job and with higher university degree are more committed to their careers.

**Table 4. Correlations between commitment scales and demographic and positional variables**

	Range	Mean	sd.	Org. comm r	Work comm. r	Career comm. r
Sex <sup>1)</sup>	1-2	1.50	.500	-.090*	.025	.030
Age	24-64	43.97	8.700	.133**	.052	-.397***
No. of children	0-6	1.65	1.188	.059	.006	-.140***
University degree <sup>2)</sup>	1-3	1.84	1.423	-.077	-.027	.213***
Year of graduation	1966- 2006	1988	9.195	-.151***	-.076	.398***
Position <sup>3)</sup>	1-4	2.61	1.129	.318***	.217***	-.257***
Tenure	0-38	9.76	8.470	.109*	0.23	-.295***
Member of exec. committee <sup>4)</sup>	1-2	1.57	.496	.169***	.078	-.195***
Board membership <sup>4)</sup>	1-2	1.30	.458	.182***	.092*	-.207***

<sup>1)</sup> 1=man, 2=woman

<sup>2)</sup> 1=bachelor, 2=master, 3=higher

<sup>3)</sup> 1=lower middle mgt, 2=upper middle mgt, 3=management, 4=top management

<sup>4)</sup> 1=no, 2=yes

Linear regression analysis was conducted separately for women and men in order to explain organizational, work and career commitment. The best predictors for commitment variables are illustrated in table 5.

**Table 5. Linear regression models for commitment variables in women and men manager groups**

	Women mgrs			Men mgrs		
	Org. comm. $\beta$	Work comm. $\beta$	Career comm. $\beta$	Org. comm $\beta$	Work comm. $\beta$	Career comm. $\beta$
Age	-	-	-	-	-	-
No. of children	-	-	-	-	-	-
University degree	-	-	-	-	-	-
Year of graduation	-	-	.331***	-	-	.303***
Position	.173**	-	-.208***	.398***	.305***	-.226***
Tenure	.174**	-	-	-	-	-.172*
Member of exec. comm.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Board membership	-	-	-	-	-	-
F	7.666***		23.730***	46.246***	25.302***	27.340***
R <sup>2</sup>	.062		.169	.158	.093	.226
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.054		.162	.155	.090	.242

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

- = not significant

The regression analyses revealed that the managerial position is the best predictor for commitment. It is involved in five out of six regression models: positively in organizational commitment and negatively in career commitment, and positively also in work commitment in male managers' group. Among women managers, also tenure increases organizational commitment. Career commitment increases with lower position and shorter time since graduation; for men also with shorter tenure. The explained variances remain relatively low except in the case of career commitment of male managers (adjusted  $R^2 = .242$ ).

## **Discussion**

This paper focused on work commitment of managers from gender and managerial position point of view. The target group of managers is relatively homogenous consisting of SEFE members with a bachelor's or master's degree in economics and business administration. In spite of the same university level degree, the majority of men were in upper management positions while women remained more often in lower managerial levels: over half of women (55%) compared to a third of men (35%) were in middle management. As prior studies have also showed (Vanhala 1986; 1993), the attitudes and values of SEFE managers do not seem to differ much between women and men. There was no statistically significant difference between women and men managers in work involvement and career commitment, and in organizational commitment the difference was significant at  $p < .05$  level. Male managers were, on average, a little more committed to their organization as compared with female managers.

According to prior studies all three commitment measures, organizational, work and career commitment correlate positively with each other (Goulet & Singh, 2002; Kidd & Green, 2006). In this study, organizational commitment and work involvement correlate positively with each other but negatively with career commitment (all statistically significant at  $p < .001$  level). The main explanation for the difference may be in the content of career commitment instrument. Prior measures focus on the motivation to work in a particular career field (e.g., Kidd & Green, 2006) while our career commitment measure emphasizes career advancement in terms of attaining more demanding tasks. Organizational commitment and work involvement increased linearly from lower middle management to top management in both gender groups but career commitment was highest among upper middle managers and lowest among top management, both for women and men. Top managers are strongly committed to the organization they work for, and relatively strongly to their work or job.

One of the aims of this study was to examine some prior gender stereotypes related to work commitment. The results indicate that women managers are as strongly as men managers committed to their work and career. High commitment (e.g., willingness to work hard and to adopt the organizational goals) has in prior studies been connected to "high potentials", who, then, are more likely to be rewarded by career development rewards (Shore et al., 1995). Does it mean that committed women managers are considered as "high potential" as committed men managers? Close to 90% of these same female managers and almost half of male managers agree with the statement

that “women managers are required to show more evidence of competence than men managers” (Vanhala & Pesonen, 2008: 60). This is in line with the gender stereotypical attitudes observed in other recent studies on women’s career advancement (Wood, 2008).

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## **Teaching on gender and staffing within three Finnish business schools**

*Jeff Hearn, Liisa Husu, Minna Hiillos, Sinikka Vanhala, Anna-Maija Lämsä,  
Johanna Holm, Mari-Elina Laukkanen and Katja Peltola*

One of the overall aims of NASTA has been to develop education and teaching in relation to gender within business schools. Two relevant surveys were carried out on the gender distribution of staffing and gender issues in teaching in the three schools of economics: Hanken School of Economics, Helsinki School of Economics (HSE), and the School of Business and Economics, University of Jyväskylä (JY). The data was collected in 2006–2007 from staff from each relevant department in the three universities. The departments of languages and communication at HSE and Hanken were excluded.

The study had several aims:

- to gather data on the gender structure of staffing within the business schools;
- to gather data on gender-related teaching within the business schools;
- to gain an understanding to what extent gender is integrated into this teaching;
- to conduct quantitative analyses to illustrate relations in the data; and
- on the basis of the results critically reflect on the status of gender-related teaching within business schools.

As a first step, the relevant department administrators were asked to provide information on the entire staff – both teaching and administrative - of the department in question. Information on a position or task performed by each employee and a nature of the position was requested to be specified by the following criteria: 1) permanent position, 2) based on a permanent employment structure, but tenable for 3 or 5 year period, 3) acting position and 4) a fixed-term contract, for example based on a project funding or a grant. The possible positions were classified by the research group as following 1) professor, 2) senior assistant, 3) assistant, 4) lecturer, 5) administrative staff, amanuensis, secretary or other administrative worker, 6) researcher, 7) fee-paid teacher, and 8) other. The respondents were also asked to list docents linked to the department and postgraduate students (at both Ph.D. and Licentiate levels) that were in the department, by gender.

Although the data collected provides a broad picture of gender divisions in business studies, it has certain limitations. Some are due to the fragmented nature of typical academic careers in Finnish universities (see, e.g., MinEdu 2006). For instance, there are a large number of staff members holding various “acting positions”, substituting for a fixed-term period a colleague that is holding a permanent or longer fixed-term position but is on a leave from that position in order to work as a substitute in a higher position (for example, professor) or having a long-term research fellowship. It

follows that some of the individual staff members may have been reported twice in the survey, that is to say they have been linked to two different positions. These kinds of employment chains are common in Finnish universities, and the state-of-the art is often somewhat challenging to trace even by knowledgeable administrators or professors. The different organisational structures of the three schools examined also created certain limitations in terms of possible comparisons that might be made on departmental or subject level.

In 2006, men represented 60 percent of all staff (including administrative staff, but excluding docents) in the three schools examined. The gender profiles of the three schools varied, however, to some extent. The share of male employees was largest in Helsinki School of Economics with men representing 65 percent of the entire staff, while the staff structure of School of Business and Economics of University of Jyväskylä turned out to be significantly more gender balanced with a small female majority (men 47, women 53 percent). The overall distribution of the academic and teaching personnel by category and type of contract is presented in Table 1.

**Table 1. Gender distribution and staff structure of Helsinki School of Economics, Hanken School of Economics, and School of Business and Economics of University of Jyväskylä in 2006**

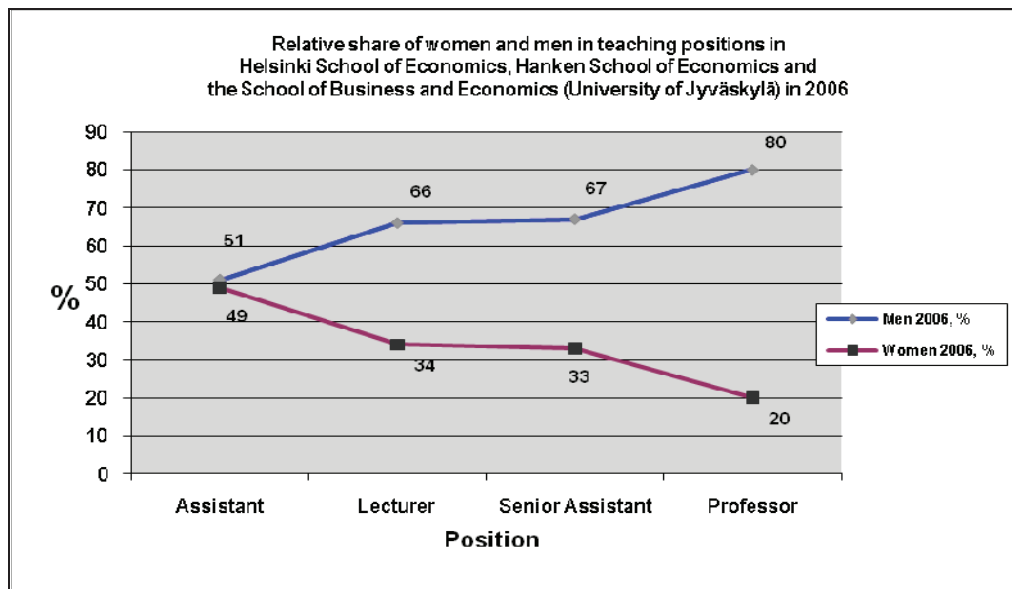
<i>Position</i>	<i>Profesor</i>	<i>Senior Assistant</i>	<i>Assistant</i>	<i>Lecturer</i>	<i>Researcher</i>	<i>Fee-paid Teacher</i>	<i>Acad. staff</i>	<i>Adm. Staff</i>
Permanent, men	56	0	0	19	2	0	77	5
Permanent, women	9	0	0	9	0	0	18	19
Acting or fixed-term, men	29	34	29	6	2	0	100	0
Acting or fixed-term, women	12	17	26	4	1	1	61	3
Fixed-term contract, men	0	0	0	0	57	16	73	4
Fixed-term contract, women	0	0	2	0	53	7	62	8
Total	106	51	57	38	115	24	391	39
<i>Men, %</i>	80	67	51	66	54	67	64	23
<i>Women, %</i>	20	33	49	34	46	33	36	77

Source: NASTA survey. All departments and subjects are included except the departments of language and communication (relevant to the Helsinki School of Economics and Hanken School of Economics). The Vaasa division of the Hanken School of Economics is also excluded.

The academic staff is dominated by men, whereas among the administrative staff women are in clear majority. Men are in majority in all academic categories, most notably among professors (80%). However, gender balance has been reached among assistants (traditionally the entry job in an academic career) and among researchers.

The relative share of women and men in teaching positions in the three schools is presented by the scissor diagram in Figure 1. From the gender balanced assistant level the gender gap starts to widen. The diagram does not include docents, among whom women are slightly better represented than among professors (25 %), when all three schools of economics are taken in consideration.

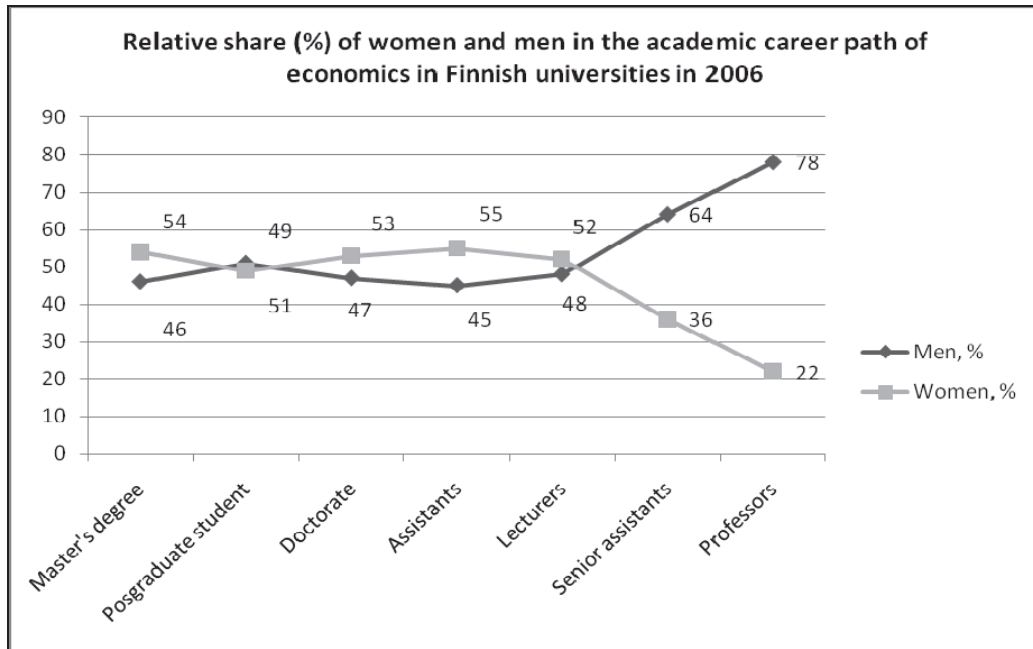
**Figure 1.**



Source: NASTA survey

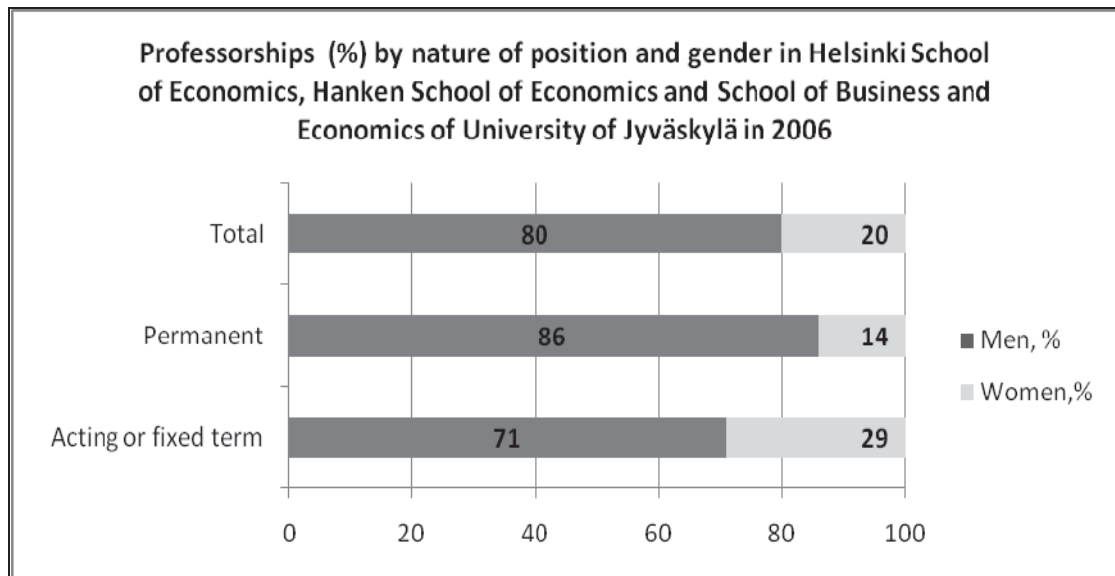
Economics is taught in Finland as a subject in several universities, in addition to the three business schools focused on here. Overall national data illustrating the gender distribution in an economics career path is provided by the Ministry of Education KOTA database. The national scissors diagram (Figure 2) based on KOTA data, depicting the share of women and men in different career stages in economics nationwide indicates a numerical gender balance from Master's degree level up to the senior assistant level. As indicated by chart 1, in the three business schools involved in NASTA the gender gap starts to increase earlier, at the lecturer level.

Figure 2.



Source: KOTA database

Figure 3.



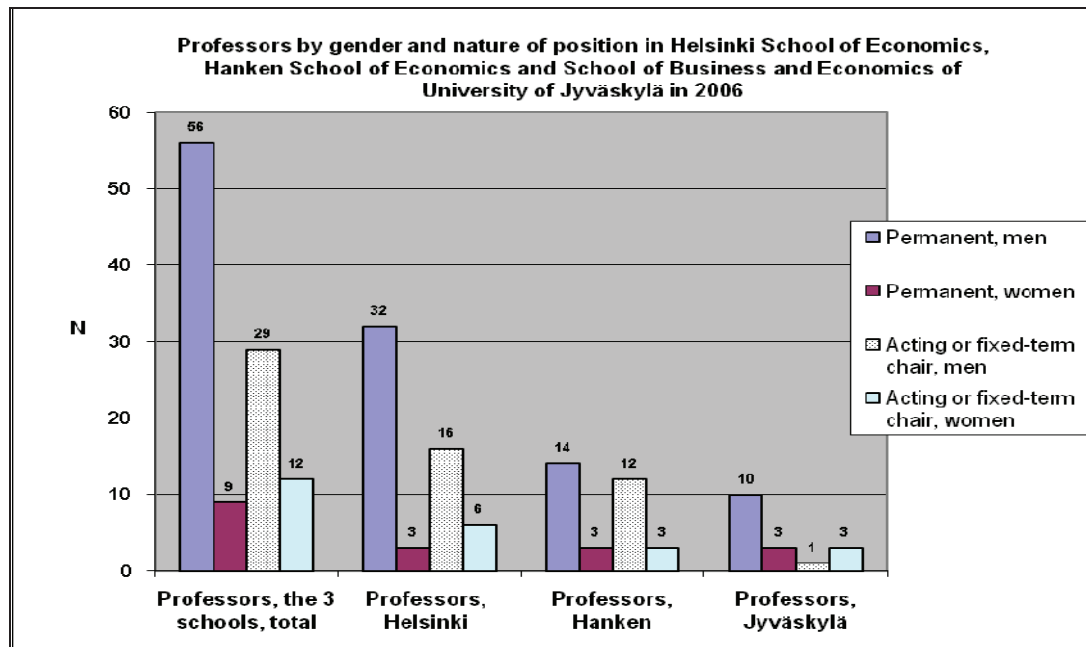
Source: NASTA survey

The NASTA survey collected data on the three business schools by gender and the nature of position, whereas comparative systematic national data is not available (KOTA data does not differentiate the nature of the positions). Gender imbalance in

teaching positions is more pronounced in positions with highest job security, with men overrepresented among the permanent positions (69% compared to 60% among the entire staff), when the data for the three schools are combined. As illustrated by the Figure 3, same pattern was evident amongst professors: women (N=21) represented 20 percent of all 106 professorships, but only 14 percent of permanent professors. Findings of NASTA study in relation to gender distribution and nature of positions of professorship by university are further illustrated in Figure 4 and 5.

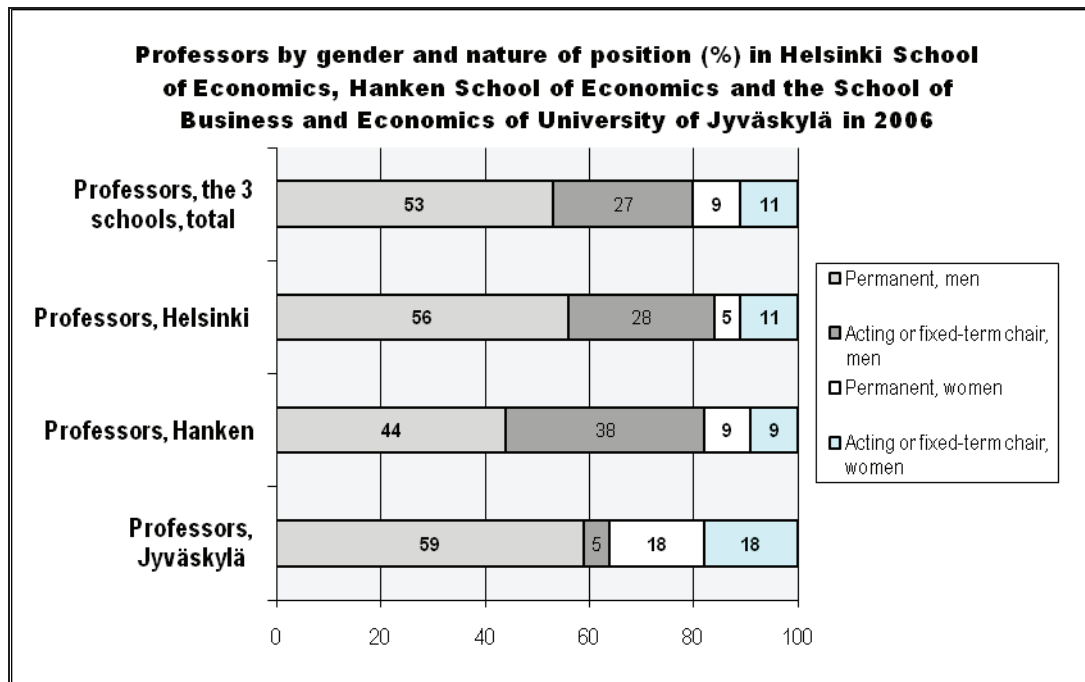
In terms of the professoriate more specifically, male professors in permanent positions formed the largest group in the three schools overall in 2006, and female professors in permanent positions the smallest. However, the distributions varied across the three schools: in Hanken the proportion of male acting/fixed-term professors was nearly equally high as the proportion of permanent male professors, whereas in Jyväskylä, only one man was in an acting/fixed-term position (Figure 4). In both Hanken and Jyväskylä, equally many women were in permanent and acting/fixed-term professorships, whereas in Helsinki School of Economics, more women professors worked in acting/fixed-term positions than were appointed into permanent professorships.

**Figure 4**



Source: NASTA survey

Figure 5

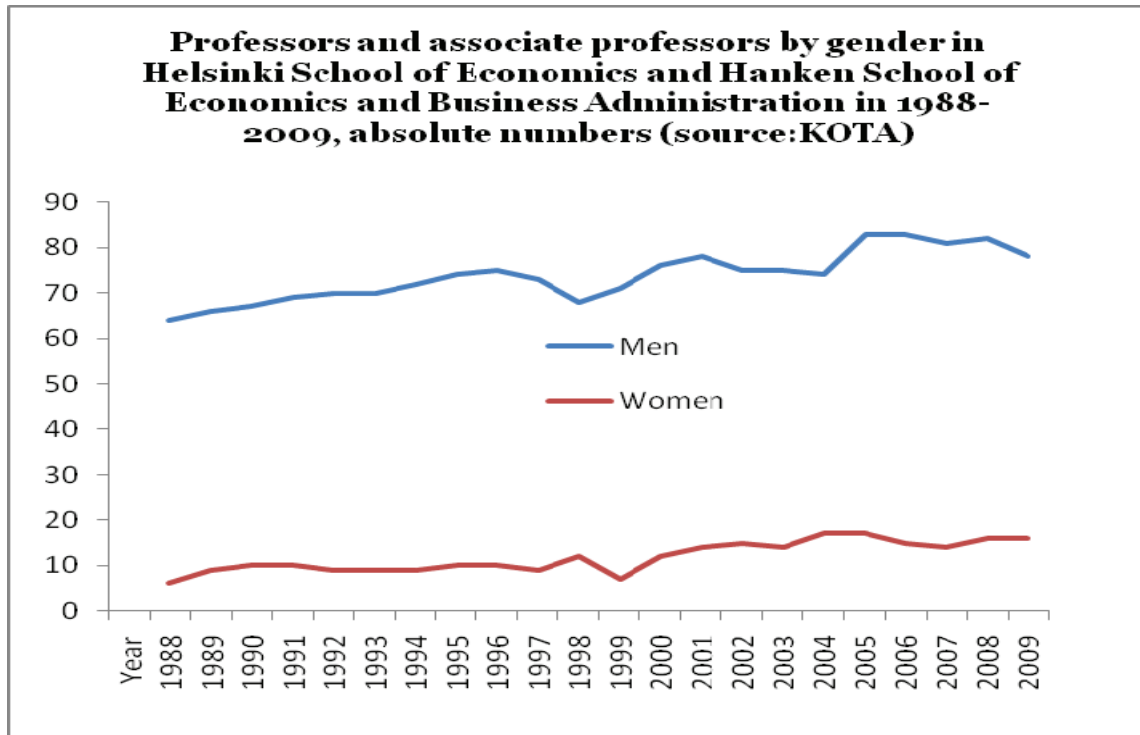


Source: NASTA survey

According to the survey all senior assistant positions and assistant positions in the three schools were either fixed-term or acting positions, whereas two thirds of the lecturer positions were permanent. Female lecturers were somewhat less often in permanent positions (69%) than male lecturers (76%). In all three schools, men in permanent positions formed the largest lecturer group (eight men out of 19 lecturers in total at Helsinki School of Economics, seven out of 11 at Hanken, and four out of eight in University of Jyväskylä School of Business and Economics).

During the ten-year period 1997-2007, all in all 70 women graduated with a Doctoral degree at Helsinki School of Economics (36% of all doctorates), 38 at Hanken School of Economics, (36% of all doctorates), and 42 (44% of all doctorates) in economics at University of Jyväskylä (KOTA database). According to the NASTA survey the share of women is increasing among postgraduate students: in 2006, there were 540 postgraduate students in the three schools, 44% of them women overall. Women represented a slight majority (58%) of all post graduate students in School of Business and Economics of University of Jyväskylä, a half (50%) in Hanken School of Economics, and a slight minority (41%) in Helsinki School of Economics. The recruitment pool for academic positions in business schools is thus becoming more gender balanced, and the proportion of women among lecturers and senior assistants in 2006 was in fact at the same level than the ten-year average proportion of women among doctoral graduates in 1997-2007. However, data on professors by gender in Helsinki School of Economics and Hanken covering two decades shows that the male dominance at the highest academic level persists (Figure 6).

Figure 6



There was great variation in the gender distribution of staffing in different disciplines within business studies, Economics being the most male-dominated, Accountancy and Finance somewhat less so, and Management, Organisation and Marketing most gender balanced.

In Economics, in the three universities, all professors were men, 11 in permanent professorships and two acting or fixed-term, all senior assistants (2) and lecturers (6) were men. The only women in Economics positions were two women assistants out of a total of six. On the other hand, 10 of the 25 researchers in economics were women. The comparable figures for Accountancy and Finance<sup>1</sup> were three women and 17 men in permanent professorships, and ten men but no women in acting or fixed-term professors out of a total of 30 professorial positions, overall 10% of professors being women, along with one woman senior assistant out of 16, and five woman assistants out of 17.

The situation combining Management, Organisation and Marketing departments in the three universities was for permanent professorships six women and 22 men, and for acting and fixed-term professors eight women and 12 men, overall 29% of all professors being women, along with equal numbers of senior assistants, and 16

<sup>1</sup> For Helsinki School of Economics, the figures cover the Department of Accounting and Finance, for Hanken School of Economics, the Department of Accounting, Department of Finance and Statistics and the Department of Commercial Law, and for the University of Jyväskylä, the subject of Accounting.

women out 25 assistants, and 30 out 58 researchers. As usually in Finnish universities, virtually all researchers were on fixed-term contracts.

Overall, it is clear that that the staffing of these three business schools is highly and significantly structured along gender lines. This applies in terms of, first, vertical, hierarchical segregation, second, horizontal segregation by occupational division (academic, administrative), third, horizontal segregation by academic discipline, and fourth, segregation by contract type,

### **Teaching gender in business schools**

The NASTA teaching survey aimed to map how gender was integrated into teaching in the three schools. The number of courses, courses covered in the survey and the response rate were as follows:

- Helsinki School of Economics courses 112, coverage 60% (response rate 69%)
- Hanken courses 162, coverage 83% (response rate 83%)
- Jyväskylä University courses 164, coverage 70% (response rate 85%)

The number of responses returned was 310, of which a clear majority, over two-thirds, 69.7% (N=216), came from male teachers. The responses by university were as follows: Helsinki School of Economics: N=69 (72.5% men); Hanken: N=127 (72.4% men); Jyväskylä University: N=114 (men 64.9 % men); Data has been analysed using SPSS.

The course teachers were asked whether they included gender issues in their courses directly or indirectly. Of the men course teacher respondents, 15.4% reported that they included gender issues directly in their course, compared with 23.9% of women course teacher respondents (ratio 1 men : 1.55 women). It is over 50% more likely that women will include gender issues in their teaching. The comparable percentages for men and women in terms of indirect inclusion of gender issues in their course units were 34.6% men and 44.6% women. One might think that this discrepancy would be partly or even largely the result of gender structuring of academic disciplines. However, this is not the case. Indeed, even though the highest figures of inclusion were in departments of management and organisation, and marketing, the gender difference in those departments was even higher. In management and organisation (men 25% and women 58% direct), and marketing (men 24% and women 46% direct). As already noted, these departments are those in which the staff composition is more gender balanced.

Figures were low in all other departments/disciplines. In all three schools the share of course teacher respondents who had directly included gender issues in their courses was at a similar level (HSE 19.7 %, Hanken 18%, Jyväskylä 16.8 %), whereas the responses for indirect inclusion varied more, with highest figures in Jyväskylä university (HSE 36.9%, Hanken 32.3%, Jyväskylä 44.1%).

The teachers were asked about supervision of Master's, Licentiate or Doctoral theses indirectly or directly involving gender issues. A third of women (34.5%) and one out of five men (21.7%) answered positively; 21.7% of HSE teacher respondents, 20.4 %

of Jyväskylä teacher respondents and 17.6 % of Hanken teacher respondents. There was a large variation by discipline: in entrepreneurship and in logistics, every other teacher respondent reported that they supervised theses involving gender issues directly or indirectly, in national economy 35.6%, in management 33.3%, in marketing 17.2%, in finance 15.6 %, but none in the fields of business law, information systems or political economy. By school and discipline, in HSE the theses supervised, involving gender issues, were in the disciplines of national economy; marketing; and management and organisation; in Hanken in finance; management and organisation; and logistics; in Jyväskylä, in national economy; finance; marketing; management and organisation, and in entrepreneurship. The disciplinary pattern is thus rather varied and uneven.

The course teachers were also asked their views on the current amount of gender issues in teaching. Majority of the teachers, both women and men, were satisfied with the amount of teaching on gender issues, but a quarter of men and more than a third of women answered that it should be increased. Of the men, 71% thought that the amount of teaching on gender issues was about right, 26.6 that it should be increased and 2.3 that it was too much (four teachers, teaching either national economy or finance), compared with for women 65.8%, 34.2% and 0% respectively. The most positive responses for increasing teaching on gender issues came from those departments where more women worked. Responses to teaching on gender are thus also related to gender divisions.

## **Conclusions**

The staffing of these three business schools is strongly gender structured, in terms of, vertical, hierarchical segregation, horizontal segregation by occupational division, and horizontal segregation by academic discipline, Men are in majority in business schools at all academic career stages, and, as in academia more generally, the higher the position, the stronger is the male dominance (see, e.g., Husu 2007; EC, 2009). Male dominance is institutionalised in business schools, and especially so in some disciplines. In terms of the professoriate more specifically, male professors in permanent positions formed the largest group in the three schools overall in 2006, and female professors in permanent positions the smallest. This professorial group is crucial for both academic matters in teaching and research, and more general management, resource allocation and cultural leadership. However, the recruitment pool to an academic career in business studies has become more gender balanced, as women currently gain doctorates nearly in the same extent than men. Despite of this development, only a very slow change across several decades can be observed in the gender balance of the highest position of professor.

Women and men in business school academic careers differ to some extent in terms of job security. In the lower steps of the academic hierarchy, fixed-term positions are a rule in Finland, and permanent appointments have thus far been possible only in the lecturer and professor positions. Two-thirds of the lecturers had a permanent appointment in the three business schools studied here, and female lecturers were somewhat less often in permanent positions (69%) than male lecturers (76%). Majority of professors in the three business schools are in permanent positions, men more

often than women. 20% of all professors in the three schools together were women, but in permanent professorships only 14%. This difference is, however, due to gender differences in the Helsinki School of Economics, whereas in both Hanken and in Jyväskylä, equal numbers of female professors were in permanent and in fixed-term/acting positions. Corresponding national figures are unfortunately not available for comparisons.

Teaching on gender issues is taking place in all three universities. Integrating gender issues in teaching directly or indirectly was more common among female teachers according to NASTA survey, and more common in departments where the staff composition was more gender balanced. In departments of management and organisation and marketing, practically half of the female respondents reported that they directly integrated gender issues in their courses. Women also reported more than men that they supervised theses involving gender issues directly or indirectly.

These results suggest that, in general terms, a more gender balanced staff composition in a discipline and department will promote teaching and supervision of gender, both among female and male teachers. On the other hand, this could be seen as an indirect effect in that while the highest figures of inclusion of gender in teaching were in departments of management and organisation, and marketing, the gender difference in those departments was even higher than elsewhere. There are several possible explanations for this situation:

- that women working in departments where there is greater gender balance among the staff may become more committed to teaching on gender issues;
- that men in such departments do not introduce gender into their teaching or tend to leave teaching on gender to the women, so producing a new kind of gender division; or
- that men do not increase their input on gender as much as women teachers;
- that men resist more teaching on gender.

Most respondents were satisfied with the amount of teaching on gender issues. Responses to an attitude question on views on teaching on gender issues may be affected by social desirability, given that the respondents must be aware that the survey was conducted by a project aiming to promote teaching on gender issues. Thus neutral or positive answers could be expected. No women and a very small group of men responded that there was too much of this kind of teaching. A substantial group of both women and men (a quarter of men and third of women) wanted to develop more teaching on gender issues.

To conclude, it would seem that, in general terms, the more women on departmental staff, the more teaching on gender is likely, and also that the more teaching is considered advisable. This is however tempered by the greater difference between women and men in terms of teaching in departments with more women and more teaching on gender. In such ways, there are complex relations between the gender typing of disciplines, the gender distribution in staff and students, the gendering of teaching and research, and thus overall the extent, promotion and inhibition of gendered knowledge in business studies and its various disciplinary parts.

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## **Open access web teaching material on women and leadership**

*Anna-Maija Lämsä*

Women and leadership web teaching material was jointly produced by the NASTA project. The aim of this material is to introduce students to issues related to women as leaders and women's leadership on the basis of relevant research but also from practical working life perspectives. Furthermore, the aim is to increase gender sensitivity of the students and teach them how to analyse gendered leadership.

The material is preliminary designed for teaching at university and polytechnic levels but can also be used in leadership and management development programmes in public and private organisations. The material can be used alone or combined with other relevant literature and materials. Interactivity can be increased by transferring the interactive tasks to web based learning environments (e.g. Optima, WebCT). Both a distant learning course and a face-to-face course can be organized based on the material.

The teaching material includes key topics, articles, cases, interactive and other forms of learning tasks, reflective tasks, presentations of literature in the field as well as links to relevant websites. The material corresponds approximately 200 printed pages, and when needed the main part of the material can be printed in PDF-format. The language of the material is mainly Finnish, with a few sections in English.

The main themes of the material are as follows:

### *Women and leadership*

The section presents the historical development and current situation of women in management and leadership from the statistical point of view in the labour market in Finland and Europe. The concepts of vertical and horizontal segregation are presented, and the phenomenon is discussed from various viewpoints. In addition, challenges and problems of producing reliable and comparative statistical data of the topic are brought forth.

Furthermore, the section highlights the issue of equality between women and men in management and leadership as well as shows how the discussion of the topic 'women and men - same or different' has changed in the direction of workforce diversity in general as well as diversity in management and leadership. Practical examples of diversity development activities in organizations are presented. Finally, the section discusses reasons why the advancement of women in management and leadership is important.

### *Research on women and leadership*

The section introduces main historical women researchers of management and leadership. Key concepts that have been developed in the field are presented. Further, the section describes main changes and phases of research on the topic.

The concept of gender in general and in relation to management and leadership research is reflected on, and various approaches in feminist thought that intersect with the study of gender and leadership are presented and discussed. Finally, the topics of networking, power and gender as well as sexualities in management and organizations are presented and reflected on.

### *Women in leadership careers*

The section introduces career theories and their development over time. An addition, the applicability of the theories on women's careers in management as well as gender differences in managerial careers are discussed. The topics of women's international careers, particularly as expatriates, and dual couple careers are also presented.

Research on women's career barriers in management is introduced. Individual, organizational and societal level factors having an impact on the issue are reflected on. Furthermore, the different levels of the factors that are important in promoting their managerial careers are brought forth. Two cases of the advancement of women's managerial career in public and private sector organizations in Finland are introduced.

### *Stereotypes and myths*

Archetypes as well as stereotypes of women and femininity in management and leadership are presented and discussed. In particular, drawing upon the Finnish mythology the section introduces archetypes and images of powerful women in the Finnish heritage, and discusses the meaning of the archetypes and images to women managers in current working life.

The concept of double bind is introduced and discussed from the women's leadership point of view. In addition, the general masculine image of heroism in leadership is questioned and women's opportunities to cope with the image are reflected on.

### *Men and masculinities*

The section describes how many approaches in the field of organizations, their management and leadership are linked to men, maleness and masculinity, whether consciously or not. The various definitions and theories of masculinity are presented and reflected on, and, in particular, the idea of hegemonic masculinity is highlighted.

Studies that have made explicit the gendering of men and masculinities in workplaces and specifically in management are introduced and discussed. The concept and

phenomenon of patriarchy in organizational life is presented. Finally, several topics in the field of men, masculinities and management that are relevant to be studied and discussed are introduced.

### *Gender and well-being at work*

The section discusses the division of labour between women and men over time in Finland. Moreover, the specific characteristics that are typical for women's participation in working life in Finland are introduced.

Different theories, in particular, a conflict approach to the work-family relationship, both in general and in relation to women managers are presented and combined with the wellbeing of women managers at work. Finally, the topic of workplace violence is discussed.

### *Literature reviews*

The section involves short descriptions and evaluations of some main literature and articles in the field of women in management and leadership. Up to thirty texts are introduced.

This extensive web teaching material is openly accessible at

<http://naisjohtajuus.jyu.fi>.

The editorial group of the material:

Editor: Anna-Maija Lämsä (JY),

Production group: Marianne Ekonen (JY), Jeff Hearn (Hanken), Minna Hiillos (Hanken), Nea Kontoniemi (HSE), Anna-Maija Lämsä (JY), Hertta Niemi (Hanken), Teemu Tallberg (Hanken), Sinikka Vanhala (HSE); Ville Lämsä, JY (photographs) and Kristian Vanhala (logo).

**NASTA International Conference:  
Leadership through the Gender Lens:  
Women, Men and Equality in Organisations**

*Liisa Husu*

An international conference *Leadership through the Gender Lens: Women, Men and Equality in Organisations* was one of the major joint efforts of NASTA project. The conference, organised in October 2009 at Hanken School of Economics, gathered 150 participants from 18 countries for two intensive days.

The conference brought together critical analyses and debates on gender, leadership and management in business, public sector and community. Addressing the gendering of leadership and management raises many questions, including the continuation of gender unequal conditions for women and men; the possibility of more gender equal organisational arrangements, and homosociality in leadership. The overall aim of the conference was to generate new thinking, policy and action about women, men, gender and leadership. The idea was to provide a creative international forum for interaction between scholars and researchers on gender, leadership, organisation and management, together with managers of different kind and practitioners from business, government and community.

Professor Anna Wahl from the Royal Institute of Technology, Sweden, the first keynote speaker, reflected on the impact of gender equality on management and leadership from the perspective of change and resistance. Professor Albert Mills from St. Mary's University, Canada, presented an overview on twenty years of research on gender, leadership and organisational culture. Professor Susan Vinnicombe and Dr. Ruth Sealy from the International Centre of Women Leaders in Cranfield University, United Kingdom, focused in their keynote on the issue of women in corporate boards, discussing slow progress in this field and initiatives for a positive change. NASTA project Research Directors Professor Jeff Hearn, Hanken, Professor Anna-Maija Lämsä, University of Jyväskylä and Professor Sinikka Vanhala, Helsinki School of Economics presented joint contributions of NASTA, including an extensive open access teaching material on the web on women's leadership, and a survey on teaching and gender in business schools.

Altogether 50 papers were presented and discussed in five parallel streams, entitled careers; academia and cultural organisations; leadership; public sector and NGOs; and power and change. Session themes included leadership dynamics and leadership development, new public management, leadership in academia, women at the top, leading women, boards, career development, expatriates, work-life balance, gender equality interventions and the issue of men. A window to current debates on gender and leadership in the Finnish society was offered by a lively panel discussion moderated by journalist Bettina Sångbom, and featuring businesswoman and

author/lecturer Lenita Airisto, Deputy City Mayor and ex-Minister of Education Tuula Haatainen, Director Pauli Juuti from JTO (School of Management), and Johanna Saarinen, Head of Competence and Talent Management from Kone Corporation. The social programme included a City of Helsinki reception at the Old Court House at the Senate Square, hosted by Deputy City Mayor Tuula Haatainen. The conference programme, including the detailed session programme can be found as an appendix at the end of this publication.

Participant feedback was very positive concerning the quality of programme and sessions, networking possibilities, overall atmosphere and practical arrangements, and many inquiries about the next such conference were made. A proceedings publication has been published with selected full papers (Husu et al. 2010).

## **Reference**

Husu, Liisa, Jeff Hearn, Anna-Maija Lämsä and Sinikka Vanhala (eds.) (2010) *Leadership through the GenderLens: Women and Men in Organizations*. Edita, Helsinki. <http://dhanken.shh.fi/dspace/bitstream/10227/753/1/71-978-952-232-101-5.pdf>

## Research articles

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### Career orientations of women middle managers

*Sinikka Vanhala*

#### Introduction

This paper focuses on women in middle management and the women managers' work attitudes, work and career orientations, and other career-related issues. The purpose of the paper is to break the view of female middle managers as a homogenous group of frustrated women under the glass ceiling, by identifying different career orientation types and analyzing women managers' attitudes, work and career orientations and expectations towards career. Middle managers make an interesting group to study, especially from a gender perspective. Women have increasingly filled the middle management positions - with low opportunities to progress into executive positions (Duehr & Bono, 2006; Vallan tasa-arvoa..., 2009). The empirical study is based on survey data gathered from female middle managers in Finland.

#### Middle managers and middle management

The discourse on middle managers and middle management can be reduced to three main topics: one is related to the role and position of middle managers in organizations, the second one is related to the theme: "What is happening to middle management?", and the third one on women in middle management. This paper is focusing on the last theme.

The debate on middle managers and middle management is characterized either by a strong emphasis on the negative side of middle management or the contradiction between negative and positive views. As Huy (2001: 73) states: "*The very phrase of 'middle manager' evokes mediocrity: a person, who stubbornly defends the status quo because he's too unimaginative to dream up anything better – or, worse, someone who sabotages others' attempts to change the organization for the better.*"

According to prior literature, there are several reasons for the negative view of middle managers and management (Dobson & Stewart, 1990; Huy, 2001). They are related to the position and attitudes of middle managers and expectations towards them. Middle managers are taken as intermediaries, who do not add value in the squeeze between the demands of top management and company strategies, on the one hand, and employees, on the other. They are seen as "corporate dinosaurs who will always offer a reason why something can't be achieved". Insecurity and poor career prospects typically characterize middle management positions. There are, however, also articles emphasizing the positive side of middle management (Dopson & Stewart,

1990; Antonioni, 1999; Dew, 2000; Huy, 2001). The positive aspects of middle management are related to the role of middle managers as owners of social capital. The middle managers' formal position between top management and employees makes middle managers an important communicational link both in formal and informal communication. There are also descriptions of middle managers' strategic roles (Floyd & Woolridge, 1992; Raham, 2009). In spite of the ownership of important social capital or competencies to more strategic roles, middle managers and their employers do not seem to realize it.

The role and position of middle managers seem undervalued; as if middle management could not be a target of career but only a phase in one's career. This is especially true in the career literature focusing on barriers confronting female middle managers in their managerial careers (Still, 2006; Wood 2008).

### **Barriers confronting women middle managers**

There are two types of barriers and obstacles female middle managers encounter in their career: The first category consists of gender-based (stereotypical) barriers preventing women from ascending to senior management positions in large corporations, described by the metaphor "glass ceiling". The other category involves the actual role of family responsibilities in women's work and career.

Women's lower proportions in management, lower average salaries and fewer career opportunities are primarily explained by women's family responsibilities. Especially so-called dual-career couples have been in the focus of research (Elloy & Smith, 2003; Kasper et al., 2005). There are, however, several other explanatory mechanisms. For example, the early psychological studies suggested that women lacked the right personality traits necessary for leadership positions. Today the list of barriers is more convincing. For instance, Eyring and Stead (1998) have listed 28 barriers ranging from paternalistic corporate culture to the lack of adequate records. The long list of barriers can, however, be reduced to two main categories of causation (Oakley, 2000): The first category consists of barriers created by corporate practices, the behavioral and cultural causes are included in the second category. Liff & Ward (2001) refer to a range of organizational structures and processes that in many cases are overly deterministic. According to this view, women are considered as victims unable to influence their own career. According to the opposite view, "*women who are committed to career success attain it*" (Hakim 1996: 119), and lack of career success would thus be "women's own fault".

Prior career literature related to women in management has focused on women's proportion in top management and on factors preventing women's career advancement as if all women would dream of the position in top management. Much less is known about women's preferences concerning their work and career in lower managerial levels, i.e., middle and lower management. There is a vast discrepancy between women middle managers' career targets and the real shares of women in top management. According to Hudson study (2008), even the vast majority of women middle managers (77%) in the US aspire to senior management position. However, a Catalyst (2006) study found that the average number of corporate officers in a Fortune 500

companies was 20.3, while the average number of female corporate officers was only 3.2. The great majority of women remain in lower managerial positions.

## Methodology

Empirical data were gathered by a survey directed at female middle managers with a university level business school background (masters and bachelors of economics and business administration). The sample of 936 female middle managers was picked from the register of SEFE (The Finnish Association of Graduates in Economics and Business Administration). Totally 389 properly completed questionnaires were returned, resulting in a response rate of 42 percent.

The career construct was measured by position, evaluated career phase, career prospects, and career satisfaction. The instrument of commitment consisted of 20 items. All attitudinal measures applied a 5-point Likert-type scale. Factor analysis was applied to reduce data. Based on factor analysis, the combined scales were constructed. The reliability of combined scales was measured by Cronbach alpha coefficient. The values of Cronbach alpha varied between .59 and .76.

**Table 1. Means, standard deviations and Cronbach  $\alpha$  coefficients of commitment and satisfaction scales**

	Number of items	mean	sd.	$\alpha$ coefficient
Job satisfaction (J-SAT)	1	3.63	1.02	-
Organizational satisfaction (O-SAT)	1	3.62	1.03	-
Organizational commitment (O-COM)	5	3.57	1.06	0.76
Career commitment (C-COM)	4	2.94	1.21	0.76
Work commitment (W-COM)	2	2.92	1.16	0.59
Workaholism (W-HOL)	3	3.30	1.12	0.72

## Demographic and work-related characteristics

According to survey, 3/4 of respondents were married or cohabiting and 70% had at least one child. The mean age of respondents was 43 years, and 86% was included in the age group 31-50 years. 2/3 had a master's degree and 1/3 a bachelor's degree. The time from the first Business School degree was 16 years, on average (md=15 years). Almost half (48%) of respondents were employed by large companies (over 500 employees), and 2/3 came from the service sector. The mean tenure in the present position was 5 years (md= 3 years). The main task group was either finance or marketing for 62% of respondents. The majority of middle managers of this study had 10 or less subordinates with the median being 5.

## Career advancement and career prospects of female middle managers

Career of middle managers was measured by four variables: 1) position in organization (1=lower, 2=upper middle management), phase in career (1=lowering, 2=stable/at the top, 3=rising career), career prospects (1=very bad, 5=very good) and satisfaction with career ("My current position responds my expectations"; 1=very badly, 5=very well).

52% of respondents belong to the upper and 48% to lower middle management. Half of respondents evaluated her career as rising and almost one out of ten as going down. More than a third saw that she already was at the top of her career. Approximately half of respondents evaluated her career prospects as bad, a quarter as average and a quarter as good. Career satisfaction was highest among respondents who evaluated having reached the top of career in middle management, and the most dissatisfied group consisted of those with lowering career prospects.

The correlation analysis between career variables and demographic and work-related variables revealed some trends. First, position in upper or lower middle management correlated neither with demographic nor work-related variables. Secondly, aging in broad sense, i.e., age, tenure and years since graduation, correlated statistically significantly ( $p < .001$ ) with career phase and career prospects, and age and years since graduation also with career satisfaction. Younger respondents with shorter tenure saw their career as rising, while their older counterparts evaluated to having reached the top of career or saw their career going down. Older respondents were more satisfied with their present career but more dissatisfied with their career prospects.

The level of the university degree correlated positively with career phase and career prospects. The respondents with master's degree evaluated their career phase and career prospects more positively than those with a bachelor's degree, who, instead, were more satisfied with their career. The level of university degree correlated strongly with all aging variables; the bachelor's degree was more common in older age groups.

## Career typology

The respondents were classified into five career orientation types by two variables: career prospects and career satisfaction, as illustrated in table 2. A third of respondents are classified as "neutral", while two thirds are included in the four orientation types.

**Table 2. Career orientation groups**

1. Career maker	High career prospects/high career satisfaction	(N=63)
2. Impatient career orient.	High career prospects/low career satisfaction	(N=20)
3. Neutral career orientation	Career prospects and satisfaction in between	(N=118)
4. "On the top"	Low career prospects/ high career satisfaction	(N=81)
5. In the career trap	Low career prospects/low career satisfaction	(N=62)

The main features of these five groups are described as follows:

*Career makers:*

This group is youngest with a low number of children and a short tenure in present job. Typical to prior career in this group is high external and internal mobility.

*Impatient career orientation:*

This small group of career orientation consists of young women with short career and less children than in any other group.

*Neutral career orientation:*

Respondents in this group are in many respects "in between" compared to other groups. The group is second in the proportion of bachelor's degree as well as in years since graduation.

*On the top:*

Typical to this group is a realistic attitude towards career advancement. The group consists of women with bachelor's degree and the position in upper middle management. This group is oldest with longest tenure and longest time since graduation. These women do not see any career opportunities.

*In the career trap:*

This group consists of women in lower middle management with more children and less company training than any other group.

According to the study, the main factors delaying or hindering career advancement of middle managers were lack of career planning in companies (42%) and sex (41%). Lack of networks was in the third position (29%). After them came family issues, self-confidence and the attitudes of supervisors - 20% each. The most important factors advancing career were the university degree, professional capability, and own efforts.

## **Satisfaction and commitment**

Job satisfaction and satisfaction towards the employer (company satisfaction) were measured by single general questions. The combined 'commitment' scales were classified according to original items into five alternatives ranging from 1=low/weak to 5=high/strong.

Job and organizational satisfaction and organizational commitment were highest among "career makers" and lowest among those in the "career trap". Career commitment was highest in the group of "impatient career orientation" which sounds logical, and among those neutrally oriented. The workaholism was lowest in the group of "career makers". Those in the "career trap" were neither satisfied with their work or company nor committed to work or organization, while those "on the top" of career had the highest scores in workaholism and the lowest in career commitment.

**Table 2. Means and standard deviations of satisfaction and commitment scales in career orientation groups**

Career orientation Types	J-SAT mean (sd.)	O-SAT mean (sd.)	O-COM mean (sd.)	C-COM mean (sd.)	W-COM mean (sd.)	W-HOL mean (sd.)
Career makers	<b>4.06</b> (.80)	<b>4.16</b> (.68)	<b>4.29</b> (.79)	3.17 (1.14)	2.95 (1.20)	<u>3.22</u> (1.10)
Impatient career orient.	3.80 (.95)	3.85 (1.27)	3.30 (.98)	<b>3.80</b> (1.20)	<b>3.10</b> (1.07)	3.25 (1.37)
Neutral career orient.	3.70 (1.00)	3.77 (.89)	3.70 (.88)	2.80 (1.11)	<b>3.10</b> (1.12)	3.25 (1.13)
'On the top'/No opport.	3.74 (8.68)	3.46 (.98)	3.80 (.90)	<u>2.28</u> (1.19)	2.83 (1.17)	<b>3.41</b> (1.16)
In the career trap	<u>2.82</u> (1.06)	<u>2.90</u> (1.14)	<u>2.39</u> (.88)	3.56 (.99)	<u>2.60</u> (1.18)	3.30 (1.02)
F (df=4)	15,596	15,238	41,507	15,970	2,210	,322
Sign. <sup>1)</sup>	***	***	***	***	NS	NS

1) \*p<.05, \*\*p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001; NS=not significant

2) The highest values bolded; the lowest values underlined

## Discussion

One of the purposes of this paper was to focus attention to women in middle management. Middle managers' formal position between top management and employees makes middle managers, e.g., an important communicational link. With a growing number of women entering into middle management position, middle managers have received increasing interest also from gender perspective.

The results of the study indicate that, in spite of a homogenous sample of middle managers (women with bachelor's or master's degree in economics and business administration), there was a great variety of different work and life situations and high potential for top management positions, as well. Over 60% of respondents were satisfied with their work and career, and over a third had a career target in top management, which is a much lower figure than, e.g., in Hudson study (2008). The identification of career types revealed five groups of career orientation: "In the career trap", "On the top", "Impatient career orientation", "Career makers", and "Neutral career orientation".

In prior research (e.g. Dobson & Stewart, 1990; Clarke, 1998; Huy, 2001), middle managers are seen as dissatisfied and frustrated people in the middle of organizational hierarchy without realistic opportunities to proceed in career. This

kind of frustration was visible in the groups of “career trap” and “impatiently oriented”. Those in the “career trap” are an interesting group, because they are more committed to their families and less to their work and company than any other group; however, their career commitment was high. Is commitment to family a result of non-existent career prospects (cf., Festinger, 1955), or have these women made a conscious choice that family comes first and career after that? The high career commitment of this group refers to the first alternative. The “impatiently oriented” were young work and career oriented workaholics, who wanted to make a faster career. Those “at the top” of career seemed realistic as to their career advancement. They said that their career target was in middle management, and they were not interested in striving for top positions. The “career makers” were not primarily committed to career advancement but organization that they were satisfied with. In this group, internal mobility was high. It seems that these career makers see their career as a traditional organizational career (“objective career”). The future brokers of the glass ceiling will most obviously come from this group and from “impatiently career oriented”.

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## Naisten johtamisurien moninaisuus korkean teknologian toimialalla

*Marianne Ekonen*

### **Abstract: Women's Managerial Careers in High Technology Organizations**

This study concentrates on women managers' experiences of career development. The study found four types of career development among women: balance-seeking, hierarchical, ideological, and horizontal. The study shows that there are various ways to construct career development by women. The fast changing high technology industry requires high input from women but at the same time the constant changes offer many opportunities. The study concludes that women managers should not be treated as a homogenous group but rather as individuals whose careers are driven by many and varying forces.

### **Johdanto**

Uratutkimus on kohdannut viime aikoina haasteita, osittain juuri naisten määrän lisääntyneitä johtotehtävissä. Sen lisäksi teknologinen kehittyminen, muutokset organisaatorakenteissa, uusien toimialojen synty ja maailmanlaajuisen kilpailun kiristyminen ovat sellaisia muutoksia, jotka ovat asettaneet uratutkimuksen uusien haasteiden eteen. Perinteisten, hierarkkisten urien on nähty antavan tilaa vapaammille ja eri suuntiin kehittyville urille, joissa yhdistyvät niin henkilökohtaisen kuin ammatillisen elämän osa-alueet.

Tämän tutkimuksen kohteena on korkean teknologian toimialalla, keskijohdossa toimivien naisten johtamisurat. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on kuvata ja tulkita naisten kerrontaa urastaan. Tutkimusotteeltaan kyseessä on laadullinen tutkimus, jossa tutkimusaihetta lähestytään ja tarkastellaan narratiivisesta näkökulmasta. Tutkimuksen empiirinen aineisto koostuu kahdeksan naisen haastattelusta, joiden toteuttamisessa keskeistä on ollut säilyttää narratiiviselle tutkimukselle olennainen piirre orientoida haastateltavaa tarinankerrontaan. Tutkimusongelma on jäsentynyt seuraaviin kysymyksiin: Mitä naisjohtajat kertovat urakehityksestään? Mitkä keskeiset urakehitystä ohjaavat tekijät nousevat kerronnassa esille? Uratarinoiden rakentamisessa on käytetty menetelmänä Labovin ja Waletskyn (1967) strukturaalista analyysia. Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että naisten kerronnasta on löydettävissä neljä johtamisuratyyppeä: *tasapainohakuinen, hierarkkinen, ideologinen ja vaakatasoinen ura*. (Ekonen 2007.)

Aluksi luon katsauksen uratutkimuksen taustaan ja historiaan. Sen jälkeen tarkastelen naisten johtamisurien erityispiirteitä. Tämän jälkeen käyn lyhyesti läpi tutkimuksen metodologiset valinnat. Lopuksi esittelen tutkimuksen tulokset ja viimeisenä johtopäätökset.

## Uratutkimuksen taustaa

Uran käsitteellä tarkoitetaan organisaatio- ja johtamistutkimuksessa yksilön työkokemusten ajallisesti kehittyvää järjestystä tai jatkumoa, jonka hallitsevina elementteinä ovat ajallinen ja pitkäjänteinen tarkastelu (Arthur, Hall & Lawrence 1989, 8). Uratutkimuksen historia on piirtänyt kuvan yksilön työurasta ylöspäin etenevänä ja katkeamattomana kehityksenä, yhden tai kahden organisaation sisällä, vakituudessa työsuhteessa, valkoihoisen, keskiluokkaisen miehen omaisuutena (Levinson 1978; Miller & Form 1964; Super 1957). Määritelmän mukaan ura tarkoittaa sitä ylennysten ja muiden ylöspäin suuntautuvien toimien sarjaa, jonka yksilö käy läpi työelämänsä aikana. Etenkin menestyvän uran määritelmään on liitetty ylöspäin etenevyys ja katkeamattomuus (Hall 1996). Tutkijat ovat kritisoineet tätä määritelmää siitä, että se pohjautuu pääasiassa miehillä tehtyihin tutkimuksiin ja pitää yllä maskuliinista stereotypiaa menestyvän johtajan urakehityksestä rajoittaen esimerkiksi naisten urakehitystä (Mavin 2001, 183; Sturges 1999, 251). Vaikka urasta voidaan puhua jokaisen työssäkäyvän ihmisen kohdalla, on käsite usein liitetty korkeasti koulutettuun ja arvostettuun ammatissa liike-elämän palveluksessa toimivaan yksilöön (Arthur ym. 1989, 9; Lähteenmäki 1995, 26).

Organisaatio- ja johtamistutkimuksessa urista kiinnostuttiin 1970-luvulla (Hall 1976; Schein 1978; Van Maanen 1977). Tutkimukset pohjautuivat psykologiassa ja sosiologiassa tehtyihin aikaisempiin tutkimuksiin ja tarkastelivat yksilön ja organisaation välistä suhdetta (Van Maanen 1977). Organisaatio- ja johtamistutkijoiden tarkoituksena olikin tarkastella uria kokonaisvaltaisemmin huomioiden samalla yksilöiden erilaiset kokemukset urastaan (Arthur ym. 1989, 11; Hall 1976; Schein 1978). Alettiin puhua urasuunnittelun ja -johtamisen tärkeydestä, eli siitä, millä tavalla johtajat olivat vastuussa alaistensa urakehityksestä. Samaan aikaan vastuun urasta nähtiin siirtyvän yhä enemmän yksilölle itselleen. (Hall 1976; Schein 1978.)

Uratutkimuksen historiassa yksi keskeisimpiä vastakkainasetteluita on ollut keskustelu objektiivisesta ja subjektiivisesta urasta (Gunz 1989, 226; Peiperl & Arthur 2000, 3). Jaossa on kyse siitä, missä määrin ura ymmärretään yksilön ulkopuolisten *rakenteiden* määrittämäksi ja missä määrin se ajatellaan *yksilön oman kokemuksen* määrittämäksi. Rakenteeseen ja kokemukseen liittyvän vastakkainasettelun taustalla on se seikka, että urateoriat ovat kehittyneet pääasiassa kahden tieteenalan vaikutuksesta: sosiologisen ja psykologisen. Siinä missä sosiologit ovat usein lähteneet ajatuksesta ”careers make people”, ovat psykologit ajatelleet päinvastoin, ”people make careers” (Van Maanen 1977). Toisin sanoen sosiologisesti painotunut tutkimus on tarkastellut uraa rakenteiden kautta muodostuneena, jolloin puhutaan *objektiivisesta urasta*. Psykologinen tutkimus on puolestaan keskittynyt yksilön omia kokemuksia korostavaan lähestymistapaan, jolloin käytetään *subjektiivisen uran* käsitettä.

1800-luvulta lähtien vaikuttanut byrokraattinen organisaatioteoria on luonut pohjan uratutkimukselle organisaatiokontekstissa. Teorian vaikutukset ovat nähtävissä vielä tänäkin päivänä (Peiperl & Baruch 1997, 4). Perinteisessä vertikaalisen uran

määritelmässä hierarkkinen organisaatorakenne mahdollistaa ylöspäin suuntautuvan urakehityksen yksilön edetessä organisaation sisällä vastuullisempaan ja hierarkkisesti korkeampaan organisaatioasemaan. Valta on keskittynyt tällaisessa organisaatiossa, ja sen johtajaksi pyritään valitsemaan parhaat yksilöt. Byrokratiateoriasta kumpuava urakäsitys korostaa uran objektiivista luonnetta. Toisin sanoen ura ymmärretään ihmisen ulkopuolelta määrittyvien objektiivisten tekijöiden perusteella. Tavanomaisesti nämä tekijät paikantuvat henkilön muodolliseen statukseen organisaatiossa ja hänen palkkatasoonsa. Objektiivisen käsityksen näkökulmasta urakehitys tarkoittaa yksilön kohoamista organisaatiohierarkiassa ylöspäin. Uralla taantumisesta on puolestaan kysymys, kun henkilön muodollinen asema laskee hierarkiassa. (Ekonen & Lämsä 2005.)

Subjektiivinen urakäsitys lähtee ajatuksesta, jonka mukaan yksilön omat kokemukset ja havainnot ovat uraa määrääviä seikkoja. Toisin sanoen henkilö määrittää itse, mitä uralla tarkoittaa (Peiperl & Arthur 2000). Subjektiivisen käsityksen mukaan uralla menestymistä ei voi arvioida objektiivisilla kriteereillä, kuten organisaatioasemalla, vaan menestyminen tarkoittaa eri henkilöille eri asioita. Tällöin esimerkiksi hierarkiassa etenemistä ei voi pitää kehityksen mittarina, vaan kehityksen tulkinta muotoutuu yksilön omien arvostusten ja valintojen pohjalta. Tärkeää on se, minkä yksilö itse kokee uraksi ja siinä kehittymiseksi. Esimerkiksi mahdollisuus oman asiantuntijuuden lisääntyvään käyttöön voi olla urakehitystä yhdelle henkilölle, kun toinen henkilö ei pidä sitä kehityksenä lainkaan. (Ekonen & Lämsä 2005.)

Subjektiivisen uratutkimuksen tavoitteena on tuottaa tutkimusta ihmisten erilaisista kokemusmaailmoista ja näkökulmista yhden hallitsevan näkökulman sijaan (Hall 1976). Tutkittaessa uraa yksilön näkökulmasta käsin voidaan ymmärtää paremmin, miten yksilöt itse näkevät ja jäsentävät uraansa, miten näkemykset urasta muuttuvat ajan ja kokemuksen myötä ja miten yksilöiden omat tulkinnat vaikuttavat heidän uravalintoihinsa ja toimintaansa. Tällöin myös yksittäisten ihmisten äänet pääsevät paremmin kuuluviin ja sitä kautta aiheen tutkimus näyttäytyy moniäänisempänä.

Tässä tutkimuksessa käytetty narratiivinen lähestymistapa tarjoaa oivan työkalun tutkia uria nimenomaan yksilön lähtökohdista käsin, samalla painottaen kuitenkin sitä, että urat eivät ole koskaan yksilön omaisuutta. Urat eivät rakennu sosiaalisissa tyhjiöissä vaan niissä organisaatioissa ja yhteiskunnissa, joissa jokainen ihminen kulloinkin elää. Tämä johtaa siihen, että kertoessaan omasta urastaan tutkittavat kertovat myös aina siitä sosiaalisesta arvomaailmasta ja niistä yhteisistä merkityksistä ja rakenteista, joita sosiaalinen todellisuutemme pitää sisällään. (Bruner 1986.)

### ***Naisten urien erityispiirteet***

Naisten lisääntynyt osuus työelämässä sai aikaan sen, että naisten urat nousivat tutkijoiden kiinnostuksen kohteeksi erityisesti 1980-luvulla. Varhaisimmat tutkimukset lähtivät liikkeelle siitä, että miesten urakehityksen mallit olisivat sovellettavissa myös naisten uriin (Gallos 1989). Tutkimukset ovat kuitenkin osoittaneet, että naisten ja miesten urat eroavat toisistaan useilla eri tavoilla ja tutkijat ovatkin eritelleet naisten urien erityispiirteitä (Larwood & Gutek 1987; Mavin 2001; Powell & Mainiero 1992). Naisten urien ymmärtäminen vaatii jo sen lähtökohdan huomioon

ottamisen, että naisten kokemukset urasta eroavat miesten kokemuksista. Toisekseen, naisten urat ovat katkonaisempia ja vaikeammin ennustettavia kuin miesten, lastenhankinnan ja suurempien perhevelvoitteiden takia. Kolmanneksi, uramenestyksen subjektiiviset mittarit ovat yhtä tärkeitä kuin objektiiviset, kun naiset määrittelevät menestymistä urallaan. Perinteisesti uramenestys on määritelty objektiivisilla kriteereillä, kuten ylennysten ja palkan määrällä (Powell & Graves 2003, 186; Powell & Mainiero 1992; Sturges 1999.) Koska perinteiset tutkimukset miesten urakehityksestä eivät ole sovellettavissa naisten uriin, ovat tutkijat pyrkineet luomaan erilaisia urakehitysmalleja, jotka ottavat huomioon nimenomaan naisten urien erityispiirteet (Mainiero & Sullivan 2005; O’Neil et. al 2004; O’Neil & Bilimoria 2005; Powell & Mainiero 1992; White 1995). Näiden mallien ongelma on kuitenkin se, että naiset nähdään yhtenä homogeenisena ryhmänä eivätkä yksittäiset mallit tuo esille naisten kokemusten monimuotoisuutta.

Naisten johtamisurien tutkiminen subjektiivisesta näkökulmasta nostaa tutkimuksen kiinnostuksen kohteeksi naisten omakohtaiset kokemukset urasta. Tämän lähtökohdan mukaan perinteinen hierarkkiseen etenemiseen perustuva käsitys joutuu helposti kyseenalaiseksi, etenkin jos hyväksytään ajatus naisten kokemusten erityislaadusta ja ajatus naisten varhaisesta sosiaalistumisesta feminiiniseen arvo-maailmaan ja toimintatapaan (Gilligan 1982). Naisten erityiset kokemukset ja arvot tulevat subjektiivisen uratutkimuksen lähtökohdaksi. Tällöin tulee mahdolliseksi havaita esimerkiksi se, etteivät naiset välttämättä koe hierarkiassa etenemistä uran tavoitteeksi, vaan käsitykset urasta ja siinä menestymisestä ovat monimuotoisempia.

### **Tutkimuksen metodologiset valinnat**

Tässä tutkimuksessa sovelletun narratiivisen lähestymistavan keskeisenä lähtökohtana on sosiaaliseen konstruktionismiin perustuva käsitys ihmisestä kielellisenä, sosiaalisena ja kulttuurisena olentona, joka rakentaa käsitystään maailmasta sosiaalisessa vuorovaikutuksessa muiden ihmisten kanssa. (Berger & Luckmann 1966.) Sosiokulttuurinen ympäristö toimii tällöin resurssina, jonka avulla ihmiset ymmärtävät sekä omaa että muiden ihmisten käyttäytymistä luomalla intersubjektiivisiä merkityksiä. Sosiokulttuuriset konventiot ja määritelmät eivät ole muuttumattomia vaan toimivat dynaamisina resursseina, vaikkakin ihmiset kokevat ne yleensä itsestäänselvyyksinä niiden kollektivisoituessa sosiaalisissa prosesseissa.

Sosiaalisen konstruktionismin mukaan kaikki inhimillinen toiminta voi totunnaistua. Mikä tahansa usein toistuva toiminto saa vakiintuneen muodon, jolloin se voidaan toistaa vastaisuudessa samalla tavalla. Bergerin ja Luckmannin (1966) mukaan totunnaistuminen edeltää instituutioitumista. Instituutioituminen tarkoittaa tällöin ihmisten ja ihmisryhmien toiminnan muuttumista rutiineiksi, joita aletaan pitää itsestäänselvytyksenä. Esimerkiksi naisnäkökulmasta tehty uratutkimus on paljastanut, että uran määrittely on tapahtunut tavallisesti valkoisen keskiluokkaisen miehisen maailmankuvan ja normituksen perusteella (Mavin 2001). Niin sanotut normaalit urat ovatkin mainitun ja objektiiviseksi tiedoksi tulkitun käsityksen rajaamia.

Tutkimuksen empiirinen aineisto koostuu kahdeksalle naisjohtajalle tehdystä teema-haastattelusta, joiden toteuttamisessa keskeistä on säilyttää narratiiviselle tutki-

mukselle olennainen piirre orientoida haastateltavaa tarinankerrontaan. Tutkimusongelma on jäsentynyt seuraaviin kysymyksiin: Mitä naisjohtajat kertovat urakehityksestään? Mitkä keskeiset urakehitystä ohjaavat tekijät nousevat kerronnassa esille? Uratarinoiden rakentamisessa on käytetty menetelmänä Labovin ja Waletskyn (1967) strukturaalista analyysia. Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että naisten kerronnasta on löydettävissä neljä johtamisuratyyppeä: *tasapainohakuinen, hierarkkinen, ideologinen ja vaakatasoinen ura.* (Ekonen 2007.)

### Naisten johtamisuratyypit

Tasapainohakuinen	Hierarkkinen
Ideologinen	Vaakatasoinen

#### ***Tasapainohakuinen ura***

Ensimmäinen uratyyppeä on nimeltään *tasapainohakuinen ura*. Tähän uratyyppeä kuuluvien naisten kerronnassa urakehitystä ohjaavana tekijänä nousi esille työn ja perheen välisen tasapainon etsiminen. Useat aikaisemmat tutkimukset naisjohtajien urakehityksestä vahvistavat näkemyksiä, joiden mukaan naisilla perheen merkitys nousee usein keskeiselle sijalle urakehitystä määrittävistä tekijöistä. Perheen ja uran välillä tasapainoilun voidaan sanoa aikaisempien tutkimusten perusteella edustavan naisille tyypillistä tapaa kertoa urakehityksestään ja tutkijat ovat luoneet erilaisia malleja kuvaamaan työn ja perheen välisen tasapainon problematiikkaa (Mainiero & Sullivan 2005; Powell & Mainiero 1992; White 1995). Etenkin uran keskivaiheilla olevilla naisilla on painottunut tasapainoilu työn ja perheen välillä (Mainiero & Sullivan 2005, 114).

Aikaisemmissa tutkimuksissa perhettä on käytetty ehkä kaikkein yleisimpänä selityksenä naisten miehiä huonommalle urakehitykselle ja alhaisemmille palkoille työelämässä, kun tarkastellaan uran ulkoisia tunnusmerkkejä (Metz 2005). Perheen merkitys on yleensä nähty naisten kohdalla urakehitystä hidastavaksi ja ennen kaikkea negatiiviseksi tekijäksi. Tässä uratyypissä työn ja perheen yhteensovittaminen ei näyttäytynyt naisten kerronnassa kuitenkaan ongelmallisena. Sen sijaan kerronta työn ja perheen välisen tasapainon etsimisestä liittyi viime aikoina yleistyneeseen keskusteluun perheen myönteisistä vaikutuksista naisten urakehitykseen (Ruderman et. al 2002). Perhe näyttäytyy kerronnassa positiivisessa merkityksessä monien roolien yhteensovittamisena (esim. äiti, vaimo, johtaja) ja niiden tuomina hyötyinä esimerkiksi johtamistyölle (parempi organisointikyky jne.).

### **Hierarkkinen ura**

Toinen uratyyppejä on nimeltään *hierarkkinen ura*. Tämä tyyppi kuvaa naisia, joiden kerronnassa toimialalla tapahtuneet jatkuvat muutokset nousivat esiin urakehitystä organisaatiohierarkiassa ylöspäin ohjaavana tekijänä. Uratyyppejä edustaa naisia, jotka ovat toimineet johtotehtävissä heti uran alkuvaiheesta saakka. Aikaisempien tutkimusten perusteella voidaan havaita, että urallaan menestyneiden ja ylimpään johtoon edenneiden naisten kohdalla keskeiseksi tekijäksi on muodostunut nimenomaan haasteellisten työtehtävien saaminen heti uran alkuvaiheessa (White 1995). Tämä uratyyppejä on lähimpänä perinteistä tapaa määrittellä ura yhden tai kahden organisaation sisällä tapahtuvaksi vertikaaliseksi etenemiseksi organisaatiohierarkiassa ylöspäin (Levinson 1978; Miller & Form 1964; Super 1957).

Hierarkkista uratyyppejä edustavat naiset näyttävät kerronnan kautta määrätietoisina ja urasuuntautuneina, ja heillä uraa ohjaavana tekijänä toimii haasteellisissa työtehtävissä toimiminen. Muihin tutkimuksissa löydettyihin tyyppisiin verrattuna nämä naiset kertoivat eniten uraa estävistä tekijöistä. Negatiiviset kokemukset liittyivät usein joko uskottavuusongelmiin tai vaikeuksiin saada haastavampia tehtäviä ylemmiltä organisaatio- ja tasoilta. Koetut esteet johtivat yleensä työpaikanvaihdokseen tai ainakin sen suunnitteluun.

### **Ideologinen ura**

Kolmas uratyyppejä on nimeltään *ideologinen ura*. Ideologinen ura kuvaa sellaisia naisia, joille 'sisäinen kutsumus' henkilöstöpuolen tehtävissä toimimiseen muodostui kerronnassa keskeiseksi urakehitystä ohjaavaksi tekijäksi. Eettinen tapa tehdä henkilöstötyötä ja henkilöstön hyvinvointi olivat olleet näille johtajille tärkeitä heti uran alkuvaiheista saakka. Ideologista uraa on myös ohjannut tavoite työskennellä sellaisissa organisaatioissa, jotka ovat mahdollistaneet myös omien arvojen toteuttamisen kulloisessakin työtehtävässä. Aiempien tutkimusten perusteella voidaan sanoa, että sisäisen kutsumuksen pohjalta toimivia johtajia on löydetty ainakin voittoa tavoittelemattomista organisaatioista (esim. Siljanen 2007, 166).

Tässä uratyyppeissä sisäinen, subjektiivinen kokemus uralla menestymisestä on keskeistä. Menestyminen tarkoittaa henkilökohtaista ja ammatillista kehittymistä ja sitä kautta saatuja onnistumisen kokemuksia uran aikana. Uralla koetut esteet liittyivätkin lähinnä oman motivaation heikkenemiseen ja sitä kautta muutoksen hakemiseen omalle uralle. Ideologisen uratyypin merkityksen voidaan odottaa lisääntyvän tulevaisuudessa etenkin nuorten kohdalla.

### **Vaakatasoinen ura**

Neljäs uratyyppejä on nimeltään *vaakatasoinen ura*. Vaakatasoisessa uratyyppeissä mielenkiintoisissa tehtävissä toimiminen ja asiantuntijuuden rakentaminen omassa työssä nousivat naisten kerronnassa keskeiseksi urakehitystä ohjaavaksi tekijäksi. He myös kokivat keskijohdon tehtävissä toimimisen uransa tavoitteeksi, mikä viittaa uusimpiin tutkimuksiin keskijohdon roolin positiivisista merkityksistä (Osterman 2008). Tähän uratyyppeihin kuuluvien johtajien kokemusten mukaan toimialalla tapahtuneet muutokset olivat tarjonneet jatkuvasti uusia työtehtäviä ja mahdollisuuksia oman uran rakentamiseen.

Tarjotuista mahdollisuuksista huolimatta tämän uratyypin edustajat olivat kieltäytyneet vastaanottamasta työtehtäviä ylemmiltä organisaatioitasoilta. Kieltäytymisen syy liittyi niin ikään keskijohdon työn mielenkiintoisuuteen ja pelkoon menettää ote varsinaiseen, konkreettiseen työhön. Halukkuus keskijohdossa työskentelemiseen viittaa uran määrittelyyn horisontaalisena kehityksenä, joka yhdistetään etenkin uusiin urakäsitteisiin (Mainiero & Sullivan 2005; Mirvis & Hall 1996; Sullivan 1999). Esimerkiksi rajattoman uran käsitteellä tarkoitetaan perinteisestä, hierarkkisesta mallista poikkeavaa uraa, jossa yksilö voi halutessaan kieltäytyä tarjolla olevista etenemismahdollisuuksista organisaatiohierarkiassa perinteisessä vertikaalisessa merkityksessä (Arthur 1994; Arthur & Rousseau 1996; Sullivan & Arthur 2006).

### **Johtopäätökset**

Korkean teknologian organisaatioissa työskentelevien naisten kerronnassa nousi esille monia erilaisia tapoja oman johtamisuran rakentamiseen. Tutkimus osoittaa, että naisten johtamisurat ovat monipuolisempia kuin yleisesti ajatellaan. Perinteinen lähestymistapa tarkastella naisten johtamisuria työn ja perheen välisenä yhteensovittamisena tuli esille tässäkin työssä, mutta sen lisäksi löytyi myös muita urakehitystä ohjaavia tekijöitä.

Myös toimialan merkitys nousi naisten kerronnassa keskeiselle sijalle. Jatkuvat ja nopeat muutokset organisaatioissa vaativat naisilta paljon, mutta kerronnassa muutokset koettiin pääasiassa positiivisiksi; ne avasivat jatkuvasti uusia urakehitysmahdollisuuksia. Toimialalle ominaisena piirteenä naisten kerronnassa näyttäytyikin muutos ja sen mukanaan tuomat uudet mahdollisuudet itsensä jatkuvaan kehittämiseen.

Tutkimustulokset vahvistavat näkemyksiä siitä, että uransa keskivaiheilla olevat naiset alkavat tunnistaa yhä enemmän sukupuolestaan johtuvia esteitä, ja ovat siirtyneet pois uran alkuvaiheen tyypillisestä idealistisesta ajattelusta, jonka mukaan ura on 'omissa käsissä' (O'Neil & Bilimoria 2005). Tässä aineistossa esteistä kertoivat eniten ne naiset, jotka pyrkivät määrätietoisesti kehittymään urallaan ja jotka olivat valmiita myös etenemään uralla perinteisessä merkityksessä ylöspäin organisaatiohierarkiassa.

Tutkimus osoitti myös sen, että työn ja perheen suhde ymmärrettiin enemmänkin voimavarana kuin oman urakehityksen rajoitteena. Kokemukset erilaisista rooleista (esim. äiti, vaimo, johtaja) voivat naisten kokemusten mukaan tuoda hyötyä esimerkiksi omaan johtamistyöhön. Voidaan myös kysyä, missä kulkevat naisten rajat suhteessa omaan hyvinvointiin ja stressiin monien roolien yhteensovittamisessa? Yhteenvetona voidaan kuitenkin todeta, että naisten johtamisurat ovat monipuolisempia kuin aikaisemmat tutkimukset ovat osoittaneet, ja siksi naisia ei tulisi tarkastella homogeenisena ryhmänä, vaan yksilöinä, joiden urakehitystä ohjaavat monenlaiset tekijät.

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## Mikä edistää naisten johtamisuria?

*Anna-Maija Lämsä*

### **Abstract: What factors affect women's career advancement in management?**

During recent decades there has been an increase in the number of women in managerial and professional careers in Finland. However, although women are better educated than their male counterparts and are being hired as managers by organizations particularly at supervisor levels, they are not entering in the same numbers to higher ranks. Much on literature on women's careers have paid attention to their career barriers and a glass ceiling. It follows, then, that change efforts to promote women's careers in management should be directed toward career obstacles. However, it is also important to understand the factors that affect the career advancement of women. The article tackles this issue by presenting and discussing of the empirical research results of the topic in the NASTA project (Kumpulainen 2007; Kautto 2008; Lämsä & Hiillos 2008a, 2008b; Kautto & Lämsä 2009). It is shown that several organizational and individual level factors are crucial for women's career advancement. The article highlights a recent discussion in Finland about organizational initiatives for advancing women in management is often more words than deeds. Moreover, men tend to view organizational initiatives and women's status more positively than women, thus, the understanding of the topic being clearly gendered. Women themselves tend to attribute their career success in management in a way that signals both an adaptation to a masculine environment and being a result of their own personal attempts and behaviors. Finally, the article shows that it is difficult to understand women's career advancement without paying attention to their work-family relationship, in particular, to the role of a spouse for career and gender roles between spouses.

### **Johdanto**

Naisjohtajia koskevaa tutkimusta on kansainvälisesti tehty 1970-luvulta lähtien (Powell & Graves 2003; Burke & Mattis 2005), vaikka muutamia esimerkkejä tutkimuksesta löytyy jo 1960-luvulta (ks. Calás & Smircich 2006). Suomessa aiheen tutkimus yleistyi hitaammin. 1980-luvulla ja 1990-luvun puoliväliin asti tehtiin jonkin verran tutkimusta, mutta keskustelun läpimurto tapahtui meillä kuitenkin vasta 1990-luvun loppupuolella ja 2000-luvun alussa (Lämsä ym. 2007).

Noin 7–8 prosenttia suomalaisten yritysten toimitusjohtajista on naisia. Yritysten hallituksissa heidän osuutensa on jonkin verran yli viidenneksen. (Kotiranta ym. 2007). Naisten määrä on lisääntynyt viime vuosina erityisesti lähiesimiestehtävissä ja keskijohdossa, mutta ei samassa mittakaavassa ylimmässä johdossa ja hallituksissa. Lehdon (2009) mukaan naisia on noin kolmannes kaikista esimies- ja johtotehtäviä hoitavista henkilöistä. Johtotehtävät, kuten työmarkkinat yleensä, ovat segregoituneet Suomessa sukupuolen mukaan sekä vertikaalisesti että horisontaalisesti. Naiset johtavat alemmilla hierarkiatasoilla kuin miehet; naiset toimivat johtajina naisvaltaisilla palvelualoilla, kun miehet puolestaan johtavat miesvaltaisessa

teollisuudessa ja rakennusalalla (Kartovaara 2003). Suurten yritysten huippujohdosta löytyy vain kourallinen naisia, vaikka suomalaisten naisten koulutustaso on korkein sekä naisten ja miesten joukossa kaikkialla Euroopassa (Lehto 2009). Naiset eivät näytä edenneen vallan ytimeen. Tätä ilmiötä kutsutaan lasikatoksi. Lasikatto on metafora sille, että työelämän hierarkiarakenteissa on taso, jota naisten on vaikea ylittää ja johon naisten urakehitys helposti törmää (Carli & Eagly 2001). Viime aikoina on kansainvälisessä naisjohtajuutta koskevassa keskustelussa kuitenkin tuotu esille lasikaton sijaan lasilabyrintin metafora (Eagly & Carli 2006; Ekonen 2007, s. 15). Lasilabyrintilla viitataan siihen, että naisilla on mahdollisuus edetä johtamisuralla, mutta tie on hitaampi ja monimutkaisempi kuin miehillä.

Talouselämä-lehti selvitti vuonna 2005 suomalaisten naisjohtajien näkemyksiä syistä naisjohtajien vähäiseen määrään Suomessa (Vihma 2005). Keskeisimmiksi syiksi mainittiin valtarakenteita hallitsevat miehet ja naisten miehiä ankarampi itsekritiikki. Myös homososiaalisuutta, miesten taipumusta nimittää toisia miehiä johtotehtäviin, pidettiin merkittävänä tekijänä. Naisten verkostojen vähäisyys sekä heidän vahvuksiensa puutteellinen havaitseminen organisaatiossa olivat hankaloittavia asioita. Johtajat myös totesivat, että naiset kieltäytyvät turhan usein johtotehtävistä. Naisten kohtaamia ongelmia edetä johtamisuralla on kartoitettu myös kansainvälisesti paljon (Puttonen 2006, ks. myös Puttosen artikkeli tässä julkaisussa). Vähemmän on kiinnitetty huomiota uraa edistäviin tekijöihin.

Kotiranta ym. (2007) ovat tutkineet Suomessa yrityksen kannattavuuden ja johtajan sukupuolen yhteyttä. Tutkimuksessa todettiin näiden välillä selvä yhteys, joka ei selity yritys- tai toimialakohtaisilla eroilla. Sijoitetun pääoman tuotto prosentilla mitattuna naisen johtama yritys on keskimäärin kymmenisen prosenttia kannattavampi kuin yritys, jonka toimitusjohtajana on mies. Samansuuntainen yhteys on naisten osuudella yritysten hallituksissa. Kyseisen selvityksen mukaan naisten parempi huomioon ottaminen voi tarjota yritykselle selvää kilpailuetua. Kansainvälinen tutkimus puolestaan tuo esille, että sukupuolten diversiteetti yritysten hallituksissa parantaa innovoivuutta (Miller & Triana 2009). Sen lisäksi että naisten johtamisurien edistymistä ja edistämistä voi pitää tärkeänä kilpailukyvyyn ja innovoivuuden kannalta, aihe on tärkeä myös työelämän tasa-arvon näkökulmasta (Lämsä 2003). Edelleen, globalisaation myötä naisia tarvitaan yritysten päätöksentekijöiksi, koska erityisesti isot yritykset ja niiden johtajat ovat merkittäviä vallankäyttäjiä ja esikuvia eri puolilla maailmaa.

Millaiset organisatoriset ja erityisesti henkilöstöjohtamisen tekijät ovat yhteydessä naisten johtamisurien edistämiseen? Mikä on tilanne Suomessa tätä kirjoitettaessa? Millaiset tekijät auttavat naisten omien kokemusten mukaan heitä etenemään johtotehtäviin ja pärjäämään siellä? Artikkelini paneutuu näihin kysymyksiin NASTA:ssa (<http://www.nastaproject.fi>) tehtyjen selvitysten (Kumpulainen 2007; Kautto 2008; Lämsä & Hiillos 2008a, 2008b; Kautto & Lämsä 2009) avulla. Niissä tarkasteltiin naisten johtamisuria edistäviä tekijöitä sekä organisaatio- että yksilötasoilta, minkä vuoksi paneudun tässä yhteydessä molempiin.

## Uria edistävät organisatoriset ja henkilöstöjohtamisen tekijät

Jyväskylän yliopisto teki yhteistyössä Suomen Henkilöstöjohdon ryhmä HENRY ry:n kanssa HENRY:n jäsenistölle kyselyn (Kautto 2008), jossa kartoitettiin pääosin kvantitatiivisesti seuraavia naisten johtamisuria koskevia organisatorisia ja erityisesti henkilöstöjohtamiseen liittyviä kysymyksiä: Millainen on organisaatioiden nykytilanne naisten johtamisurien edistämisessä? Millaiset ovat organisaatioiden ylimmän johdon asenteet ja toiminta naisten johtamisurien edistämistä kohtaan? Millaisilla henkilöstöjohtamisen keinoilla organisaatiot edistävät naisten johtamisuria? Miten hyödylliseksi eri keinot koetaan? Miten hyödylliseksi naisten johtamisurien edistäminen yleensä koetaan? Kyselyyn vastasi 450 henkilöstöjohtamisen ammattilaista sekä yksityiseltä että julkiselta sektorilta. Saatu aineisto käsiteltiin tilastollisesti. Teoreettisena viitekehysenä sovellettiin aikaisempaa tutkimusta naisten johtamisiin vaikuttavista tekijöistä sekä erityisesti Gilbertin ym. (1999) esittämää diversiteetti-johtamisen mallia.

Diversiteetin käsitteellä viitataan ihmisten moninaisuuteen, jota voidaan kuvailla kapeasti termeillä etnisuus ja sukupuoli (Wentling 2004). Laajempi käsitys diversiteetistä sisältää muitakin ihmisten moninaisuuteen liittyviä luokitteluja kuten ikä, kansallinen alkuperä, uskonto, seksuaalinen suuntautuminen, arvot, koulutustausta, kieli, elämäntyyli, uskomukset ja sosiaaliluokka. Peruslähtökohta diversiteetti-ajattelussa on moninaisuuden arvostaminen (Cox & Blake 1991). Naisten johtamisurien edistämisessä on olennaista, että organisaatiot muuttavat sekä käyttäytymistään että asenteitaan. Onnistunut edistäminen edellyttää organisaatiokulttuurin muuttamista ja sitä myötä totuttujen käytäntöjen muuttamista kaikilla organisaation tasoilla (Lämsä & Sintonen 2006; Kautto & Lämsä 2009).

Tutkimuksen mukaan henkilöstöjohtamisen ammattilaiset arvioivat organisaationsa ylimmän johdon pitävän naisten urakehityksen edistämistä tärkeänä (62 % vastaajista). Eri mieltä asiasta oli noin viidesosa. Myönteisen suhtautumisen ei kuitenkaan sanottu aina johtavan käytäntöön, sillä vain hieman vajaa 39 prosenttia toi esille, että heidän organisaationsa ylin johto on sitoutunut naisten johtamisurien edistämiseen myös käytännössä. Näyttää siis siltä, että vaikka johto pitää melko usein naisten urien edistämistä tärkeänä, käytännön toimet jäävät vähäisemmiksi. Käytännössä tavallisin tapa oli se, että ylin johto arvioi naisjohtajien määrää säännöllisesti. Sitä vastoin konkreettisia tavoitteita naisjohtajien määrän lisäämiseksi oli asettanut hyvin harvalukuinen joukko organisaatioita.

Henkilöstöjohtamisessa käytössä olevia keinoja tarkasteltaessa kiinnitettiin huomiota erityisesti henkilöstön rekrytointiin, urajohtamiseen, kehittämiseen ja koulutukseen, mentorointiin sekä työn ja perheen yhteensovittamiseen. Rekrytointitilanteissa on tärkeää, että hakijajoukko koostuu monenlaisista ihmisistä. Naisten johtamisurien edistämisen kannalta organisaatioiden tulisi kiinnittää huomiota siihen, että hakijoiden joukossa on riittävästi naisia. Suoritetussa tutkimuksessa kuitenkin ilmeni, ettei kovin monessa organisaatioissa näin tapahdu. Ainoastaan hieman vajaa 7 prosenttia vastaajista oli täysin samaa mieltä siitä, että rekrytointitilanteissa kiinnitetään erityistä huomiota siihen, että hakijoiden joukossa on riittävästi naisia.

Muodolliset henkilöstön arviointi- ja urasuunnitteluohjelmat ovat myös tärkeitä keinoja naisten urakehityksen kannalta (Wirth 2000). Tutkimus paljasti, että organisaatioissa käytetään melko vähän urasuunnittelua. Yli puolet vastaajista oli ainakin jonkin verran sitä mieltä, ettei heidän organisaatioissaan käytetä urasuunnittelua naisten johtamisurien edistämiseksi. Edelleen, noin kolmannes arvioi, ettei henkilöstöjohto seuraa naisjohtajien urakehitystä.

Vaativan tehtävän vastaanottaminen on tärkeä kehittymismahdollisuus sekä naisille että miehille (Lämsä & Hiillos 2008b). Powellin ja Gravesin (2003) mukaan miesjohtajat saavat kuitenkin naisjohtajia helpommin haastavia tehtäviä vastuulleen. Kauton (2008) tutkimuksessa yli puolet vastaajista (56 prosenttia) oli täysin tai jokseenkin samaa mieltä siitä, että heidän organisaatioissaan naiset saavat vaativia ja osaamista kehittäviä tehtäviä hoitaakseen. Täysin tai jokseenkin eri mieltä asiasta oli 18 prosenttia vastaajista.

Haastavien tehtävien ohella johtamisosaamista syvennetään koulutuksen avulla (Lämsä & Hiillos 2008b). Keaveny ja Inderrieden (1999) ovat kuitenkin todenneet, että naisten on miehiä vaikeampi päästä mukaan koulutuksiin ja valmennusohjelmiin. HENRY:n jäsenistölle tehdyssä tutkimuksessa selvästi suurin osa vastaajista oli sitä mieltä, että heidän organisaatioissaan myös naisia kannustetaan kouluttautumaan (74 prosenttia) ja naisten osallistumista johtamiskoulutukseen tuetaan (70 prosenttia). Suuri osa niistä organisaatioista, jotka kannustivat naisia kouluttautumaan yleensä, myös tuki heidän osallistumistaan johtamiskoulutukseen. Mentoroinnilla on todettu olevan tärkeä rooli naisten urien edistämiseksi (Burke & Mattis 2005). Tutkimusten mukaan naisten on kuitenkin miehiä vaikeampaa löytää itselleen mentoria (Ragins & Cotton 1991, 1999). Reilu puolet (58 prosenttia) HENRY:n kyselyyn vastanneista oli eri mieltä sen näkemyksen osalta, että naisten olisi miehiä vaikeampi hankkia itselleen mentori. Nais- ja miesvastaajien välillä ilmeni kuitenkin selvä ero: naisten näkemysten mukaan naisten on miehiä vaikeampi hankkia itselleen mentori.

Merkittäväksi naisten urakehitykseen vaikuttavaksi tekijäksi koettiin perhevelvollisuudet: lähes puolet vastaajista näki niiden hidastavan naisten johtamisuralla etenemistä. Perheen ja työn yhteensovittamisen helpottamista edistäviä toimenpiteitä olisikin hyvä pohtia nykyistä enemmän työpaikoilla. Rantanen ja Kinnunen (2005) ovat esimerkiksi todenneet, että naisten perheen hyväksi tekemillä valinnoilla saattaa olla kielteisiä vaikutuksia naisten työuriin.

Kauton (2008) tutkimuksessa kysyttiin myös henkilöstöjohtamisen käytäntöjen hyödyllisyyttä naisten johtamisurien edistämiseksi. Urasuunnittelun ohella perheen ja työn yhteensovittamisen parantamista ja mentorointia pidettiin erittäin hyödyllisinä. Melko hyödyllisiksi arvioitiin myös naisten johtamisurien kehittymisen järjestelmällinen seuraaminen ja verkostoitumisen edistäminen. Vastaavaa asiaa kysyttiin myös avoimella kysymyksellä. Tällöin kaikkein hyödyllisimmäksi keinoksi mainittiin ylimmän johdon asenteet ja toiminta: johdon tulisi paneutua asiaan ja luoda aktiivisesti mahdollisuuksia naisille. Lisäksi johdon tulisi viestiä asiasta ja varmistua, että tavoitteet toteutuvat käytännössä. Toiseksi eniten arvostettiin organisaatio-

tion kehittämistä tasa-arvoiseksi, vaikka kaikki tutkitut organisaatiot eivät olleet tehneet lakisäateistä tasa-arvosuunnitelmaa. Henkilöstöjohtamisen käytäntöjen kehittämisen ohella myös naisten oman asenteen ja kunnianhimon tärkeyttä korostettiin.

Henkilöstöjohtamisen ammattilaisten mukaan organisaatiot hyötyvät naisten johtamisurien tietoisesta edistämisestä. Suurimpana organisaatiotason hyötynä vastaajat näkivät positiivisen julkisuuden. Lisäksi asian uskottiin lisäävän pätevän henkilöstön sitoutumista ja pätevien naishakijoiden määrää rekrytointitilanteissa. Tulos tukee mm. Kotirannan ym. (2007), Mattisin (2001) sekä Millerin ja Trianan (2009) näkemyksiä, joiden mukaan yritykset ja muut organisaatiot saavuttavat kilpailu- ja innovointietua, mikäli onnistuvat hyödyntämään naisten osaamispotentialiaa.

Kauton (2008) tutkimus tuki näkemystä, että vaikka melko monen Suomessa toimivan organisaation ylin johto pitää naisten johtamisurien edistämistä tärkeänä ja organisaatioiden arvioidaan hyötyvän asiasta, vain harvassa organisaatiossa on ryhdytty sanoista tekoihin. Parhaimmin tuloksia näyttäisi syntyvän silloin, kun organisaation ylin johto laatii suunnitelman tai ohjelman naisten johtamisurien edistämiseksi. Se lisää myös henkilöstöjohtamisen keinoin tapahtuvaa naisten johtamisurien edistämistä. Hieman vajaa 10 prosenttia vastaajista arvioi, että heidän organisaatiossaan naisten johtamisurien edistämiseen tullaan kiinnittämään enemmän huomiota tulevaisuudessa. Eniten suunnitelmia on kaavailtu energia- ja rakennusalailla.

Eri toimialojen ja erikokoisten organisaatioiden vertailun perusteella tutkimus osoitti, että tilanne on paras pienissä, alle sadan hengen organisaatioissa. Myös yli 3000 työntekijän organisaatioissa tilanne on melko hyvä. Selkeästi huonoin tilanne on organisaatioissa, joissa on 501–1000 työntekijää. Tyytymättömyys näissä keski suurissa organisaatioissa ei selity toimialalla. Toimialoista tyytyväisimpiä ollaan palvelualan organisaatioissa (pääasiassa konsultointi-, koulutus- ja asiantuntija-palveluorganisaatiot) sekä tele- ja tietotekniikkapalveluissa. (Kautto & Lämsä 2009).

Miesten näkemys organisaatioiden nykytilanteesta oli naisten näkemyksiä myönteisempi. Miehet näkivät naisia useammin organisaation ylemmän johdon pitävän naisten johtamisurien edistämistä tärkeänä ja olevan myös sitoutuneita asiaan. Miehet myös havaitsivat naisia vähemmän urakehitystä hidastavia tekijöitä ja uskoivat organisaation palkkauksen olevan sukupuolten välillä tasa-arvoinen. Näkemykset olivat tältä osin selvästi sukupuolittuneita. Ylempään johtoon kuuluvat näkivät tilanteen muita valoisampana, koska he eivät ole ehkä itse uraesteisiin törmänneet tai ainakin ovat onnistuneet ne ylittämään. Organisatoristen, usein huonosti tiedostettujen uraesteiden havaitseminen on vaikeaa. Uralla etenemisen vaikeudet mielletäänkin helposti yksilöstä johtuviksi, harvemmin organisaation omasta toiminnasta johtuviksi. (Kautto & Lämsä 2009).

### **Naisjohtajien omat kokemukset uraa edistävästä tekijöistä**

Naisjohtajien omia käsityksiä uralla etenemistä ja pärjäämisestä tutkittiin NASTA-projektissa kahdella eri aineistolla. Jyväskylän yliopistossa tehdyssä Kumpulaisen

(2007) tutkimuksessa kohteena olivat *Talouselämä*-lehden listalta (12/2005) valitut vaikutusvaltaisimmat naisjohtajat Suomessa. Kysely lähetettiin 70 johtajalle, joista 37 vastasi. Tavoitteena oli hahmotella suomalaisen huippunaisjohtajan muotokuvaa demografisten ja muiden taustatekijöiden sekä koettujen huippuasemaan etenemistä edistäneiden tekijöiden kautta. Lisäksi selvitettiin johtajien uraorientaatiota ura-ankkureiden – uraa koskevien arvojen, motiivien ja tarpeiden – avulla (Schein 1993).

Toinen aineisto hankittiin Jyväskylän yliopiston ja Hankenin yhteistyönä. Aineisto koostuu 22 keskijohdossa ja pienten yritysten toimitusjohtajina toimivan naisen omaelämäkerrallisista uratarinoista (Lämsä & Hiillos 2008a). Tavoitteena oli selvittää johtajien urakehitystä ja siihen vaikuttaneita tekijöitä historiallisesti osana heidän muuta elämänsä kulkuaan. Tutkimukseen sisältyi myös kehittämistavoitteita uraohjauksen näkökulmasta.

Kumpulaisen (2007, s. 129–130) tutkimuksessa päätulokset tiivistettiin suomalaisen huippunaisjohtajan muotokuvaa havainnollistavaan fiktiiviseen tarinaan, jonka pääkohdat muokattuina muilla tutkimuksen keskeisillä tuloksilla kuvataan seuraavassa:

Jaana on 47-vuotias. Hänellä on yksi teini-ikäinen lapsi, mikä on hieman vähemmän kuin naisilla yleensä Suomessa. Jaana asuu yhdessä miespuolisen puolisonsa kanssa. Monet hänen naisjohtajatuttavansa ovat eronneet – useammin kuin hänen tuntemansa miesjohtajat ja ei-johtotehtävissä työskentelevät naiset. Vaativasta urastaan huolimatta Jaana ei ole kokenut joutuneensa lykkäämään perheen perustamista, tosin työ- ja yksityiselämän yhdistäminen on aika ajoin ollut vaikeaa. Hän oli melkein vuoden kotona lapsen synnyttyä, eikä poissaololla ollut hänen kokemuksensa mukaan vaikutusta urakehitykseen. Jaanan puoliso työskentelee toimitusjohtajana. Kahden uran perheessä on ollut haasteita työn ja perheen yhteensovittamisessa. Vaikka puoliso auttaa kotitöissä, Jaana arvioi kuitenkin tekevänsä selvästi enemmän kotitöitä kuin miehensä. Koska molemmat ovat kiireisiä, kotitöihin myös ostetaan jonkin verran ulkopuolista palvelua.

Jaana on ylemmän keskiluokan perheestä. Molemmat vanhemmat työskentelivät kodin ulkopuolella. Äiti oli sihteeri ja isä johtaja. Jaanalla on sisaruksia, isosisko ja -veli. Aika monet hänen naisjohtajatuttavansa ovat kuitenkin perheen vanhimpia tai ainoita lapsia. Jaana on korkeasti koulutettu; hänellä on talous-/kauppatieteellinen ylempi korkeakoulututkinto. Myös oikeustieteellisen tutkinnon suorittaminen kiinnosti aikoinaan; melko monet Jaanan naisjohtajatuttavat ovatkin suorittaneet kyseisen tutkinnon. Jaanan arvion mukaan useimmilla on kuitenkin tutkinto talous-/kauppatieteissä ja vain harvalta puuttuu ylempi korkeakoulututkinto.

Ennen huippujohtajan pestiä Jaana on työskennellyt pääosin taloushallinnon ja markkinoinnin tehtävissä. Sen lisäksi hän on ollut muissakin tehtävissä eri aloilla ja yrityksissä kuten myös vaihtanut tehtäviä samassa yrityksessä. Kokonaisuudessaan Jaanan työkokemus on monipuolista ja sitä on kertynyt kaiken kaikkiaan 24 vuotta. Tällä hetkellä hän johtaa suurta hieman vajaa 4000 henkilöä työllistävää palvelualan yritystä. Monet muutkin hänen tuntemansa naisjohtajat työskentelevät palvelualalla. Jaana on toiminut yrityksen ylimmässä johdossa neljä vuotta. Vaikka hän on menestynyt hyvin työssään ja kohonnut merkittävään asemaan, hän olisi toivonut

urakehityksensä tueksi mentoria. Joillakin hänen naisjohtajatuttavillaan on ollut mentori, yleensä miespuolinen henkilö, joka on tukenut ura-asioissa.

Kovat haasteet motivoivat Jaanaa eniten työssään. Vaativiin haasteisiin vastaaminen tuottaa hänelle tyydytystä. Uralla eteneminen tarkoittaakin hänelle ensisijaisesti vaativampia tehtäviä, ongelmien ratkaisua ja haasteiden voittamista. Jaana ei kovin helposti stressaannu jatkuvista muutoksista, joita hänen työssään on kosolti. Lisäksi häntä kiehtovat päätöksenteko, vaikuttaminen ja vallankäyttö. Tavoitteena on ollut edetä sellaiselle organisaatiotasolle, jossa voi vaikuttaa ihmisiin ja olla vastuussa merkittävistä yrityksen toimintaa koskevista päätöksistä. Tekniset yksityiskohdat Jaana jättää mielellään muille; hän kokee olevansa parhaimmillaan kokonaisuuksien parissa. Henkilökohtaisten, perheen ja uran tarpeiden kokonaisuudesta huolehtiminen on myös tärkeää. Sitä vastoin Jaana ei ole kovin kiinnostunut oman yrityksen perustamisesta, eikä tunne tarvetta turvalliseen ”eläkevirkaan”.

Jaanan mukaan hänen etenemiseensä on vaikuttanut moni asia. Heti uran alkuvaiheessa hän sai vastuulleen erityisen haasteellisen tehtävän, joka liittyi yritystoiminnan kehittämiseen. Tehtävä antoi näkyvyyttä ja toi potkua uralle, koska hän suoriutui siitä erittäin hyvin. Vaikka Jaanalla ei ole ollut mentoria, hän arvioi mentorin olevan hyödyllinen naisten urakehitykselle. Puolison tuki ja ulkopuolisen palvelun ostaminen kotitöihin on ollut Jaanan mielestä huomattavan tärkeää hänen onnistumiselleen. Hän onkin sitä mieltä, että lasten ollessa pieniä lastenhoitoavun saaminen on yksi kriittisimmistä tekijöistä. Hän arvioi, että suurimmaksi osaksi työn ja yksityiselämän yhdistäminen on onnistunut kohtalaisesti, joten puhtia uraan on riittänyt.

Kuitenkin kaikkien tärkeintä uralla etenemisen kannalta on Jaanan mielestä ollut oma motivaatio. Hyvä peruskoulutus, työssä saatu koulutus, sopivien riskien ottaminen uravalinnoissa ja oikeiden henkilöiden tunteminen ovat myös vaikuttaneet myönteisesti urakehitykseen. Jaana arvioi olevansa erittäin ahkera työssään, mikä on edistänyt uraa. Jaanan mielestä myös kannustavat esimiehet ovat olleet tärkeitä. Asiat eivät ole kuitenkaan aivan ruusuisia, sillä Jaana kokee, että hänen on täytyntä jatkuvasti työskennellä ahkerammin kuin miesten saavuttaakseen samantasoista tunnustusta työlleen. Nykyisessä työpaikassaan hän ei ole huomannut lasikaton esiintymistä, koska naisia on edennyt palvelualalla korkeisiin johtaviin asemiin. Monissa muissa organisaatioissa hän on sen sijaan havainnut lasikaton vaikutuksen.

Myös keskijohdossa ja pienten yritysten toimitusjohtajina toimivien naisten uratarinoissa tulivat esille kovat haasteet tärkeimpänä motivaattorina (Lämsä & Hiillos 2008b). Näyttää siis siltä, että johtamistehtäviin hakeutuvat ja valikoituvat huippunaisjohtajat ja muillakin organisaatiotasolla toimivat naisjohtajat eivät näe ristiriitaisia, epäselviä ja monimutkaisia tehtäviä ja tilanteita kielteisinä ongelmina vaan ratkaisua odottavina mielenkiintoisina haasteina. Voisi siis ajatella, että tämänkaltainen myönteinen ja pikemminkin mahdollisuuksia kuin rajoituksia korostava suhtautuminen myös ruokkii yleisempää myönteistä käsitystä henkilöstä, millä saattaa olla vauhdittavaa merkitystä uralle. Toisin sanoen ongelmiin kiinni jääminen ja niihin kielteisesti asennoituminen tuottaa helposti valittajan, jopa uhrin, mielikuvaa (ks. Lämsä & Tiensuu 2002), mikä saattaa muotoutua hankaloittavaksi tekijäksi erityisesti menestystä korostavassa johtajuuden maailmassa (Steyrer 1998).

Huippunaisjohtajien tapaan keskijohdossa ja pienten yritysten toimitusjohtajina työskentelevät näkivät työn ja muun elämän tasapainon tärkeänä mielekkään elämäntilanteisuuden ja uran kannalta. Vaikuttaa siltä, että naisten tapa jäsentää uraa ja arvioida siinä onnistumista on kiinteästi sidoksissa myös muihin elämän alueisiin kuin työhön. Keskijohdossa ja pienten yritysten johdossa toimivat naisjohtajat olivat monesti tehneet uraansa koskevia ratkaisuja ottaen huomioon puolison ja lasten toiveita ja odotuksia. Erityisesti puolison rooli koettiin uran kannalta tärkeäksi. Naiset kertoivat puolisolalla olevan usein uraa tukeva merkitys mutta kertoivat toisaalta myös uraa hankaloittavasta puolisoista. (Lämsä & Hiillos 2008a; Välimäki ym. 2008; 2009; ks. myös Heikkisen ym. artikkeli tässä julkaisussa). Lämsän ja Hiilloksen (2008a) tutkimus toi myös esille, ettei uralla eteneminen välttämättä tarkoita naisille katkeamatonta hierarkkista kehitystä, mikä käsitys on perinteisesti ollut vallitseva johtamisuria koskevissa keskusteluissa (Ekonen 2007), vaan monenlaisia suuntia ja siirtymiä pidettiin normaaleina. Naisten urakäsitys muistuttikin paljolti nykyajan uria, joiden keskeisinä piirteinä pidetään katkoksellisuutta, monimuotoisuutta ja -suuntaisuutta (ks. Gunz & Peiperl 2007).

Lämsän ja Hiilloksen (2008a) tutkimuksessa naisjohtajat kertoivat myös, millä keinoilla he olivat onnistuneet urallaan silloin, kun olivat joutuneet sopeutumaan miesten maailmaksi koettuun johtamiseen. Kuten huippunaisjohtajat, myös keskijohdossa ja pienten yritysten johtotehtävissä toimivat naiset mainitsivat miehiä kovemman työnteon ja ahkeruuden tärkeinä avuina. Myös korkean koulutuksen katsottiin edistävän uraa. Sopiva sekoitus maskuliinista ja feminiinistä johtamistyyliä oli yksi keino toimia. Jotkut korostivat, että hyvin naisellinen käyttäytyminen ei ole uskottavaa. Tosin miellyttävä ja huolta pitävä, naiselliseksi tulkittu toimintatapa oli muutamien naisten mukaan hyödyllistä. Yleisesti ottaen kohtuullisuuden noudattaminen miehisyiden ja naisellisuuden osalta kuitenkin koettiin tarkoituksenmukaisena johtamiskäyttämisenä.

### **Yhteenveto ja keskustelu**

NASTAn piirissä tehty tutkimus (Kumpulainen 2007; Kautto 2008; Lämsä & Hiillos 2008a, 2008b; Kautto & Lämsä 2009) osoittaa, että naisten johtamisuria edistetään organisaatioissa Suomessa monilla tavoilla. Naiset myös itse edistävät uraansa monin eri tavoin. Taulukkoon 1 on koottu keskeisiä tekijöitä.

Tässä artikkelissa kuvaamani naisten johtamisuria edistävät tekijät ovat samansuuntaiset kuin Salon ja Blåfieldin (2007) raportoimat. Keskeisenä erona on kuitenkin se, että Salo ja Blåfield päätyvät suosittelemaan tyttöjen ajatusmaailmaan vaikuttamista esimerkiksi siten, että heille tarjotaan mahdollisuuksia tutustua miesvaltaisilla aloilla työskentelyyn jo kouluaikoina. Tässä artikkelissa korostuu työpaikan miesten ja miesjohtajien asenteisiin ja tietoisuuteen vaikuttaminen, koska esimerkiksi miesten näkemykset sukupuolten tasa-arvon tilasta ovat Kauton (2008, ks. myös Kautto & Lämsä 2009) tutkimuksen mukaan selvästi myönteisempiä kuin naisten.

**Taulukko 1. Naisten johtamisurien edistämiseen vaikuttavat keskeiset tekijät**

<b>Organisatoriset tekijät</b>	<b>Yksilölliset tekijät</b>
<p>Ylimmän johdon myönteinen asennoituminen</p> <p>Diversiteettiä arvostavan organisaatiokulttuurin kehittäminen</p> <p>Tietoisuuden herättäminen asiasta, asian näkyväksi tekeminen ja tietoon perustuvat perustelut</p> <p>Miesten asenteisiin vaikuttaminen</p> <p>Naisten urien edistämiseksi tehty sunnitelma/ohjelma, jolla on konkreettiset tavoitteet ja jonka toteutumista seurataan ja arvioidaan säännöllisesti esimerkiksi kehityskeskusteluissa</p> <p>Asian sisällyttäminen henkilöstöstrategiaan</p> <p>Sukupuolisensitiiviset henkilöstöjohtamisen käytännöt</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- joustavat työn tekemisen tavat</li> <li>- naisten verkostoitumisen edistäminen</li> <li>- virallinen mentorointi</li> <li>- urasuunnittelu ja -johtaminen</li> <li>- rekrytointi</li> <li>- kehittäminen ja koulutus</li> </ul> <p>Työn ja perheen yhteensovittamisen tukeminen, sekä naisten että miesten vanhemmuuden arvostaminen ja tukeminen</p> <p>Vaativat tehtävät naisille heti uran alkuvaiheessa</p> <p>Sukupuolisensitiivisyyden kehittäminen esimiestyössä</p>	<p>Monipuolinen työkokemus</p> <p>Hyvä koulutus ja jatkuva osaamisen kehittäminen</p> <p>Ahkeruus ja kova työnteko</p> <p>Monipuolinen työkokemus</p> <p>Oman osaamisen ja uramotivaation esilletuominen esimerkiksi kehityskeskusteluissa</p> <p>Haasteellisten ja uraa edistävien tehtävien aktiivinen hakeminen</p> <p>Sukupuolitietoinen johtamiskäyttäytyminen ja -tyyli</p> <p>Omien uraa koskevien arvojen ja tavoitteiden tiedostaminen ja niiden mukaiset uravalinnat</p> <p>Kotiavun hankkiminen</p> <p>Mentorin hankkiminen</p> <p>Verkostoihin liittyminen</p> <p>Uraa tukeva puoliso</p>

Salon ja Blåfieldin (2007) ajatuskulkuja kehitellen voisi ajatella, että sukupuolten tasa-arvon kuten myös molempien sukupuolten osaamispotentiaalin hyödyntämisen

kannalta myös poikien olisi tarpeellista perehtyä jo kouluaikoina naisvaltaisiin aloihin. Yleisesti ottaen kyseessä on sukupuoleen liittyvien rooliodotusten väljentäminen eri elämänvaiheissa. Väljemmät roolit edistävät ainakin naisjohtajien kokemuksia uralla menestymisestä (Välimäki ym. 2009). Vastaavasti niiden voi ajatella parantavan myös miesjohtajien mahdollisuuksia ainakin työn ja perheen yhteensovittamisen kysymyksissä (Lämsä 2009).

Toisena selvänä erona Salon ja Blåfieldin (2007) tuloksiin on, että organisatoristen tekijöiden lisäksi tarkastelin tässä yhteydessä yksilötasoisia uralla menestymiseen vaikuttavia tekijöitä. Esimerkiksi puolison ja perheen vaikutuksesta nais- ja miesjohtajien uraan on niukasti tutkittua tietoa. Voi myös todeta, että naisten johtamisurien edistäminen ei ole pelkästään organisatorinen tai yksilön oma haaste, vaan kyseessä on myös laajempi ja syvempi yhteiskunnallinen asia. Naisten johtamisurat ja niiden edistäminen on eettis-moraalisesti ja valtasuhteiltaan latautunut kysymys organisaatioissa ja yhteiskunnassa, mitä ajatusta en tässä käytännön keinoihin keskittyvässä artikkelissa ole erityisemmin pohtinut.

Kokonaisuudessaan tarkastelemieni NASTA-tutkimusten perusteella voi sanoa, että vaikka elinkeinoelämässä on Suomessa viime vuosina kiinnitetty huomiota naisten johtajuuteen ja sen edistämiseen (esim. Kotiranta ym. 2007; Salo & Blåfield 2007), monessakaan työpaikassa sanat eivät ole muuttuneet teoiksi. Minitasoksi tulkittava lakisäätöinen tasa-arvosuunnitelma on jopa jäänyt tekemättä osassa organisaatioita. Kehittämislle onkin selvästi tilaa kuten myös tutkimukselle siitä, miksi suunnitelmat ja strategiat eivät ole muuttuneet käytännöiksi. Naisten omien kokemusten tutkiminen paljasti, että heillä on taipumusta pikemminkin sopeutua miehiseksi koettuun johtamismaailmaan kuin pyrkiä sitä kyseenalaistamaan.

Lopuksi haluan tuoda esille, että silloin kun puhutaan naisten johtamisurista, nousee työn ja perheen yhdistäminen väistämättä keskusteluun. Työn ja perheen yhdistämisen on todettu niin tässä yhteydessä kuin lukuisissa muissakin tutkimuksissa olevan edelleen haastavampaa naisille kuin miehille. Organisaatioissa saatetaan nähdä naisten perheen hyväksi tehdyt valinnat merkinä sitoutumattomuudesta, eivätkä ne panosta tällaisen valinnan tehneisiin henkilöihin samalla tavoin kuin muihin. Nuori uratietoinen nainen tulkitaan helposti riskiksi, koska hänen ajatellaan olevan hoitamassa sairaita lapsiaan. Johtamisuralla edenneen naisen puolestaan arvioidaan laiminlyövän perhettään. Lasten lähdettyä kotoa nainen onkin liian vanha etenemään uralla. (Salo ja Blåfield 2007). Miesten kohdalla tällaisia pohdintoja tullaan harvemmin tehneeksi. Johtajan työn ja perheen suhdetta koskevissa keskusteluissa korostuukin tavallisesti naisen näkökulma, minkä tuloksena uran ja perheen yhteensovittaminen nähdään vain naisten ongelmana. Johtamisuran ja perheen välisestä suhteesta olisikin tarpeellista saada enemmän tietoa myös miesjohtajan näkökulmasta sekä miehisyyden ja isyyden rakentumisen kannoilta (Lämsä 2009; Välimäki ym. 2009). Näin myös miehen sukupuoli tulisi nykyistä näkyvämmäksi työtä ja perhettä koskevissa keskusteluissa. Miehen sukupuolen nykyistä parempi näkyväksi tekeminen olisi tarpeellista yleisemminkin johtamisen alalla (Hearn 2009).

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## Naisten johtamisuria estävät tekijät

*Tuomas Puttonen*

### **Abstract: Factors promoting women's managerial careers**

This article presents barriers women face in managerial careers as they have been explored in the research literature during the last thirty years. The review considers both theoretical and empirical literature and analyzes barriers affecting a woman's career during three phases, time before entering working life, beginning of working life, and promotions. Moreover, the work-family relationship is discussed separately on its own. The article shows that the barriers occur at four main levels: societal, organizational, interpersonal, and individual. It is argued that the societal and interpersonal levels have a stronger effect on women's managerial careers than the other levels. The societal and interpersonal levels involve a lot of direct and indirect barriers which have a strong impact already before a woman enters into working life. In particular, traditional gender role construction can be considered prohibitive for women's careers in management. It is suggested that the work-family relationship from both conflict and supportive viewpoints requires further research.

### **Johdanto**

Huolimatta naisten koulutuksessa tapahtuneista muutoksista ja työhön osallistumistaskeen kasvusta ovat työmarkkinat edelleen voimakkaasti segregoituneet niin horisontaalisesti kuin vertikaalisestikin. Miehet työskentelevät huomattavasti naisia useammin organisaatioiden johtotehtävissä. Kaiken kaikkiaan naisten osuus johtajista on nykyään kolmanneksen luokkaa, mutta laskee jyrkästi mitä ylemmäs organisaatiohierarkiassa edetään. (Davidson & Burke 2004; Wirth 2001.)

Vaikka useat tutkijat (Burke 2002; Burke & McKeen 1994b; Powell & Mainiero 1992; Schreiber 1998; White, Cox & Cooper 1992) ovat todenneet perinteisten lineaaristen uramallien soveltuvan huonosti naisten työurien tutkimiseen, tarkastellaan naisten työuraa tässä artikkelissa suunnitelmallisena etenemisenä organisaatiohierarkiassa ylöspäin kohti entistä vaativampia johtamistehtäviä erilaisten perättäisten vaiheiden kautta. Tarkastelumalliin valittiin Bartolia (1978) sekä Raginsia ja Sundstromia (1989) mukaillen kolme työuran vaihetta: aika ennen työmarkkinoille tuloa, työmarkkinoille ja organisaation palvelukseen tulo sekä yleneminen. Työuran vaihetarkastelun avulla on tarkoitus saada käsitys siitä, kuinka eri tekijöiden vaikutus on riippuvainen yksilön työuran vaiheesta. Esimerkiksi organisaatiotason tekijät eivät vaikuta yksilön työuraan ennen kuin tämä on tullut työmarkkinoille.

Naisten eteneminen johtamisurilla on monimutkainen ilmiö, jonka kuvaamiseen ja ymmärtämiseen tarvitaan mahdollisimman kokonaisvaltainen tarkastelumalli. Työuraan vaikuttavat tekijät ovat peräisin yhteiskunnan, organisaation, ihmisuhteiden sekä yksilön tasolta (Hall 1987; Powell & Mainiero 1992; Ragins & Sundstrom 1989; White, Cox & Cooper 1992.) Eri tasojen tekijät vaikuttavat sekä

suoraan että epäsuorasti yksilöiden työuraan, mikä havaitaan parhaiten kun tarkastellaan tekijöitä lähtötasojensa mukaan. Ragins ja Sundstrom (1989) korostavat kaikkien analyysitasojen olevan toisistaan riippuvaisia siten, että muutos yhdellä tasolla tietyssä muuttujassa vaikuttaa myös muiden tasojen muuttujiin. Tasojen väliset yhteydet ovat kaksisuuntaisia, mutta eivät välttämättä yhtä voimakkaita.

Tämä artikkelin tavoitteena on kuvata ja analysoida tekijöitä, jotka vaikuttavat naisten johtamisuriin estävästi. Tarkastelu on luonteeltaan meta-analyysi, joka perustuu aikaisempaan tutkimukseen aiheesta. Artikkelissa selvitetään tekijöitä kokonaisvaltaisesti yhteiskunnan, organisaation ja yksilön tasoilta. Lisäksi erikseen keskustellaan työn ja perheen suhteen vaikutuksesta naisten johtamisuraan.

## **Yhteiskuntataso**

Yhteiskunnan tasolta lähtöisin olevat naisten johtamisuria estävät tekijät vaikuttavat suoraan ennen työmarkkinoille ja organisaation palvelukseen siirtymistä. Epäsuorat vaikutukset yhteiskunnan tasolla puolestaan vaikuttavat kaikkiin työuran vaiheisiin.

Ensimmäisenä ja ehkä tärkeimpänä yhteiskunnan tasolta lähtöisin olevana naisten johtamisuria estävänä tekijänä toimii sukupuolirooliin sosiaalistuminen, johon vaikuttaa niin lapsuudenperhe, ystävät, lähipiiri kuin yhteiskunta (Wirth 2001). Sukupuolirooliin sosiaalistuminen ohjaa naista käyttäytymään naisen rooliin kohdistuvien odotusten mukaisesti. Lisäksi sukupuolirooliin kohdistuu stereotyyppioita, jotka saavat aikaan naisiin kohdistuvia ennakkoluuloja ja negatiivisia asenteita. Esimerkkejä naisen rooliin liitetystä stereotyyppiä ovat riippuvuus, huolenpito, alhainen urasuuntatuneisuus sekä epävakaus työntekijänä, minkä vuoksi naisia ei koeta välttämättä yritysten kannalta kannattavana ja uskottavana inhimillisen pääoman sijoitus- ja kehityskohteena (Ragins & Sundstrom 1989; Schreiber 1998; Wentling 1996.)

Lisäksi stereotyyppiat, joiden mukaan naiset ovat miehiä kyvyttömämpiä johtajina, ovat edelleen vahvasti esillä (Oakley 2000; Ragins & Sundstrom 1989). Tällaiset stereotyyppiat olettavat miesten ja naisten johtamiskyvyissä olevan merkittäviä eroja. Miehiä pidetäänkin usein naisia sopivampina organisaatioiden johtotehtäviin, koska tehokkaaseen johtajaan liitetään yleensä maskuliinisia, miehille tyypillisinä pidettyjä piirteitä. (Fagenson 1990; Heilman ym. 1989; McCarty Kilian, Hukai & McCarty 2005; McKeen & Burke 1994.) Ei liene suuri yllätys, että menestyvään johtamiseen liitettyjen maskuliinisten piirteiden on useissa tutkimuksissa havaittu toimivan merkittävänä esteenä naisten etenemiselle yritysten johtoon (Heilman ym. 1989; Nieva ja Gutek 1980; Oakley 2000), vaikka esimerkiksi laaja empiirinen tutkimus Suomessa on osoittanut naisten johtamien yritysten olevan keskimäärin kymmenisen prosenttia miesten johtamia yrityksiä kannattavampia. Samansuuntainen yhteys oli naisilla yritysten hallituksissa. (Kotiranta ym. 2007). Tutkimukset ovat myös paljastaneet, että menestyviin naisjohtajiin liitetään negatiivissävytteisiä piirteitä, jotka poikkeavat miehiin tai menestyviin miesjohtajiin liitetystä piirteistä. Tällaisia piirteitä ovat muun muassa itsekkyyys, riitaisuus sekä rajaton vallan ja menestymisen halu. (Heilman ym. 1989.)

Naisiin liitetyt stereotyyppit voimistavat naisiin kohdistuvia negatiivisia asenteita (Ragins & Sundstrom 1989). Stereotyyppit ja niiden aiheuttamat ennakkoluulot ovatkin yksi naisten yleisimmin mainitsemista esteistä johtamisurilleen. (Altman ym. 2005; Burke & McKeen 1994b; Coe 1992; Galinsky ym. 2005; Liff, Worrall & Cooper 1996; McCarty Kilian, Hukai & McCarty 2005; McKeen & Burke 1994; Offermann & Beil 1992; Ragins, Townsend & Mattis 1998; Wentling 1996.) Naisiin kohdistuvat ennakkoluulot ja alhaiset suoritusodotukset voivat pahimmillaan johtaa sekä naisten heikkenemiseen itsetuntoon, ylisuorittamiseen ja huonoksi arvioituun johtamiskäyttäytymiseen. Nämä puolestaan voivat laskea muiden odotuksia edelleen, mikä saa aikaan negatiivisen, itseään vahvistavan kehän. (Ragins & Sundstrom 1989.) Ennakkoluulot ja stereotyyppit ovat siinä mielessä ongelmallisia, että ne lisäävät rakenteellista syrjintää liittäessään naisiin piirteitä, joiden olemassaololla ei ole todellisuus pohjaa. Vaikka nainen onnistuisikin välttämään yhteiskunnan tasolta lähtöisin olevien esteiden suoran vaikutuksen uransa alkuvaiheessa, hän joutuu useimmiten kohtaamaan niiden epäsuoran vaikutuksen vielä useaan otteeseen työurallaan.

### **Organisaatiotaso**

Organisaatiosta lähtöisin olevat johtamisuraa estävät tekijät alkavat vaikuttaa, kun naiset siirtyvät työmarkkinoille ja organisaation palvelukseen. Organisaattoristen tekijöiden vaikutus naisten johtamisurilla etenemiseen voi olla joskus jopa niin voimakas, että urakehitys pysähtyy – tällöin puhutaan ns. lasikatosta (Ragins & Sundstrom 1989). Koska miehet enemmistön edustajina ovat muokanneet organisatoriset käytännöt miesten urakehitystä tukeviksi, he eivät yleensä joudu kohtaamaan samoja urasteitä kuin naiset. Tämän vuoksi miehet eivät myöskään kykene riittävän hyvin ymmärtämään naisten kohtaamia esteitä. (Ragins, Townsend & Mattis 1998.) Miesten ymmärryksen lisääminen naisten kohtaamista organisatorisista uralla etenemisen esteistä onkin ensiarvoisen tärkeää, sillä miehillä on huomattavasti naisia paremmat mahdollisuudet poistaa näitä esteitä johtuen miesten korkeammasta valta-asemasta organisaatioissa. Organisaation miehinen ylin johto voikin toimia merkittävimpana esteenä naisten johtamisurille (Liff, Worrall & Cooper 1996; Hall 1990). Toisaalta ylin johto voi halutessaan myös toimia urien keskeisenä edistäjänä.

Ensimmäinen organisatorinen johtamisuraa estävä tekijä, jonka naiset kohtaavat työelämäänsä siirtyessään, koskee rekrytointeja ja niissä ilmeneviä naisia syrjiviä käytänteitä. Organisaatioissa auki olevista tehtävistä ei läheskään aina ilmoiteta julkisesti, ei etenäkään silloin, kun kyse on ylemmän tason johtamistehtävistä. Jos avoimet paikat ovat paremmin miesten tiedossa, on selvää, että suurin osa hakijoista on miehiä. Myös itse rekrytointiprosessiin sekä valinta- ja palkkausperusteisiin liittyy runsaasti naisia syrjivää toimintaa (Bartol 1978; Ragins & Sundstrom 1989), kuten homososiaalisuuden ilmiö. Miehistä koostuva johto valitsee itsensä kaltaisia henkilöitä johtamistehtäviin, mikä suosii miehiä. Rekrytointeihin liittyvä syrjintä voi johtaa siihen, että miehiä palkataan naisia useammin vaativiin ja urakehitystä edistäviin tehtäviin. Naisia puolestaan palkataan enemmän tehtäviin, joista on vaikea edetä organisaation ylimpään johtoon. (Coe 1992; Oakley 2000.) Useat eri tutkimukset osoittavatkin naisten kärsivän urallaan siitä, että heiltä sanotaan ja ajatellaan puuttuvan kokemus keski- ja linjajohdon työstä (Galinsky ym. 2005;

McCarty Kilian, Hukai & McCarty 2005; McKeen & Burke 1994; Ragins, Townsend & Mattis 1998; Oakley 2000), vaikka näin ei todellisuudessa välttämättä aina olisikaan.

Vaikka syrjivät rekrytointikäytännöt ovat yksi voimakkaimmista naisten johtamisuria estävistä organisatorisista tekijöistä, organisaatioon liittyy myös muita tekijöitä, jotka vaikeuttavat naisten ylenemistä. Naisen päästyä organisaation palvelukseen hänen urakehitykseensä alkavat vaikuttaa nämä tekijät. Organisaation arvot sekä näkyvät ja näkymättömät säännöt perustuvat yleensä maskuliinisiin normeihin. Myös vallalla oleva käsitys menestyvästä johtajasta on usein maskuliininen. (Liff & Ward 2001; Wirth 2001.) Naiset voivat kokea vaikeuksia sopeutua organisaatioon ja edetä uralleen vallalla olevien maskuliinisten arvojen ja toimintatapojen johdosta (Liff & Ward 2001; Mattis 2001; McKeen & Burke 1994; Ragins, Townsend & Mattis 1998; Wirth 2001).

Menestyvään johtamiseen liitettyjen ja naisiin liitettyjen piirteiden eroista johtuen hyvä tai jopa ylisuoriutuva selviytyminen työtehtävistä ei aina riitä takaamaan naisille urakehitystä, vaan naisjohtajien on mukauduttava maskuliiniseen yritys- ja johtamiskulttuuriin muuttamalla johtamistyyliään maskuliinisemmaksi sekä peittämällä feminiinisiä piirteitään (Ragins, Townsend & Mattis 1998; Martelius-Louniala 2007.) Tyylin muuttamiseen maskuliinisemmaksi liittyy kuitenkin ns. kaksoissidos -ilmiö. Tällä tarkoitetaan sitä, että jos naiset yrittävät toimia feminiinisten piirteiden mukaan, heitä ei välttämättä pidetä kyllin tehokkaina johtajina. Jos he taas toimivat maskuliinisten piirteiden mukaan, se on ristiriidassa heihin kohdistuvien sukupuoli-rooliin liitettyjen odotusten kanssa. Tällöin maskuliinisesti toimiva nainen koetaan usein ”ärsyttävänä akkana” tai ”riivinrautana”, jota ei pidetä kyllin naisellisena.

Naisten työskentelyä ”väärissä” tehtävissä voidaan syrjivien rekrytointikäytänteiden ohella selittää puutteilla organisaatioiden järjestämässä urasuunnittelussa ja -ohjauksessa niin työuran alkuvaiheessa kuin myöhemminkin (Altman ym. 2005; Burke & McKeen 1994b; Coe 1992; Davey & Davidson 1994; McCarty Kilian, Hukai & McCarty 2004). Raginsin ja Sundstromin (1989) tutkimus osoitti miehille laadittujen urasuunnitelmien johtavan selkeästi naisille laadittuja suunnitelmia nopeammin organisaatiohierarkiassa ylöspäin. Naisten eteneminen johtamisurilla oli suunnitelmisakin hidasta tai sitä ei ollut lainkaan suunniteltu.

Urasuunnitteluun ja -ohjaukseen liittyvät läheisesti organisaation tarjoamat koulutus- ja kehittämismahdollisuudet. Naiset kokevat usein organisaation heille tarjoaman lisäkoulutuksen järjestelyiltään puutteelliseksi ja sisällöltään sellaiseksi, ettei se edistä heidän etenemistään johtajiksi (Altman ym. 2005; Coe 1992). Raginsin ja Sundstromin (1989) mukaan yrityksen järjestämän koulutuksen ja ylenemisiin liittyvien sukupuolierojen välinen yhteys selittyy joko sillä, että naisten on vaikeampi päästä mukaan johtamiskoulutukseen tai sitten koulutuksen sisältö vaihtelee riippuen koulutettavan sukupuolesta. Naisten osuus korkeatasoisissa johtamisen kehittämissuunnitelmissa onkin yleensä miehiä pienempi (Ibeh ym. 2008), vaikkakaan sukupuolijakaumaa ei usein systemaattisesti seurata. Esimerkiksi Suomessa valtionhallinnon loppuraportti naisten urakehityksen edistämisestä (Naisten urakehityksen edistämisen työryhmä 2009) toteaa, että valtionhallinnon pitkissä johdon koulutusohjelmissa miesten osuus on ollut yleensä kaksi kolmannesta.

Naisten osuus on vaihdellut satunnaisesti eikä vahvaa suuntausta naisten määrän lisääntymisestä ole ollut havaittavissa useaan vuosikymmeneen.

Organisaation ylenemiskäytäntöihin ja niiden perusteisiin liittyy usein sukupuoleen perustuvaa syrjintää, mikä selittää osaltaan naisjohtajien vähyyttä (Liff, Worrall & Cooper 1996; Oakley 2000). Miesten ja naisten ylenemisessä onkin havaittavissa selviä eroja. Naiset saattavat yletä miehiä useammin, mutta naisten ylenemisaskeleet ovat lyhyempiä kuin miehillä, ja miehet ylenevät tämän vuoksi naisia nopeammin (Ragins & Sundstrom 1989). Ylenemiseen liittyvää sukupuoleen perustuvaa syrjintää ilmenee esimerkiksi siinä, että ennen varsinaista ylennystä nainen siirretään usein samankaltaiseen, mutta vaatimattomampaan tehtävään harjoittelemaan. Miehillä tällaista menettelyä käytetään harvoin ja yleensä miehet ylenevätkin uusiin tehtäviin aivan toisenlaisista tehtävistä. (Ruderman, Ohlott & Kram 1995.)

Miehet hyötyvät sukupuolestaan myös tilanteissa, joissa hakijat ovat yhtä päteviä suoriutumaan tarjolla olevasta tehtävästä. Tällöin ylenemisestä vastaavat henkilöt päätyvät usein ylentämään sellaisia henkilöitä, jotka ovat heidän itsensä kaltaisia, koska kokevat nämä luotettavina. Koska ylenemisistä päättävät ovat useimmiten miehiä, he myös ylentävät miehiä. (Ruderman, Ohlott & Kram 1995.) Naisten syrjiminen ylentämisissä johtaa siihen, että heille kertyy miehiä vähemmän kokemusta haasteellisista tehtävistä (Ruderman, Ohlott & Kram 1995).

Naisilla ja erityisesti äideillä yhdeksi organisaatiotason esteeksi nousevat myös esiin pitkät ja joustamattomat työajat, jotka vaikeuttavat tai tekevät vaikeaksi perheen ja työuran vaatimusten yhteensovittamisen (Coe 1992; Liff, Worrall & Cooper 1996). Johtajan työ määritellään edelleen tiukasti kokopäivätyöksi, johon kuuluvat olennaisena osana ylityöt ja matkustaminen. Todellisuudessa johtajat kuitenkin työskentelevät nykyisin useissa eri tehtävissä, ja ehtivät keskittymään yhteen tehtävään vain hetken ennen kuin huomio on siirrettävä seuraavaan tehtävään. Tavallaan johtajat siis työskentelevät osa-aikaisina usean eri tehtävän parissa. Tästä huolimatta naisjohtajille tarjotaan todella harvoin mahdollisuutta hyödyntää työssään joustavaa työaika tai osa-aikaisuutta (Coe 1992). Naisten kannalta on myös ongelmallista, että keskusteluissa työn ja perheen suhteista uran ja perheen yhteensovittaminen on nähty tyypillisesti naisten ongelmana, minkä vuoksi heidän sanotaan tarvitsevan joustavia yhteensovittamisstrategioita. Työn ja perheen yhdistämisen ei kovinkaan usein ajatella koskevan miesjohtajia (Daly ym. 2008).

Organisatoristen käytäntöjen muuttaminen on riittämätön toimi naisten johtamisurien edistämiseksi niin kauan kuin yhteiskunnan ja organisaation kulttuurista peräisin olevia arvoja ja asenteita ei kyetä muuttamaan tasa-arvoisiksi (Oakley 2000). Johtopäätöksenä voidaan esittää, että naisia syrjivien organisatoristen tekijöiden taustalla vaikuttavat huomattavasti syvemmälle juurtuneet yleisemmät kulttuuriset arvot, oletukset ja asenteet, jotka tulevat esille usein huonosti tiedostettuina organisatorisina käytäntöinä.

## Ihmissuhdetaso

Ihmissuhdetason tekijöillä on keskeinen rooli monien organisatoristen tekijöiden taustalla. Esimerkiksi rekrytointi- ja ylenemistilanteessa on havaittu tehtävään hakeneen hyötyvän siitä, että hän tuntee valinnasta päättävän henkilön entuudestaan. Toisaalta ihmissuhdetason tekijöihin vaikuttavat erityisesti yhteiskunnan tasolta peräsin olevat tekijät, kuten stereotypiat ja ennakkoluulot, jotka konkretisoituvat ihmissuhteissa.

Yhtenä suurimmista esteistä naisten johtamisurille nousee esiin sopivien mentorien ja roolimallien puute (Altman ym. 2005; Burke & McKeen 1994b; Coe 1992; Davey & Davidson 1994; Galinsky ym. 2005; McCarty Kilian, Hukai & McCarty 2004; McCarty Kilian, Hukai & McCarty 2005; Wirth 2001). Mentoroinnin hyödyt ovat monet. Mentori voi suojella mentoroitavaansa erilaiselta syrjinnältä, antaa ohjeita koskien organisaation toimintatapoja sekä tarjota epävirallisten verkostojen kautta saatavaa tietoa avoinna olevista tehtävistä. (Burke & McKeen 1994; Fagenson 1989; Lewis & Fagenson 1995; McDonald & Hite 1998; Ragins 1997; Wentling 1996; White, Cox & Cooper, 1992.)

Mentorien on havaittu olevan hyödyksi erityisesti naisten urakehitykselle (Ragins & Sundstrom 1989; Mutanen & Lämsä 2006). Vaikka mentorointi edistää yhtä lailla miesten kuin naistenkin johtamisuria, naisilla sen tärkeys korostuu. Vaikutusvaltaiset miesmentorit, joilla on pääsy verkostoihin ja joilla on uskottavuutta organisaatiossaan, edistävät tehokkaasti naispuolisten mentoroitaviensa etenemistä ylempiin johtotehtäviin esimerkiksi siitä syystä, että he omaavat tärkeää sisäpiiritietoa, johon pääsee yleensä käsiksi ainoastaan kuulumalla miesten sisäpiireihin. Vaikutusvaltainen miesmentori myös suojelee naismentoroitavaansa organisaatiossa vallalla olevilta vastustavilta voimilta. Johtamisuralla etenemään haluavan naisen olisi kuitenkin tärkeitä saada myös naismentori, koska nais- ja miesmentorilta saatavat hyödyt poikkeavat toisistaan. Naismentorit esimerkiksi osaavat samaistua ja myötäelää johtamisuralla etenemään haluavien naisten kohtaamia esteitä. (Ragins, Townsend & Mattis 1998; Mutanen & Lämsä 2006.)

Mentorointisuhteet jakautuvat virallisiin, organisaatioiden järjestämiin, ja epävirallisiin, ihmissuhteiden pohjalta syntyviin suhteisiin. Erityisesti epävirallisten mentorisuhteiden luominen tuottaa usein vaikeuksia naisille. Miesjohtajat voivat joskus olla haluttomia toimimaan naisten mentoreina mentorointisuhteen intiimisyyden ja siihen liittyvien miesten ja naisten läheisiä suhteita koskevien sosiaalisten tabujen vuoksi. Myös naismentorin löytäminen on usein vaikeaa. Tämä selittyy ensisijaisesti vaikutusvaltaisten mentoriksi sopivien naisten vähyydellä. Naisjohtajat voivat myös kokea haluttomuutta toimia naisten mentorina, ettei heitä leimattaisi feministeiksi. Lisäksi naisjohtajat joutuvat itse käyttämään paljon aikaa kohtaamiensa esteiden ja ennakkoluulojen voittamiseen, minkä vuoksi aikaa mentoroitavalle voi olla vaikeaa löytää. (Burke & McKeen 1994; Dreher & Cox 1996; Lewis & Fagenson 1995; Wells 2001.)

Sukupuoleen perustuva syrjintä saa pääasiassa alkunsa yhteiskunnan tasolta peräisin olevista naisiin kohdistuvista stereotyyppioista ja ennakkoluuloista, jotka sitten

konkretisoituvat ihmissuhdetasolla tapahtuvana syrjintänä. Erityisesti naisten syrjintä nousee esille heidän kohtaaminaan vaikeuksina päästä mukaan organisaation epävirallisiin verkostoihin, joiden tiedetään olevan hyödyllisiä johtamisuralla (Liff & Ward 2001; Ruderman, Ohlott & Kram 1995; McCarty Kilian, Hukai & McCarty 2005; Wells 2001; Wentling 1996; Wirth 2001).

Epävirallisten verkostojen ulkopuolelle jääminen aiheuttaa naisten urakehitykselle vaikeuksia. He eivät saa tietoonsa läheskään kaikkia organisaatiossa avoinna olevia työtehtäviä. He eivät kykene tekemään itseään tunnetuksi organisaatiossa vaikutusvaltaa omaavien piirissä, eivätkä pysty aina luomaan suhteita ylenemisistä päättäviin henkilöihin. (Burke & McKeen 1994; Gould & Penley 1984; Liff & Ward 2001; Ragins & Sundstrom 1989; Ruderman, Ohlott & Kram 1995.) Epäviralliset verkostot toimivat erittäin tehokkaasti miesten etujen ajajina. Verkostot toimivat sekä organisaation sisällä että niiden välillä ja jättävät ulkopuolelleen vähän valtaa omaavat miehet sekä kaikki naiset. Verkostoissa virallista valtaa ja kilpailuetua siirretään toisille jäsenille liittoumien ja ystävyysuhteiden perusteella. (Oakley 2000.)

Myös kahdenkeskiset suhteet esimiehiin vaikuttavat osaltaan johtamisuralla etenemiseen. (Ragins & Sundstrom 1989). Naisten kohdalla esimies-alaisuusuhdeiden negatiivinen vaikutus korostuu erityisesti silloin, kun esimiehenä toimii mies, jolle tuottaa vaikeuksia työskennellä naisten kanssa ja joka ei koe naisten johtamisurien kehittämistä ja edistämistä tärkeänä (Wentling 1996). Tällaisissa tapauksissa naisen on vaikeaa saada itseään esille varteenotettavana vaihtoehtona avoinna olevia tehtäviä täytettäessä.

### **Yksilötaso**

Yksilötason tekijöiden osalta on heti alkuun syytä huomauttaa muiden tasojen tekijöiden vaikuttavan voimakkaasti tämän tason tekijöihin. Esimerkiksi yhteiskunnan tasolla tapahtuva sukupuolirooliin sosiaalistuminen vaikuttaa voimakkaasti naisten tekemiin koulutusvalintoihin sekä valintoihin perheen ja työuran välillä. Organisaatio- ja ihmissuhdetason tekijät vaikuttavat puolestaan naisten työkokemuksen karttumiseen, mutta myös yhtä lailla perheen ja työuran välisiin valintoihin. Viimeistään yksilötason tekijöitä tarkasteltaessa käy selväksi, kuinka monimutkaisista eri tekijöiden välisistä suhteista naisten johtamisuria estävät tekijät itse asiassa muodostuvat.

Eräänä varhaisimmista ja eniten käytetyistä perusteluista naisten huomattavasti miehiä hitaammalle johtamisuralla etenemiselle ovat erot miesten ja naisten persoonallisuuden piirteissä. Piirteistä johtuvien erojen voidaan nähdä vaikuttavan jo ennen työmarkkinoille siirtymistä naisten tekemiin koulutus- ja ammatinvalintapäätöksiin, mutta ne vaikuttavat vahvasti myös työuran myöhemmissä vaiheissa. Miesten on usein ajateltu olevan naisia vallanhaluisempia, motivoituneempia johtamaan muita, itsevarmempia ja suoritusorientoituneempia. (Ragins & Sundstrom 1989.). Persoonallisuuden piirteitä koskevaa tutkimusta niin naisten osalta kuin yleensäkin johtajuudessa on kuitenkin kritisoitu runsaasti esimerkiksi staat-tisuudesta, tilanteiden ja olosuhteiden huomioinnin laiminlyömisestä. Tutkimukset eivät anna yksiselitteistä kuvaa miesten ja naisten välisistä piirre-eroista, ja usein

erot johtuvat pikemminkin sukupuoleen liittyvistä rooli-odotuksista kuin todellisista eroista. (Ragins & Sundstrom 1989).

Tarkasteltaessa naisten omia kokemuksia siitä, mikä on estänyt heitä etenemästä urallaan kohti organisaation huippua, esille nousee itsevarmuuden puute. Esimerkiksi Altmanin ym. (2005) ja Coen (1992) tutkimuksiin osallistuneet naisjohtajat olivat vahvasti sitä mieltä, että juuri itsevarmuuden puute oli toiminut suurena hidasteena heidän urakehitykselleen. Myös miesten voimakkaampaa motivaatiota edetä urallaan on tarjottu selitykseksi heidän paremmalle urakehitykselleen (Galinsky ym. 2005). Naisten väitettyä heikompaa motivaatiota edetä johtamisuralla saattaa osin selittää se, että naiset joutuvat kohtaamaan työurallaan miehiä enemmän esteitä, mikä ajan kuluessa laskee heidän johtamisuralleen asettamia tavoitteita.

Vastaavasti erilaiset käyttäytymismallit, kuten erilaiset urataktiikat, voivat osaltaan selittää eroja (Ragins & Sundstrom 1989). Naisilla ei läheskään aina ole uran alkuvaiheessa riittävän selkeää käsitystä siitä, mitä he työuraltaan haluavat. Wentling (1996) havaitsi tutkimuksessaan useiden naisjohtajien olevan sitä mieltä, että jos he olisivat ottaneet enemmän vastuuta urastaan ja laatineet oman urastrategian, heidän urakehityksensä olisi ollut toteutunutta nopeampaa, koska heille olisi kertynyt enemmän urakehityksen kannalta tärkeitä taitoja ja työkokemusta.

Yksilötason tekijänä vaikuttavat osaltaan naisten tekemät koulutusratkaisut. (McKeen & Burke 1994; Ragins & Sundstrom 1989.) Vaikka naisten koulutustaso on noussut miesten tasolle ja jopa ohi, muutos ei ole auttanut naisia kilpailemaan tasapäisesti miesten kanssa johtotehtävistä (Wirth 2001). Syynä tähän on se, että naiset hankkivat koulutuksensa usein aloilta, jotka eivät valmenna heitä johtajan uralle (Liff, Worrall & Cooper 1996). Tämä selittyy osin sosiaalistumisella naisen sukupuolirooliin. Yksilö valitsee ammatinsa usein sen mukaan, mitä pidetään sopivana hänen sukupuolelleen. Johtamisuran kannalta vääränlaisen koulutuksen vuoksi naiset palkataan usein työtehtäviin, joita ei pidetä riittävän haasteellisina ja jotka eivät kartuta johtajilta vaadittavaa kokemusta. (McKeen & Burke 1994; McCarty Kilian, Hukai & McCarty 2005.) Naisille on myös tyypillistä pysyä tietyssä tehtävässä pidempään ja tulla kyseisen tehtävän osaajaksi. Tämä kuitenkin hidastaa johtamisuralla etenemistä, koska henkilön olisi hyvä kerätä riittävästi kokemusta eri tehtävistä ja mieluiten eri organisaatioiden palveluksessa. (White, Cox & Cooper 1992.) Vaikka nainen ryhtyisi työskentelemään alalla, joka tukee johtamisuraa, voi esteenä urakehitykselle toimia sukupuolittunut erikoistuminen johonkin naisille tyypilliseen tehtävään. Naiset esimerkiksi työskentelevät usein henkilöstö- ja viestintäjohtamisen piirissä. Sieltä yleneminen organisaation ylimpään johtoon on monesti vähäisempää, sillä henkilöstöjohtaminen ei suoranaisesti edistä yrityksen johdolta vaadittavaa liiketoimintaosaamista. (Ragins ja Sundstrom 1989; White, Cox & Cooper 1992.)

Naisten sosiaalistuminen sukupuolirooliin ja sukupuoleen kohdistuvat stereotyyppit ja asenteet johtavat usein myös siihen, että nainen valitsee itselleen työn, ei uraa. Työn ja uran ero on siinä, että työ ei vaadi välttämättä korkeaa koulutusta, mutta se ei myöskään tarjoa mahdollisuuksia ylenemiseen. Ura puolestaan vaatii koulutusta, mutta takaa paremmin myös ylenemisen. (Ragins ja Sundstrom 1989.) Se, että naiset valitsevat usein työn eivätkä uraa, selittyy ainakin osin sillä, että naisen rooliin

kuuluu edelleen päävastuu lasten kasvattamisesta, minkä koetaan olevan ristiriidassa johtamisuran kanssa. (Ragins ja Sundstrom 1989; Schreiber 1998.)

### **Naiset, johtamisura ja perhe**

Useissa naisten johtamisuria käsittelevissä tutkimuksissa avioliitto ja erityisesti lapset nousevat säännöllisesti esiin naisten urakehitystä hidastavina tekijöinä. Työuran ja perhe-elämän vaatimusten yhteensovittaminen tuottaa huomattavasti enemmän vaikeuksia naisille kuin miehille. (Burke & McKeen 1994b; Coe 1992; McCarty Kilian, Hukai & McCarty 2005; McDonald & Hite 1998; Metz 2005; Wirth 2001.) Lapset myös erottavat äidit omaksi ryhmäkseen muista naisista. Äidit kokevat luonnollisesti muita naisia enemmän perhevelvollisuuksien hidastaneen heidän uralla etenemistään, ja urakatkokset myös korostuvat äideillä. On kuitenkin mahdollista, että lasten vaikutus korostuu äitien näkemyksissä siksi, että heillä saattaa rooli-dotusten vuoksi olla alhaisemmat odotukset ylennysten suhteen. Tällöin he eivät välttämättä edes havaitse muita kohtaamiaan esteitä. (Metz 2005.)

Naisilla on selkeä mielikuva siitä, että ilman täydellistä työhön sitoutumista heillä ei ole mitään asiaa organisaation ylempiin johtotehtäviin. Coen (1992) mukaan liki puolet naisjohtajista, joilla oli lapsia, koki äitiydestä olleen selvästi haittaa uralleen. Naisjohtajat myös kokevat organisaatioidensa olevan haluttomia tukemaan perheen ja työuran vaatimusten yhteensovittamista (Burke 2001). Scheinin ”think manager, think male” voidaankin laittaa muotoon ”think female manager, think childless superwoman” (Liff & Ward 2001).

Mikä oikeastaan toimii perheellisyydessä ja erityisesti äitiydessä esteenä naisten johtamisuralle? Ensinnäkin, äidiksi tuleminen ajatellaan rajoittavan naisten työskentelymahdollisuuksia. Äitien on usein havaittu kokevan, että heidän on isiä vaikeampana tehdä pitkiä työpäiviä ja olla öitä pois kotoa esimerkiksi työmatkoilla tai muualla järjestetyissä koulutuksissa. Suurena syynä vaikeuksiin on lastenhoitovastuun epätasa-arvoinen jakautuminen perheessä. (Davey & Davidson 1994; Liff & Ward 2001.)

Äitiyteen liitetään usein myös stereotypioita, kuten heikko sitoutuminen organisaatioon ja passiivisuus, jotka puolestaan saavat aikaan negatiivisia asenteita äitejä kohtaan. Usein ihmiset ovat myös sitä mieltä, ettei nainen voi tehokkaasti yhdistää työuraa ja äitiyttä. (Burke 2001; Corse 1990; Schwartz 1989.) Äiteihin kohdistuvat stereotyypit voivat olla melko voimakkaita. Vaikka naisen onnistuisikin yhdistää äitiys ja työura ja vaikka hän olisi aivan yhtä sitoutunut uraansa kuin ennen äitiyttään, esimiesten ja kollegoiden suhtautumista äidiksi tulleeseen työntekijään ohjaavat stereotyypit tämän todellisesta sitoutumisesta ja työtuloksesta riippumatta. (Davey & Davidson 1994; Ragins & Sundstrom 1989.) Äitiyteen liittyvät stereotyypit saavat aikaan sen, ettei äitejä välttämättä kouluteta ja ylennetä samaan tahtiin kuin miehiä ja naimattomia naisia. Esimiesten ja kollegoiden negatiivinen suhtautuminen äiteihin ja odottaviin naisiin vähentää lisäksi selvästi äidiksi tulleiden halukkuutta palata takaisin työelämään (Davey & Davidson 1994).

Ilman äitiyteen kohdistuvia negatiivisia asenteitakin äitiys tuo ylimääräisiä katkoksia naisten työurille, minkä vuoksi heidän uransa on usein miesten uraa lyhyempi tai

ainakin katkonaisempi (Burke & McKeen 1994b; Wirth 2001; O'Neil & Bilimoria 2005). Se on puolestaan yhteydessä hitaampaan ylenemisvauhtiin ja alhaisempaan palkkaan (Wirth 2001). Tämä johtuu osaksi siitä, että urakatkos rapistuttaa työntekijän taitoja ja ”täsmätietoja”. Kun nainen huomaa tietojensa ja taitojensa vanhenneen, tämä voi heikentää hänen itsetuntoaan, mikä taas heikentää työsuoritusta (Davey & Davidson 1994).

Jotkut organisaatiot voivat myös olla niin ymmärtämättömiä ja vaativia, että rinnastavat lyhyetkin katkot huonoon sitoutumiseen (Burke & McKeen 1994b). Tämä voi puolestaan johtaa siihen, että organisaatio ei enää panosta katkoja työntekijään, jonka työuralla on ollut urakatkoja. Äitiys saattaa myös vaikeuttaa naisten osallistumista erilaisiin kehitysohjelmiin ja koulutustilaisuuksiin. Koulutuksen puutteellisuus puolestaan voi estää tai ainakin hidastaa etenemistä. (Metz 2005).

Schwartzin (1989) mukaan naiset tulevat työntajille miehiä kalliimmiksi, mikä johtuu pitkälti äitiydestä. Liian moni nainen jää kokonaan pois työelämästä tullessaan äidiksi, vaikkakin meillä Suomessa on tyypillistä naisten korkea työhön osallistumisaste ja kokopäiväinen työskentely. Schwartzin mielestä naisten palkkaamiseen liittyviä kustannuksia voitaisiin laskea yksinkertaisesti tarjoamalla joustavampia työjärjestelyjä niille, joka haluavat sekä perheen että uran. Tämän pitäisi koskea sekä miehiä että naisia. Suuri osa naisista on kuitenkin niitä, jotka haluavat edetä urallaan, mutta perheen ehdoilla (Lämsä & Hiillos 2008, tutkimustulos Suomessa). Nämä henkilöt ovat vielä nykyään melko huonosti hyödynnetty voimavara, koska yritykset eivät aina jatka panostustaan äidiksi tulleisiin naisiin. Tästä seuraa yritykselle monenlaista vahinkoa. Tehdyt satsaukset menetetään, jos naisen panoksesta kokonaan luovutaan. Vuosien kokemusta ei voida hetkessä korvata uuden työntekijän avulla.

## **Lopuksi**

Kolmenkymmenen viime vuoden aikana julkaistujen naisten johtajuutta käsittelevien tutkimusten perusteella päättelen, että yhteiskunnan ja ihmissuhteiden tasoilta peräisin olevien tekijöiden estävä vaikutus naisten johtamisuriin on muiden tasojen tekijöiden vaikutusta voimakkaampaa. Suorien vaikutusten ohella näiden tasojen tekijöillä on myös paljon epäsuoria vaikutuksia. Yhteiskunnan ja ihmissuhteiden tasoilta peräisin olevien tekijöiden ohella perheen ja erityisesti äitiyden hankaloittava, jopa estävä vaikutus naisten johtamisuriin tulee selvästi esiin useissa tutkimuksissa.

Aiempien tutkimusten perusteella tiukkaan ja perinteiseen sukupuolirooliin sosiaalistuminen näyttää toimivan voimakkaimpana yhteiskunnan tasolta lähtöisin olevana naisten johtamisuria estävänä tekijänä. Naisen sukupuolirooliin kohdistuu odotuksia naisille sopivasta käyttäytymisestä sekä tietyntyyppisen työn tekemisestä. Seurauksena on naisten kouluttautuminen aloille, jotka eivät edistä johtamisuraa. Sukupuolirooliin kohdistuu myös erilaisia stereotypioita, jotka osaltaan vahvistavat sen aikaansaamia epäsuoria vaikutuksia. Organisaatiossa sukupuolirooliin sosiaalistumisen epäsuorat vaikutukset ilmenevät esimerkiksi naisten syrjimisestä rekrytointi- ja ylenemispäätöksissä. Ihmissuhteiden tasolla se puolestaan vaikeuttaa

muun muassa naisten pääsyä epävirallisiin verkostoihin. Yksilötasolla sukupuolirooliin kohdistuvat stereotyyppit ja ennakkoluulot saattavat vaikuttaa heikentävästi niin naisten suoritusmotivaatioon kuin itsetuntoonkin.

Ihmissuhteiden tasolla naisten johtamisuria estävänä tekijänä korostuu epävirallisten mentorointisuhteiden luomisen vaikeus. Miesjohtajat ovat joskus haluttomia toimimaan naisten mentoreina muun muassa mentorointisuhteen intiimisyyden vuoksi. Naismentorin löytämistä vaikeuttaa mentoriksi sopivien naisten vähyys. Ilman mentoria naisen voi olla vaikeaa tehdä itseään näkyväksi ja päästä osalliseksi tärkeisiin epävirallisiin verkostoihin.

Aikaisempien tutkimusten valossa näyttää siltä, että yksilötasolla naisten johtamisuria estävinä tekijöinä korostuvat perhe ja erityisesti lapset. Naiset kantavat edelleen päävastuun kodin ja lasten hoidosta, mikä aiheuttaa ongelmia heidän johtamisurilleen. Äideille voivat tuottaa vaikeuksia esimerkiksi johtajan työlle tyypillisinä pidetyt pitkät työpäivät tai useampia päiviä kestävät työmatkat. Äitiyteen liittyy myös runsaasti epäsuoria estäviä vaikutuksia. Äidiksi tuleminen johtaa urakatkokseen, josta seuraa taitojen jonkin asteista heikkenemistä sekä mahdollisesti itsetunnon laskua. Tulevaisuudessa olisi tärkeää alkaa ymmärtää äitiys myös resurssina, joka tuottaa johtamistyöhön sellaisia hyötyjä kuin osaamista, organisointi- ja neuvottelutaitoja. Tästä aiheesta tarvitaan nykyistä enemmän tutkimusta.

Useat naisten johtamisuria estävät tekijät vaikuttavat olevan peräisin organisaatio-kontekstin ulkopuolelta vaikuttaen epäsuorasti organisaation toimintaan. Tämä asettaa naisten johtamisuria edistämään pyrkivät organisaatiot mielenkiintoisen haasteen eteen. Voidakseen todella auttaa naistyöntekijöitään johtamisuralla eteenpäin, on organisaatioissa tiedostettava, kuinka organisaation ulkopuolelta peräisin olevat tekijät vaikuttavat sen omiin käytäntöihin.

Sukupuolirooliin ja ihmissuhteisiin liittyvät naisten johtamisuria estävät vaikutukset ulottuvat likimain kaikkiin organisatorisiin käytäntöihin, joiden tarkoituksena on yksilöiden urakehityksen tukeminen. Tämän vuoksi ensimmäinen asia, mitä organisaatioiden tulisi naisten johtamisuria edistääkseen tehdä, on tunnistaa ja tiedostaa sukupuolituneet käytännöt ja pyrkiä sitten minimoimaan niiden epäedullisia vaikutuksia.

Vaikka naisten johtamisuria voidaan edistää monin keinoin, on tärkeää nostaa esiin kaksi seikkaa, joita ilman edistävät toimet luultavasti epäonnistuvat. Ensinnäkin, on otettava huomioon, että kaikki naiset ovat yksilöitä, eikä heidän etenemistään johtamisuralla voida edistää yhden mallin mukaan. Toinen tärkeä seikka on organisaation ylimmän johdon tuki. Mikäli organisaation ylin johto ei tue naisten johtamisuria edistämään pyrkiviä toimia, ei niillä luultavasti saavuteta kovinkaan hyviä, saati pysyviä tuloksia.

Yhteiskunta- ja ihmissuhdetasoilta peräisin olevien tekijöiden voimakkaat epäsuorat vaikutukset organisatorisiin käytäntöihin nostivat esiin mielenkiintoisia kysymyksiä tutkittavaksi: Kuinka organisaatiossa kyetään havaitsemaan erilaisten organisaatio-

kontekstin ulkopuolelta tulevien tekijöiden epäsuora vaikutus? Ovatko yhteiskunnan ja ihmissuhteiden tasoilta peräisin olevat tekijät lainkaan organisaation vaikutuksen ulottuvilla? Kuinka näiden organisaatiokontekstin ulkopuolelta peräisin olevien tekijöiden epäedullisia vaikutuksia voidaan parhaiten hillitä? Organisaation rooliin naisten johtamisurien edistäjänä liittyy useita muitakin kysymyksiä, joihin vastamalla naisjohtajien määrä ehkä voidaan saada nousemaan tulevina vuosina.

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## Puolison tuki naisjohtajan uralle

*Suvi Heikkinen, Anna-Maija Lämsä ja Minna Hiillos*

### **Abstract: Spousal support on women managers' career**

In this paper we investigate the work-family relationship from the perspective of a woman manager by looking at the role of the spouse in her career. In particular, we are interested in the various forms of spousal support. We draw on the enrichment perspective in the work-family relationship literature and assume that the spouse can enhance a woman's career, e.g. by providing resources and offering perspectives. Our focus is on professional women who are pursuing managerial careers – a social category that differs from other groups of women. The data comprise altogether 29 narratives obtained from mid- and late-career women managers in a Finnish context. Three main forms of support, namely psychosocial and hands-on support as well as career assistance were distinguished. The results show that a spouse can be a noticeable source of support for a woman's career, however, the importance of support can vary among women managers. In particular, psychosocial support was experienced as crucial and advantageous. The study encourages organizations to be aware of the interface and particularly the shifting nature of the career and spousal relationship while helping women in managing their careers.

### **Johdanto**

Useamman vuosikymmenen ajan on pyritty selvittämään sitä, miksi naisia on niin vähän johtotehtävissä ja miksi monet naiset epäonnistuvat vaativan uran ja perhe-elämän yhdistämisessä (Ezzedeen ja Ritchey 2009). Tällainen lähtökohta on leimannut useimpia työtä ja perhettä koskevia tutkimuksia, joiden mukaan perhe luo esteitä naisen uralle (Beatty 1996; Hewlett 2002). Viime aikoina on alettu kuitenkin korostaa perheen olevan myös hyödyllinen uran kannalta. Erityisesti perheen luoman tuen on katsottu olevan tärkeää (Rothbard 2001; Ruderman ym. 2002; Greenhaus ja Powell 2006; Ezzedeen ja Ritchey 2008).

Merkittävä osa naisten johtamista koskevista tutkimuksesta on selvittänyt naisjohtajien uria estäviä tekijöitä (ks. Phillips ja Imhoff 1997), ja vain vähän on tuotu esille henkilökohtaisen elämän tuomia etuja, kuten puolison antamaa tukea (Ezzedeen ja Ritchey 2008). Tässä artikkelissa tarkastelemme sitä, miten puoliso voi tukea naisjohtajaa tämän uralla. Koska perhe on johtamis- ja organisaatiotutkimuksessa usein ymmärretty yhtenä homogeenisena yksikkönä (Välimäki ym. 2008; 2009), haluamme kyseenalaistaa tämän näkemyksen. Eri perheenjäsenillä voi olla erilainen rooli naisen uran kannalta. Tässä yhteydessä keskitymme puolisoon.

Artikkeli liittyy osana NASTA-projektissa toteutettavaan Välimäen väitöskirjatutkimukseen puolison roolista johtajien urilla. Vaikka työn ja perheen suhdetta on pohdittu niin tutkimuksen, yhteiskunnan kuin julkisen keskustelun foorumeilla jo

viimeisen kahdenkymmenen vuoden ajan (Whitehead ym. 2008), suhteen uudelleen tarkastelua legitimoivat erilaisten perhetyyppien ja kahden uran perheiden yleistyminen, sukupuoliroolien väljentyminen sekä ihmisten arvomaailmassa tapahtuneet muutokset, jotka korostavat erityisesti työn ja perheen tasapainon tärkeyttä (Greenhaus ja Singh 2004).

Tässä artikkelissa kuvatussa tutkimuksen kohteena ovat suomalaiset naisjohtajat ja heidän miespuoliset puolisonsa. Tutkimusaineisto koostuu 29 naisjohtajan tarinasta: yhteensä 25 haastattelusta ja neljästä kirjoitetusta tekstistä. Naisjohtajat olivat iältään 35-63-vuotiaita. Johtajat ovat uransa keski- ja loppuvaiheilla olevia naisia eri toimialoilta sekä yksityiseltä että julkiselta sektorilta. Lisäksi kaikilla on tai on ollut puoliso tai useampia puolisoita uransa aikana.

Laaja meta-analyysi työn ja perheen suhdetta koskevasta tutkimuksesta tuo esille, että tutkimus on pääosin kvantitatiivista luonteeltaan (Eby ym. 2005). Ebyn ym. mukaan tämä on osittain rajoittanut alan teoriaperustan syventämistä. Tässä tutkimuksessa aihetta lähestytään kvalitatiivisesti soveltaen narratiivista, kerronnallista lähestymistapaa. Koska kerrontaa pidetään ihmiselle tyypillisenä tapana tehdä selkoa todellisuudesta ja perustavanlaatuisena merkityksenannon muotona, se auttaa jäsentämään ja selventämään puolison tukeen liitettyjä merkityksiä (Bruner, 1986; Bruner 1991; Polkinghorne 1995). Tutkimuksen analyysissä on sovellettu paradigmaattisen tietämisen tapaa, jolloin tarinoiden muodossa olevaa aineistoa lähestytään tyypitellen ja kategorisoiden sekä etsien samankaltaisuuksia tiettyjen ryhmien väliltä (Polkinghorne 1995).

Artikkelimme etenee siten, että ensiksi kuvaamme lyhyesti suomalaista yhteiskuntaa sukupuolen näkökulmasta. Sen jälkeen teemme katsauksen aikaisempiin tutkimuksiin puolison tuesta johtajana toimivan naisen kannalta, minkä jälkeen siirrymme esittelemään empiirisiä tuloksia. Tulosten jälkeen teemme yhteenvedon ja päätelmät sekä keskustelemme jatkotutkimusaiheesta.

### **Suomalaisesta yhteiskunnasta sukupuolen näkökulmasta**

Naisten työhön osallistumisaste on Suomessa länsimaiden korkeimpia ja myös pienten lasten äidit ovat tehneet ja tekevät koko-aikaista työtä. Suomi pysyi agraarisena yhteiskuntana suhteellisen pitkään, jonka vuoksi vahvaa kotiäitikkulttuuria ei ole meille syntynyt (Lewis 1993). Historiallisista syistä työ ja perhe-elämä eivät ole Suomessa yhtä eriytyneet kuin muissa Euroopan maissa. Lisäksi yhteiskunnalliset palvelut ovat olleet keskeinen tekijä naisten työhön osallistumisen mahdollistamisessa. Johtotehtävissä työskentelevien naisten osuus onkin kasvanut meillä erityisesti lähi- ja keskijohdossa (Lehto 2009), mutta yritysten ylimpään johtoon nainen on kuitenkin edennyt harvoin. Toimitusjohtajina naisia on vain 7-8 %, ja yritysten hallituksissa naisten osuus on noin viidenneksen. (Kotiranta ym. 2007.)

Vaikka miesten ja naisten kokonaistyöaika on lähellä toisiaan, naiset tekevät 9 tuntia viikossa enemmän palkatonta kotityötä kuin miehet. Erityisesti lastensaanti lisää naisten kotitöiden osuutta, kun taas miesten ikääntymisen myötä heidän osuutensa

kotitöissä lisääntyy. (Piekkola ja Ruuskanen 2006.) Paikasta ja ajasta riippumattoman työn lisääntyminen synnyttää työn ja perheen välisiä ajankäytöllisiä haasteita, joiden hallinta ja koordinaatio ovat edelleen kahden uran perheissä usein naisen tehtävä (Tammelin 2009). Suomalaista yhteiskuntaa voidaan kuitenkin kuvata työn ja perheen yhteensovittamista tukevaksi, mikä näkyy mm. perhevapaajärjestelmänä (äitiys-, isyys-, vanhempain- ja hoitovapaat), laadukkaina lasten päivähoito- ja muina hoivapalveluina sekä työaikajärjestelyinä (Rantanen ja Kinnunen 2005; Crompton ja Lyonette 2006).

Sukupuolirooleja historiallisesti tarkasteltaessa voidaan sanoa, että naiset ovat siirtyneet kodista kohti yhteiskunnan julkista aluetta, valtaa ja päätöksentekoa, ja miehet ovat puolestaan siirtyneet kohti kotia, perhettä ja ihmissuhteita. Silti nykypäivänäkin uran ja perheen yhteensovittaminen nähdään julkisessa keskustelussa edelleen yleensä naisten ongelmana, minkä vuoksi erityisesti heidän sanotaan tarvitsevan joustavia yhteensovittamisstrategioita (Daly ym. 2008). Työn ja perheen integraation ei kovinkaan usein ajatella koskevan miesjohtajia, sillä miesjohtajaan liitetään usein ajatus, että hänellä on perheen hoidosta päävastuun kantava vaimo, mikä tuo miehelle hyötyä ja mahdollisuuksia panostaa työhön (Daly ym. 2008; Pfeffer ja Ross 1982).

Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriön vuonna 2006 julkaisema raportti viittaa siihen, että tulevaisuudessa miehen sukupuoleen liitetään entistä enemmän hoivaajan ja huolehtijan rooli. Tällöin työn ja perheen välinen suhde samankaltaistunee sukupuolten välillä, ja miehen sukupuolirooliin liitetään tulevaisuudessa entistä enemmän myös perheen hoivaajan tehtävä. (Varanka ym. 2006). Vaikka julkinen keskustelu Suomessa vaalii sukupuolten välistä tasa-arvoa, johtajuus rakentuu edelleen perinteisen perhekäsityksen ja miehen elättäjän roolin kautta (Tienari ym. 2005)

### **Katsaus aikaisempaan tutkimukseen puolison tuesta**

Suchet ja Barling (1986,196) määrittelevät puolison tuen puolisojen väliseksi vaihdannaksi, jossa on yleisemmin kyse emotionaalista, asenteellisesta tai fyysisestä tuesta. Tutkimuksessa erityisesti naistyöntekijöiden näkökulmasta on korostettu puolison taloudellista sekä interpersoonallista tukea (Gordon ja Whelan-Berry 2004). Gordonin ja Whelan-Berryn tutkimuksessa ilmeni, että naistyöntekijät saivat tukea erityisesti puolison luoman taloudellisen turvan kautta ja puolison katsottiin huolehtivan perheen raha-asioista. Tutkimuksessa nousi esille myös puolison interpersoonallinen tuki, jolla puolestaan tarkoitettiin puolison toimintaa luotettavana sekä rauhoittavana perustana naisen uralle.

Friedman ja Greenhaus (2000) ovat tutkineet puolison tukea liike-elämän nais- ja miesammattilaisten keskuudessa. He määrittävät puolison tuen behavioraaliseksi ja emotionaaliseksi. Behavioraalinen tuki voi kohdentua kotiin ja lastenhoitoon liittyviin asioihin. Kotiin liittyvä behavioraalinen tuki pitää sisällään käytännön askareita, kuten siivousta, ruoanlaittoa, pihatöitä, autonkorjausta ja remontointia. Lapsiin liittyvä behavioraalinen tuki tarkoittaa lastenhoitoa kuten lasten kanssa leikkimistä, lasten syöttämistä, kylvettämistä ja kyyditsemistä sekä kotiläksyissä avustamista. Emotionaalinen tuki liittyy yksilön ja uran tukemiseen. Yksilön kohdalla

emotionaalinen tuki tarkoittaa puolison ymmärtämistä, neuvomista ja arvostamista sekä perheen asioiden huomioimista. Uran näkökulmasta tuki tarkoittaa puolestaan puolison uran ymmärtämistä ja arvostamista sekä uralla neuvomista.

Ezzedeenin ja Ritcheyn (2008) hahmottelema naisjohtajien puolisoitten tuen muotojen typologia koostuu henkisestä tuesta, avusta kodin ja perheen jäsenten kanssa, tuesta uralle ja itsetunnolle sekä puolison ura- ja elämäntapavalinnoista. Henkisellä tuella viitataan erityisesti puolison rohkaisevaan, ymmärtävään ja kuuntelemaan rooliin. Puolison apu liittyen kotiin ja perheen jäseniin koostuu siivouksesta, ruoanlaitosta, laskujen maksusta ja halusta palkata ulkopuolista kotiapua. Perheenjäseniin kohdistuvalla avulla puolestaan tarkoitetaan lasten ja muiden perheen jäsenten hoitamista. Tuki uralle viittaa emotionaaliseen ja instrumentaaliseen tukeen naisen uralla, kuten tekniseen ja ammatilliseen apuun. Tuki itsetunnolle tarkoittaa puolison arvostusta naista ja hänen uraansa kohtaan. Viimeinen tuen muoto pitää sisällään puolison omaan uraan ja elämään ylipäättään liittyvät valinnat, jotka tukevat naisen uraa.

Vaikka puolison tuen muotoja on esitelty melko laajasti, edellä mainittu tutkimus on yksi harvoja, jossa eksplisiittisesti tarkastellaan puolison tukea naisjohtajan työn kannalta. Tutkimus ei kuitenkaan kohdennu suoraan johtamisuran näkökulmaan, ja se on tehty Yhdysvalloissa, jossa sukupuoliroolit ovat erilaiset kuin Suomessa.

### **Naisjohtajan puolison tuen muodot**

Seuraavaksi esittelemme tutkimuksen empiiriset tulokset. Tutkimuksessa halutaan säilyttää tutkittavien anonymiteetti, minkä vuoksi kaikki alkuperäiset henkilöiden nimet on vaihdettu kirjainkoodeihin (1-29) ja muut tunnistamisen mahdollistavat seikat on muutettu. Artikkelin tilarajoitusten vuoksi tuomme esille vain muutamia suoria lainauksia naisjohtajien kerronnasta.

#### ***Psykososiaalinen tuki***

Puolison psykososiaalisella tuella tarkoitetaan miehen keskustelemaa, kuuntelevaa, joustavaa ja ratkaisukeskeistä lähestymistapaa naisjohtajaa ja hänen uraansa kohtaan. Psykososiaalinen tuki kohdistuu naiseen yksilönä ja on näin epäsuorasti yhteydessä naisen uraan. Psykososiaalinen tuki voidaan jakaa eksplisiittiseen ja sanattomaan tukeen. Kaiken kaikkiaan psykososiaalisen tuen muotoja poimittiin 22 johtajan tarinasta ja yhteensä näitä poimintoja oli 80.

Eksplisiittisessä psykososiaalisessa tuessa puolisoa kuvaillaan aktiivisena toimijana, joka tukee uraa. Eräs naisjohtaja (8) kertoo puolisonsa tukeneen häntä seuraavalla tavalla:

*Mä oon aina voinut luottaa siihen, että mies tukee niitä päätöksiä mitä mä teen. Välillä kyseenalaistaa ja välillä keskustellaan kovaankin ääneen, mutta mulla on aina semmoinen varmuus, että kunhan mä en järjestä itseäni semmoiseen tilanteeseen, että mä oon jatkuvasti pois. Niin kaikki*

*käy. Kyllä hän ihan avoimesti kannustaa ja ihailee niitä saavutuksia, mitä on oikeesti tullut. Ja osaa antaa tosi hyvin positiivista palautetta.*

Eksplisiittiselle psykososiaaliselle puolison tuelle on ominaista, että puoliso näkyvästi innostaa ja rohkaisee etsimään erilaisia työhaasteita, kannustaa ammatilliseen kehittymiseen ja hakeutumaan uusille urapoluille. Lisäksi puoliso on myös valmis auttamaan ja etsimään ratkaisuja uraan ja perhe-elämään liittyviä haasteissa.

Naisjohtajat kertoivat puolisonsa ymmärryksestä johtajan työtä ja naisen urapyrkimyksiä kohtaan. Puoliso pyrkii aktiivisesti edistämään niitä. Puolison myös kuvataan ymmärtävän yhtäältä johtamistyöhön liittyviä ominaisuuksia kuten pitkiä työpäiviä ja useita yömatkapäivi, ja toisaalta johtamistyön, uran ja perheen yhteensovittamisen haasteita. Johtaja (2) kertoo miehensä suhtautuvan hyvin työmatkoihin

*...Mutta mun mielestä se on niinku älyttömän merkittävää se, Että ei se itse, että jos mä vaikka alan selostaa jostain omasta, että mä oon lähdössä sinne ja tänne reissuun, niin ei se muista niitä missä on. Ne ei oo missään nimessä ongelmia...*

Psykososiaalinen tuki on luonteeltaan samankaltaista kuin aikaisemmassa tutkimuksessa määritelty emotionaalinen tuki (Friedman ja Greenhaus 2000; Ezzedeem ja Ritchey 2008). Parhaimmillaan eksplisiittinen psykososiaalinen tuki on puolisoiden välistä yhteistyötä, jota voi kuvailla tiimitoiminnaksi. Puolisoiden toimiessa tiiminä molemmat puoliset pyrkivät tarvittaessa joustamaan ja takaamaan perheen hyvinvoinnin sekä myös edistämään naisen uraa.

Toinen psykososiaalisen tuen muoto, sanaton tuki, tarkoittaa puolison roolia voimavarana naisen uran taustalla. Se merkitsee puolison passiivisempaa roolia, mutta silti tärkeää hiljaisena taustalla toimivaa tuen antajaa ja uskon valajaa. Naisjohtaja (20) kuvailee puolisonsa kannustamista seuraavanlaisesti: *”Ja sitten se, että hiljainen uskominen siihen, että et se mitä minä teen on merkityksellistä ja tärkeitä.”*. Sanattoman psykososiaalisen tuen muodossa puolison kerrotaan antavan naiselle vapaat kädet toteuttaa itseään ja uraansa, ja että puoliso ei pyri vaikuttamaan negatiivisesti tai sekaantumaan naisen uravalintoihin. Kaiken kaikkiaan puolison katsotaan rikastavan elämää ja työuraa verrattuna yksineläjiin.

### **Käytännön tuki**

Puolison käytännön tuki viittaa naisjohtajien tarinoissa tukeen, joka liittyy lapsiin ja kodinhoitoon. Se on käsillä tehtävää ja luonteeltaan käytännöllistä kohdistuen naisen henkilökohtaiseen elämänalueeseen – kotiin tai lapsiin. Täten käytännön tuen voi katsoa kohdistuvan epäsuorasti naisen uraan. Kaiken kaikkiaan käytännön tuen muotoja poimittiin 22 naisjohtajan tarinasta ja yhteensä poimintoja oli 54.

Kotitöissä avustamisen kerrottiin tarkoittavan siivousta, ruokaostosten tekemistä, pyykinpesua, ruoanlaittoa ja yleistä vastuunottamista kodista. Eräs johtaja (4) kuvailee, että he molemmat puolisonsa kanssa osallistuvat kotitöihin:

*Koen ihan ehdottomasti. Se on mun mielestä ihan lähtökohtakin, me molemmat tiedetään se, että kummatkin käy kaupassa ja kummatkin pesee pyykinä ja kummatkin hoitaa lapsia.*

Tarkasteltaessa mitä kotitöitä puoliset erityisesti tekivät, tarinoissa tuli yleisemmin esille, että miehet ottivat vastuuta enemmän ruoanlaitosta kuin pyykinpesusta.

Lapsiin kohdistuvalla puolison tuella viitataan lasten kanssa leikkimiseen, lasten kasvattamiseen, syöttämiseen ja harrastuksiin kuljettamiseen. Lisäksi kyse on osallistumisesta lasten koulutapahtumiin kuten vanhempainiltaan sekä erityisesti huolehtimisesta ja hoitamisesta lasten sairastaessa. Johtaja (21) kertoo erityisesti miehensä hoitaneen lasta kun hän viimeisteli opintoja yliopistossa:

*Niihin aikoihin, kun mie aloin gradua kirjottamaan ja mie en ees muista, että mie oisin sille lapselle ikinä mittään tehny, niin kun vaihtanut vaippoja, tai. Kai minä oon syöttäny sitä luultavasti koska, rinnalla nyt kumminki oli 8 kuukautta, mutta mie en ees muista sitä. Että mies hoiti kotiasiat tosiaan niin valtavan, valtavan hyvin silloin...*

Johtajat kertoivat käytännön tuen erityisesti helpottavan uran ja perheen yhdistämistä käytännössä ja vapauttavan energiaa työhön ja uralle. Naisjohtaja (18) kuvailee suunnittelevansa ja organisoivansa perheen arkea yhdessä puolisonsa kanssa:

*Että kyllä mä varmaan vähän pitempää päivää teen, kun mies tekee ja pitempää päivää teen, ku ehkä normaalisti tehdään. Mutta ei se, se onnistuu. Siinäkin tavallaan tietysti miehän sen tekee mahdolliseksi. Sen pojan hakee ja hänelle on oookoo, että mä en oo heti sitten saman tien kotona.*

Käytännön tuki nähtiin erityisen tarpeellisina ajanjaksoina, jolloin naisella oli paljon työmatkoja ja pitkiä työpäiviä. Moni johtajista kuvaili puolisoitten välisen systemaattisen neuvottelun kotiin ja lapsiin liittyvistä vastuista olevan tärkeä tekijä uran ja perheen käytännön yhteensovittamisessa.

### ***Apu uralle***

Puolison apu naisen uralle merkityksellistyy tarinoissa kolmella eri tavalla. Apu uralle kohdentuu suoraan naisen uraan, ja se tuli esille 26 naisen tarinassa yhteensä 52 poiminnossa. Ensimmäiseksi puolison kerrottiin tukevan uraa käytännössä. Tämä tarkoittaa puolison tukea, jolloin puoliso on mukana naisen työhön liittyvissä edustustilaisuuksissa, auttaa verkostojen luomisessa tai antaa teknistä apua esimerkiksi auttamalla työhakemusten laatimisessa. Eräs johtaja (16) kuvailee puolison auttaneen häntä seuraavanlaisesti:

*Kirjoittaessani graduani, loppuvaiheessa tuli aikamoinen hoppu. En olisi millään selvinnyt urakasta -70 luvun kirjoituskoneella, mutta mieheni järjesti minulle sanelukoneen ja työpaikan konekirjoittajat kirjoittivat*

*edellisen päivän saneluni iltahommina puhtaaksi. Aika erikoinen järjestely, mutta siitä, että valmistuin professorin antaman aikataulun mukaan, kiitos miehelleni.*

Johtaja (28) puolestaan kertoo puolisonsa osallistuneen paljon yritystapaamisiin:

*Että et sillä tavalla hän on ollu, ja sitten tietysti yritys X:n aikana, niin niin tuota, hän oli erittäin paljon asiakastapaamisissa elikkä mun mitä asiakastapaamiset tapahtua aina aveceineen. Koska mä näin, että se on hirveen tärkeitä että ne puoliset on mukana. Ja ja kun mun mies on, vaikka hän on ujo ja hiljanen mutta hän on hyvin sillä tavalla sosiaalinen, että että tuota, hän tiesi näistä mun kontakti-ihmisistä vaimojen kautta erittäin paljon asioita, joita mä voin sitten bisnekses hyödyntää.*

Toiseksi puolison apu uralle näyttäytyi instrumentaalisenä sosiaalisena ja taloudellisenä tukena. Tällaisen välillisen tuen kerrottiin olevan arvokasta erityisesti puolison luoman taloudellista turvan, sosiaalisen aseman ja miellyttävän elinympäristön kautta. Naisjohtaja (27) kuvailee puolisonsa luoneen hänelle taloudellisesti turvallisen ja riskittömän ympäristön luoda uraansa:

*Tietsä mul on aina ollu hirveen turvattu selusta ja että on aina ollu hyvin menestyvät miehet mun takana. Et jos mul ois menny huonosti niin mä en ois koskaan siit kärsiny hirveesti että aina ne miehet ois voinu sit elättää.*

Kolmanneksi puolison apu naisjohtajan uralle tuli esille miehen tekemien uravalintojen kautta (ks. myös Ezzedeen ja Ritchey 2008). Tämä tarkoittaa puolison tekemiä kompromisseja oman uransa suhteen. Naisjohtajat kertoivat puolisoidensa ottaneen vanhempainvapaita, työskennelleen säännöllisellä, lyhennetyllä, joustavalla työajalla tai jopa tehneen tietoisien valinnan kevyemmän työuran suhteen. Esimerkiksi naisjohtaja (1) kertoo puolisonsa tehneen paljon kompromisseja oman uransa suhteen: *”Joo, toihan on ollu niinku siis ehkä tuhoisaa hänenkin urakehitykselleen. Myöskin, ei siinä urakehityksessä mitään niinku sinänsä vikaa ole, mutta vois olla niinku jotain muuta, jos olis halunnu siihen enemmän panostaa, että hän on tehny kompromisseja paljon.”* Kukaan miehistä ei kuitenkaan ollut valinnut varsinaista koti-isän uraa. Kaiken kaikkiaan puolison uravalinnat olivat myös rikastaneet naisten näkemyksiä heidän omista uristaan ja uravalinnoistaan (Still ja Timms 1998).

## **Lopuksi**

Tässä artikkelissa kuvattiin miten puoliso voi tukea naisjohtajaa tämän uralla. Lähtökohtaisesti aikaisempaa työn ja perheen suhteen tutkimusta on hallinnut konfliktinäkökulma (Rothbard 2001; Rantanen ja Kinnunen 2005; Byron 2005). Tutkimukset ovat korostaneet näkemystä, että naisjohtajan kohdalla perhe on ongelma, joka kuluttaa naisen voimavaroja sekä työssä että kotona. Tästä syystä molemmat elämänpiirit kärsivät (Beatty 1996; Hewlett 2002). Olemme pyrkinneet tuomaan esille, että johtajan puoliso voi olla myös avainhenkilö ja voimavara, joka monella tapaa edistää jaksamista ja hyvinvointia, työn ja perheen yhdistämistä sekä mahdollisuuksia panostaa uraan.

Empiiristen tulosten perusteella määrittelimme kolme naisjohtajan puolison tuen muotoa: *psykososiaalinen tuki, käytännön tuki ja puolison apu uralle*. Useimmin naisjohtajat kertoivat puolison psykososiaalisesta tuesta (80 poimintoa). Käytännön tuki (52 poimintoa) ja apu uralle (54 poimintoa) olivat lähes yhtä usein mainittuja. Puolison tuki kohdistuu epäsuorasti naisen uraan psykososiaalisessa ja käytännön tuessa, kun taas apu uralla fokuksuu suoraan naisen työhön. Tulosten perusteella voidaan päätellä, että naisjohtajat kokevat tarvitsevansa puolisolta enemmän psykososiaalista tukea kuin perinteistä apua kotitöissä. Kotitöissä avustaminen ja lasten hoidon tuki ovat merkittäviä arjen pyörittämisen kuten myös perheen ja lasten hyvinvoinnin kannalta, mutta uran näkökulmasta merkittävämmäksi koettiin psykososiaalinen tuki – puolison rohkaiseva, kannustava ja ymmärtävä suhtautuminen.

Tutkimuksemme osoitti, että naisjohtajan ura ja perhe ovat kiinteästi yhteydessä keskenään, eikä niitä voi tarkastella irrallisina toisistaan. Elämänsäkokonaisuuden tuominen johtajien uria koskevaan tutkimukseen mahdollistaa uusia ja tuoreita näkökulmia (Lämsä ja Hiillos 2008). Johtamistyön ja perheen suhteesta käytävissä keskusteluissa korostuu yleensä naisen näkökulma – kuten tässäkin artikkelissa kuvaamassamme tutkimuksessa tapahtui. Työn ja perheen välisestä suhteesta olisikin tarpeellista saada enemmän tietoa myös miesjohtajan näkökulmasta sekä miehisyyden ja isyyden rakentumisen lähtökohdista. Näin myös miehen sukupuoli tulisi nykyistä näkyvämmäksi työtä ja perhettä koskevissa keskusteluissa. Tällä olisi todennäköisesti myös positiivista vaikutusta naisten uriin (Wood 2008). Perinteisten ja tiukkojen sukupuolirooleihin kohdistuvien sosio-kulttuuristen odotusten myötä naisten odotetaan panostavan enemmän perheeseensä kuin uraan, joka asettaa naiset erityisesti johtotehtävissä hankalampaan asemaan, edelleen myös Suomessa. Työ- ja perhekontekstissa sukupuoliroolien väljentyminen merkitsee, että työn ja perheen ristiriidoista tulee sekä naisten että miesten haasteita.

Organisatorisen tuen, erityisesti emotionaalisen tuen, on koettu olevan puutteellista naisten urilla (Priola ja Brannan 2009). Käsillä oleva tutkimus osoitti, että naisjohtajien puoliset voivat toimia tässä roolissa paikaten organisatorista puutetta. Organisaatioissa olisi työurien pidentämiseksi kehitettävä toimintamalleja, jotka parantavat työntekijöiden jaksamista työelämässä (Heinonen ja Saarimaa 2009). Puolison antama tuki ei maksa organisaatioille mitään, mutta voi olla lopulta tärkeämpää kuin yksikään organisatorisista käytännöistä, kun puhutaan uran ja perheen yhteensovittamisesta ja halutaan edistää naisten uria. Monien organisaatioiden toimintakulttuuri sisältää edelleen ihanteen tehokkaasta yötä päivää työlleen omistautuvasta ammattilaisesta (Burke 2009). Vaikka tällaista ajattelua ei voi pitää kestävästä kehityksen tai edes tuottavuuden kannalta tavoiteltavana, voidaan puolison roolin ajatella erityisesti tällaisessa organisaatiokulttuurissa helpottavan naisen taakkaa.

Käsillä olevassa tutkimuksessa on selvitetty puolison tukea naisjohtajan uran kannalta vain yhtenä ajankohtana. Siksi olisi mielenkiintoista ja tarpeellista lähestyä asiaa myös historiallisesti. Miten puolison tuki muuttuu naisjohtajan uran eri vaiheissa? Miten puolison tuki kehittyy uran edetessä? Mistä mahdolliset muutokset johtuvat? Miten muutokset vaikuttavat yhtäältä johtajan työhön ja toisaalta

perheeseen? Tämän kaltainen tarkastelu olisi tarpeen, etenkin kun aiempi tutkimus ei ole yleisellä tasolla, saati johtamistyötä koskeissa tarkasteluissa, onnistunut ajallisen muutoksen kuvaamisessa (Kinnunen ym. 2005).

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## Men and masculinities in organisations and managements

*Jeff Hearn*

### **Background**

Many studies have made explicit the gendering of men and masculinities in workplaces. Organisations are sites of men's power and masculinities, and workplace issues such as organisational control, decision-making, remuneration, and culture often reflect and reinforce masculine material discursive practices. Many ways of being men are formed and constructed in work processes of control, collaboration, innovation, competition, conformity, resistance and contradiction. As managers, leaders, entrepreneurs, innovators, owners, board members, supervisors, team leaders, administrators, trade unionists, workers and unemployed workers, men have been prominent in the formation, development and change of organisations. Emphasising paid work as a central source of men's identity, status and power, feminist organisational studies have demonstrated how 'most organisations are saturated with masculine values' (Burton 1991: 3).

Men's domination of management is still not a serious topic of concern in business studies nor indeed even in most critical social science. Typically, it is with the managerial function that organisational power, decision-making and authority formally reside. The assertion of managerial prerogative, and the managerial power and authority it reflects and reinforces, tends to be hierarchical and gendered; in most workplaces, industries and countries men dominate management. While various masculinities shape managerial practices, managerial practices also impact on specific masculinities. Pervasive, dominant managerial masculinities take the form of different workplace control practices, such as authoritarianism, careerism, paternalism, entrepreneurialism (Collinson & Hearn, 1994, 1996). There are many ways in which the authority and status of managers can signify 'men' and vice versa.

There are many other issues to be explored around men, masculinities and management. They include historical relations of men and management in reproducing patriarchies; relations of bureaucracy, men and masculinities; transformations in managerial masculinities; numerical dominance of men, especially at high levels; management-labour relations as interrelations of masculinities; managerial identity formation processes; masculine models, stereotypes and symbols in management; men managers' discrimination against women; mismanagement of sexual harassment cases; and the possibility of men's non-oppressive, even profeminist, management and leadership. Men, especially in mixed working situations, like other '... members of dominant and status identity groups typically display more aggressive nonverbal behaviors, speak more often, interrupt others more often, state more commands and have more opportunity to influence.' (Merrill-Sands et al., 2003: 334). Cultural processes of signification include size and position of

offices; office furniture; display of pictures and plants; use or control of ICTs and other equipment; and choice of clothing.

### Research studies

Following earlier studies on the relations of men, management and organisations (Collinson & Hearn, 1994, 1996, 2000), and European comparative studies on men and work,<sup>2</sup> a series of studies on different aspects of men and masculinities in organisations and managements have been in process during the NASTA project. These are as follows:

i. Theoretical and conceptual studies with David L. Collinson on men, gender, diversity, organisations and management (Collinson & Hearn, 2005, Hearn & Collinson, 2006).

ii. *The Transnational Business study: Gender Relations in Transnational Organisations and Managements*. The research issues addressed range across questions of context, organisational structures, gender and related policies and identities (Hearn, Piekkari & Jyrkinen, 2009, and this volume for a report on this study).

iii. *Changing Men's Organisational Practices in Europe study*. This study has been part of a larger Academy of Finland fellowship, "Men, gender relations and transnational organising, organisations and managements". It has examined business, government and civil society in six European countries and transnationally. Three main contexts have been investigated: *transnational organisations* (for example, the European Commission); *national governmental responses to men* as a social problem; *men's own organising responses to these social problem statuses, and to gender equality and inequality* (largely by NGOs of/about men). This involved over 50 interviews by Herta Niemi and myself with key informants in Estonia, Latvia, Finland, Sweden, Ireland, and the UK on how men are organising, and how 'men' are constructed in different policy contexts (Hearn, 2006; Hearn & Niemi, 2006a, 2006b).

iv. More focused studies, conducted with Linn Egeberg Holmgren, of men involved in feminist, profeminist and anti-sexist groups, movements and other organizing. Egeberg Holmgren has conducted individual, pair- and focus group interviews with 28 feminist and profeminist men in Sweden on issues of becoming and being feminist, and doing feminism in relation to gender equality politics and everyday life (Hearn & Holmgren, 2006; Egeberg Holmgren & Hearn, 2009). Here three broad set of issues and findings from these studies are discussed: men in large corporations; men, gender equality and gender equality policy in organisations and managements; and men's diverse positionings on gender equality.

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<sup>2</sup> The EU Framework 5 Thematic Network *The Social Problem and Societal Problematisation of Men and Masculinities* (2000-2003) ("The Social Problem of (CROME: Critical Research on Men in Europe: [www.cromenet.org](http://www.cromenet.org)). The project involved ten main countries, and four affiliated countries. This examined research, statistics, law and policy, and media, in relation to men's relations to work, home, violence, health and social exclusion (Hearn & Pringle, 2006; Pringle et al., 2006).

## Men in large business corporations

Many large corporations are very much men's arenas, with clear structural gendered hierarchies, and management overwhelmingly men's arenas. *The Transnational Business study* focuses on gender structures and processes, and especially gender divisions and gender policies. These gendered organisations provide definite different hierarchical spaces and places for men and women. A very important overall context of these gendered elements in these organisations follows from the fact these particular organisations, these large Finnish corporations, are above all men's arenas. This is especially so in management, even more so in top management. All the respondent corporations surveyed (Hearn et al., 2002, 2009) had men at all levels of the organisation (as employees, middle and top managers and on board), contrasting with the much less and much more variable presence of women.

This basic structural situation of corporations as predominantly men's arenas applies in the case companies, and the interviews there (Hearn et al., 2009). While an attempt was made to interview both women and men, the corporate worlds they inhabit are generally dominated by men. In many ways this is often wholly or very largely taken-for-granted. While the extent to which this is made explicit or made problematic varies, there are various ways in which such domination of the managerial workplace is referred. These might include "top management", the "management team", "headquarters", and so on. In this situation, men managers' (and the relatively few women top managers') power is partly maintained through their commonalities with each other. Typically, men managers are bound together, not necessarily consciously, by shared interests and meanings, socio-economic power, public representations of sociality and sexuality, and other representational privileging, to the relative exclusion of subordinated other men and masculinities, and women.

At the same time, there are contradictions between different men and masculinities. Management differentiates men, both between managers and non-managers, and between different types of managers. Mainstream (malestream) business and governmental organisations can be understood as places of men's organising; they are often in effect 'men's organisations' themselves full of unnoticed and unnamed 'men's groups'. Men routinely organise in these groups and organisations, without usually naming them as such. It is here that women's demands may often be directed, and where men often respond, predominantly in a negative way, without explicitly calling or thinking of those responses as 'men's responses', let alone 'men's relations to women's demands'. On the other hand, men at the top of organisations are being required to respond to women's demands, and 'policy on men'.

In the 40 interviews with managers in the qualitative part of this study, it was found that if the men took practical responsibilities of the family, they were often reported as 'helpers' rather than active adults responsible for everyday life. Such 'duties' were usually minor tasks connected to so-called 'quality time' rather than tiring or monotonous everyday family obligations. For most men, combining work and home seemed not to be a problem, because duties for home and family were 'naturally' those of their wife, with traditional heterosexual marriage taken-for-granted. Some men admitted that for women to proceed in their career is more difficult, as women, working or not, are responsible for children (Hearn et al., 2009).

A number of similarities and some significant, even drastic differences have been found. There were more traditional expatriate assignments for men than women managers. This blocked use of time appeared relevant to the development of varied, core-oriented careers for men. Many men managers had a housewife at home or a wife who worked part-time or had a far less career-orientated work history. Only one of the men managers had a wife or partner with anything like a comparable work career. In contrast, women managers tended to be single or have a working – sometimes comparable work career, sometimes less career ambitious – husband or partner who participated more actively in home responsibilities. This fits closely with women's relative subordination. The women managers often did significantly more time management and balancing of home and work requirements than the men managers. Expatriate assignments among the men managers appeared to reinforce traditional gender divisions, as wives tended to stay at home with the children whilst abroad. Some men emphasised that their wives “volunteered themselves” to give up their careers. Some women managers, in turn, ended up commuting between countries to cope with the reality of having a working husband and a family in Finland. Many women managers are in that sense ‘at home’, even when they are ‘away’. Contrary to some previous literature, short-term, commuting and international travel was not more popular with the women.

With growing moves towards globalisation and transnationalisation, the amount of transnational work, in its various forms, and the number of transnational workers are likely to increase. Previous research shows that traditional long-term expatriate assignments are not replaced by short-term or non-standard assignments; instead, they are all on the rise. An obvious question is who manages this growing group of employees? While the HR function has traditionally been responsible for long-term assignments, line management has become increasingly involved in short-term and non-standard international assignments often undertaken on an ad hoc, unofficial basis (Harris, 2002; Tahvanainen et al., 2005). Yet, there is evidence to suggest that considerable challenges and costs are associated with transnational work, such as burnout and maintenance of home/work balance. In response, some companies have started to tailor short-term assignments to suit a particular age group of employees or target only single employees, for example. Corporate responsibility for assisting employees in maintaining an appropriate home/work balance through formal policies and practices remains problematic for several reasons. For example, the boundary between private and public spheres may differ between the home country of the global corporation and other host countries where it operates. There are complex interrelations between personal, marriage and family-type relations, gendered careers, and transnational managerial work itself. Very different personal and social worlds are inhabited by senior women and men managers; transnational processes can make those differences even greater. A majority of men in very traditional social worlds may work alongside the few innovative women managers, sometimes with relatively supportive and companionate social worlds.

### **Men, gender equality and gender equality in workplaces**

This section examines the complex issue of men's relations to gender equality and gender equality policy in work organisations. Women have been the driving force in the development of gender equality policies; policy debate on gender equality has

developed primarily in terms of what women have to gain from greater gender equality. This has become the “mainstream” of gender equality work. At the same time, men are also involved and implicated in gender equality policies and practices - in many ways, as: spouses, fathers, and other family members; colleagues and trade union members at work; managers and employers; policy-makers; active citizens in social organisations, and so on (Hearn, 2009; also see Hearn & Collinson, 2009). Sometimes, as noted above, this has meant some men resisting moves to gender equality or seeing it only as “women’s business”. We can ask:

- What part can men play in gender equality?
- What gender equality policies need to be developed for men?
- How men can contribute positively to gender equality?
- How do such questions look for men of different ages, ethnicities, classes?

Intersections of men, gender relations and other forms of social division and inequality, such as ethnicity, remain an important and undeveloped field in policy development. There are many important interrelations between the various aspects of men’s positions and experiences, and their impacts on women, children and other men, and strong interconnections between different policy areas. There have been huge historical changes in masculinity and men’s practices; yet there is also stubborn persistence in some aspects of them. The most obvious of these is men’s domination at the top of organisations, including business and government, along with men’s domination of the use of violence. Changing gender relations both constitute workplaces, governments and other policy-making institutions, and provide tasks for business, governmental, partnership and third sector agencies to deal with. Workplaces are part of both the problem and the solution to gender equality. Organisational work, and work-home ‘reconciliation’, can be sites of gender change for men. In most contemporary business and work organisations managerial prerogative over key decisions remains the taken-for-granted norm. This applies, though perhaps more subtly, in teamwork, collaborative organising, project organisation, and various forms of organisational and management restructuring and delayering. While management is often, indeed usually, presented as a gender-neutral activity (Hearn, 2000), it remains strongly dominated by men in most organisations. Assumptions of gender-neutrality in and of management have been strongly challenged by feminist and feminist-influenced studies, showing how management often excludes women

Changing men’s relations to management involves support of women and women’s initiatives in management. If current gendered forms of management are to change, and if there are to be more women in management, there will be fewer men there. Getting the question of fewer men in management and boards onto workplace policy agendas seems to be difficult. Targets, both nationally and individually, can be set for changes of this sort. This can include discussion of what constitutes a minimum acceptable mass of women in management, and a maximum acceptable mass of men in management. There is clear progress in the reduction in men’s domination of company boards in Norway (Huse & Solberg, 2005).

Regendering workplaces and management involves developing the range of flexible working, family-friendly and care leave policies. Clearly the baseline daycare and

similar support that exists through the state varies greatly between countries. Some companies are now providing considerable direct support to women and men managers for what are usually domestic labour, not only for childcare but also for cooking, cleaning, washing and so on. This is a way of transferring domestic labour from the personal responsibility in the family to (usually) other women not in the family – a modernised, gendered form of corporate domestic service. While broad provisions of ‘family-friendly’ and related policies on caring for dependants is to be welcomed, there are potential problems in managers and employers taking too active a stance in the organisation and management of the ‘family’ lives of *individual* staff and managers. Without sympathetic implementation this can become an extension of managerial, often patriarchal, surveillance into employees’ private, domestic and sexual lives.

This links with time-use. While overall employed working time has decreased since the end of the last century, in some managerial jobs and sectors, the gendered phenomenon of presentism is a problem, and difficult to resist for men whose jobs remain insecure. Interactions of time-use and organisational position is a vital area of ambivalence for some men business managers. There are urgent needs for employers to facilitate ways and means for men to reconcile work and domestic/family/personal life more positively. This includes attention to more job-sharing, voluntary reduced work time, flexible working hours, term time working, working from home, and similar initiatives. Men can even be ‘reluctant managers’ (Goffee and Scase, 1989).

Working along similar lines, Cooper and Lewis (1998; Cooper, 2000) outlined key steps for their broad ‘agenda of change’, as follows: ‘integrating work-family issues into core thinking and strategic planning in organisations’; ‘more diversity in decision-making’; ‘a rethinking of notions of time’; ‘developing flexibility and autonomy’; ‘redefining careers’; ‘new approaches to management’; ‘redefining success’; ‘public support and partnership with industry’. While these steps are by no means unproblematic, they do point to the growing understanding of the complex intersections of forms of home life, employment, organisational structure and process, management and gender relations. These interconnections have complex and equally important implications for men as for women. Norwegian research suggests that men’s paternity leave is significantly lower for senior managers, men in private sector organisations, and men with high overtime use. Greater participation in such leave and childcare may be part of more egalitarian relationships with partners. Haas and Hwang (1995) found evidence that parental leave encourages more ‘androgynous’ behaviour and blurring of ‘gender roles’.

In some organisations there is some regular change in management positions. In others, managerial positions are more permanent, and it may be very unlikely that many men will wish to move from management. If that is so, it can be considered how they might move ‘temporarily’, for example, by exchanges with women, shifts to specialised or lower positions on the same pay, external secondments, sabbaticals, and so on, as ways of opening up management positions for women. Changes that are already happening in business organisations, such as budgetary, legal, geographical and restructuring changes, can be seen as opportunities for challenging and changing men there in management and elsewhere.

Men's cultures in many workplaces need to be open to explicit examination, discussion, critique and change. Certain men's cultures produce a climate of sentiment both antagonistic to women and harmful to men (Cockburn, 1991). Men's competitive behaviour, especially in mixed groups, needs to be the subject of critique and change (Case, 1994). Common pitfalls for men in such situations include: 'hogging the show'; being the continual problem solver; speaking in 'capital letters'; defensiveness; put-downs and one-upmanship; negativism; transfer of the focus of discussion; intransigence and dogmatism; listening only to oneself; avoiding feelings; condescension and paternalism; using sexuality to manipulate women; seeking attention and support from women while competing with men; storing key group information for one's own use; speaking for others. Instead attempts have been made to specify what responsible action might look like: limiting our talking time to our fair share; not interrupting people who are speaking; becoming a good listener; getting and giving support; not giving answers and solutions; relaxing; not speaking on every subject; not putting others down; nurturing the democratic group process; interrupting others' oppressive behaviour (Moyer & Tuttle, 1983). Such possible changes have clear implications for women.

Explicit attention needs to be given to such issues in workplace training. For men, this might address such issues as: male identity; how men's prejudices are encouraged; positive and negative aspects of being a man; how men's attitudes and behaviours can change; how the organisation reproduces dominant 'male' values; ways of changing the organisation in these respects. Women in organisations should have at least as much time and resources as do men for training and related activities. Training budgets could be distributed to women/men in *inverse* proportion to the number of women/men in management in the organisation.

Organisational and managerial policies and practices need to be developed not just around 'gender in general' but around sexuality, sexual harassment, heterosexism, violence and violation. Many business organisational cultures remain dominated by heterosexuality and conventional forms of heterosexuality, with consequent devaluing or worse of lesbian, gay, bisexual and queer sexualities. This can occur in everyday organisational cultures and more formal policies. Men in workplaces can be asked to clarify where they stand in terms of anti-racism, anti-sexism, profeminism, gay and queer affirmation. This may involve acknowledging ambivalence and dilemmas rather than pretending that there is some 'pure' position. It necessitates avoiding the idea of some men being 'more advanced' or 'further on' than other men. Men can be asked what they are doing and how long-term any commitment is. It is important to see nothing as 'too trivial', whilst, at the same time, recognising the possibility of changing the whole 'set' of the organisation, mainstream or not.

### **Men's diverse positionings on gender equality**

In this section the question of men's gender positioning in relation to gender equality, gender inequality and feminism is addressed in more detail.

### ***Non-gender-conscious and gender-conscious positioning***

Much of what men do at work is *not* seen as related to gender equality or even as gendered activity at all. It is not seen as “about gender” or about making gender relations more or less (un)equal. Much of men’s practices, in work, negotiations, networking, lobbying, pressurising and so on is not seen as gendered: they are generally not perceived as *gender-conscious* activity: they “just happen”! Men’s practices (re)producing gender inequality are embedded in socio-economic relations, so men’s dominant or complicit practices may easily be equated with what counts as the usual, even the official, way of doing things. Men’s practices at work are typically constructed as ordinary, mundane (Martin, 2002); women’s are noteworthy – or worse.

There are several ways of understanding these kinds of practices of men. One is through the notion of homosociality (Lipman-Blumen, 1976): men’s preference for men and men’s company, rather than women and women’s company. A particular challenge is to change men’s relations with each other: how is that heterosexual men are often so homosocial, valuing and choosing men and men’s company? Oddly, such (heterosexual) homosociality can sometimes go hand in hand with heterosexism and homophobia. Another way of understanding is cultural cloning – the tendency to reproduce more of the same - whether by gender, ethnicity or organisational tradition (Essed & Goldberg, 2002). This can be seen and taken-for-granted in many organisations and is important in reproducing gender (in)equality. In contrast, there has been a significant growth of men’s more explicitly *gender-conscious* activities; these are often, though by no means always, framed in relation to gender equality. Men’s relations to gender equality and feminism are often problematic. Gender-consciousness does not necessarily mean pro-gender equality. Anti-feminists are gender-conscious in a different way, sometimes alarmingly so. Thus there are many reasons why men are interested in gender equality and feminism. I now outline how we might make sense of these variations.

### ***A one-dimensional continuum of men’s gender-conscious positionings***

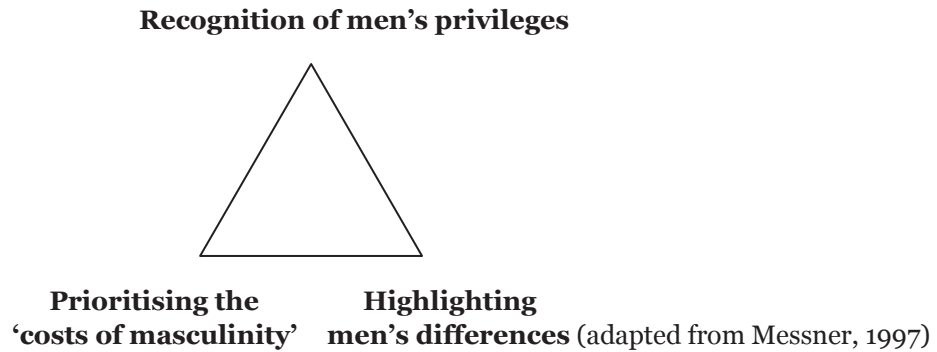
First, some kind of continuum can be recognised from those men who are actively supportive of gender equality to those in favour of this, in theory, but who do not do anything in particular, to those who are ‘not bothered’, to those who are actively hostile. In-between forms of men’s politics may see “gender equality” agendas as opportunities to benefit men, without much concern for women. A single continuum can, however, mask other dimensions. Specifically, men may: on the one hand, be pro- or anti-gender equality in terms of the dimension of *gains for women*, but, on the other, may also be pro- and anti-gender equality in terms of the dimension of *gains for men*. Some men seem more interested in gaining more for themselves than a more general move to societal gender equality.

### ***A two-dimensional triangle of men’s gender-conscious positionings***

A second way of approaching men’s relations to gender equality and feminism addresses more than one dimension of difference amongst men’s positionings. The array of political positions adopted by men’s gender-conscious organising in the US context has been analysed by Michael Messner (1997), within three points of a triangle. The apexes of the triangle are: first, the recognition of and opposition to men’s institutionalised privileges; second, the recognition of the ‘costs of masculinity’; and

third, the recognition of differences/inequalities among men, by sexuality, racialisation, religion and so on (Figure 1).

**Figure 1. The triangle**



This produces less of a continuum. It points to the complexity, contradictions and ambiguities of positionings, and different kinds of differences, inequalities and 'in-between' positions amongst men. Thus one cannot reduce gender politics to a simple 'left-right' dimension. This kind of more open framework can also be useful in charting both social movement changes and developments in men's relations to gender equality over time. Having outlined two ways of conceptualising men's gender-conscious positionings, I now turn to those positionings with a positive, broadly (pro)feminist relation to feminism – to the top apex of the triangle.

### ***A three-dimensional elaboration of men's positive relations to gender equality***

The continuum and the triangle provide two useful ways of locating men in relation to gender equality and feminism. However, these two approaches may not engage sufficiently with differences in what is *actually meant* by gender equality and feminism. There is in effect a third dimension of difference to be elucidated at the top apex. Gender equality and feminism can themselves be understood in various, quite different ways - as (liberal) reform, (standpoint) resistance, and (deconstructive) rebellion positions. This elaboration gives a three-dimensional picture of men's various, very different relations to gender equality and feminism.

In liberal reform feminism, gender equality is a matter of realising the potential of women and men equally, albeit within the context of current gender order and social structures. To quote Judith Lorber (2005b: 13): "Gender reform feminists locate the source of gender inequality in women's and men's status in the social order, arguing that it is structural and not the outcome of personal attributes, individual choices, or unequal interpersonal relationships. ... An overall strategy for political action to reform the unequal gendered social structure is *gender balance*." (emphasis in original). This can be seen as the dominant position in governmental, NGO and some corporate gender equality politics; the implication is that men can contribute positively to (or can position themselves against) such change towards the *abolition of gender imbalance*.

Lorber continues: “Gender resistance feminists argue that the gender order cannot be made equal through gender balance because men’s dominance is too strong.” (p. 14). Gender equality *per se* is not a feasible aim; it may end up with women becoming like men. A more radical transformation is necessary, with women’s voices and perspectives reshaping the gendered social order in a more fundamental way, including the *abolition of patriarchy*. Men’s positionings are less certain; the implication is that men need to position themselves, for or against, or in more ambiguous middle ground, in relation to the more radical project of abolishing patriarchy and patriarchal relations.

Gender rebellion feminists go further, seeking to “take apart the gendered social order by multiplying genders or doing away with them entirely.” (p. 12). Connections with other social divisions and oppressions are central, as do deconstructions of categories of sex, sexuality and gender, and the dualities often (re)produced through them (Lorber, 1994, 2000, 2005a). ‘Men’ may become an outdated social category (Hearn, 1998, 2004), even a potential site of stigma. This may appear as the most radical conceptualisation of gender (in)equality. The implications for men range from dismissal as irrelevant to uncertainty and humility, to a certain social paralysis, or an awakening of renewed optimism of a ‘queer’ future where gender is degendered, with the *abolition of ‘men’* as a social category of power. Complications and contradictions are observable in the detailed practices of men identifying as (pro)feminist (Hearn and Holmgren, 2006; Egeberg Holmgren and Hearn, 2009). Men’s positive relations and positionings to gender equality and feminism are more complex and multi-faceted than might be thought.

## Discussion

In making sense of these complex processes, there is a need to deconstruct gender, organising, organisation, management, and men. Mainstream business organisation and management are typically presented as gender-neutral, as ‘gender-non-conscious’, however much they remain predominantly forms of men’s organising. Policy development on ‘men’ needs to be contextualised within (trans)patriarchal social relations in business, government, and civil society. Within these arenas there are many ‘gender-non-conscious’ and some ‘gender conscious’ forms of organising, organisations and management. Men’s ‘gender consciousness’, even non-hierarchical homosociality, can vary from reproducing and advancing men’s privilege to opposing such privilege (as in profeminist organising) to emphasising men’s differences from each other.

Seeing or recognising ‘men’ as a policy area and developing specific explicitly men-related policy is still relatively rare. The “Man problem” remains obscure(d), partly because so much policy is about men and yet is not recognised as such, and partly because *explicit* policy on men is still in uneven stages of formulation – sometimes as partly of the gender equality project, sometimes furthering men’s interests still further. There may indeed be deep-seated contradictions in developing men’s involvement in gender equality, whether in governmentally or in civil society: first, to involve men to increase women’s power in relation to men; and, second, to reassert men’s power or ‘rights’ in relation to women.

Of special interest is how most of men's organizing and relations to gender equality, despite variable relations to feminism, has been, initially at least, conducted outside the usual discourse of 'economics' and 'the economy'. This applies to both the politics of individual men's personal economic relations and societal questions of economic value, distributions and rewards. To analyse and change this involves examining challenges, resistances, responsibilities and reaching out to men in gender equality policy development (Hearn, 2001). *Resistance* comes from men for a wide variety of reasons: patriarchal practices, sexism, maintenance of power, complicity in current arrangements, definition of gender equality as 'women's business' and not the 'main or most important issues', preference for men and men's company. *Responsibilities* of men for involvement in gender equality range across the full range of social and economic arenas: work, home, sexuality, violence, education, health, sport, and so. *Reaching out* refers to contact with men, individually and collectively, who may be uninterested or even hostile, around these issues and arenas. This means raising and taking these questions into men's arenas – management, trade unions, workgroups, and so on. Men can be challenged in terms of dominant forms of masculinity. Men managers, professionals and workers need to look critically at themselves, not only as workers or managers, but also through gendered eyes.

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## Gendering large transnational companies

*Jeff Hearn, Rebecca Piekkari and Marjut Jyrkinen*

### Background

Gender issues remain important in large transnational companies operating in Finland, just as they are in most other kinds of organizations. The study considers gender relations within and beyond transnational organizing, organizations and management in business organizations. It addresses the implications of research on gender relations in organizations for transnational organizations and managements, and the implications of transnational organizations and management for gender relations within those organizations and throughout society. The modern transnational corporation is considered in terms of gender divisions and power, with particular reference to top management. Building on earlier documentary and quantitative studies, and drawing on a more recent qualitative study, we have sought to address gender issues in the context of both Finnish society and the broader contexts of global management and international human resource management, with their own gendering. The qualitative study focused on the analysis and results of semi-structured interviews with 40 women and men managers in seven case companies, selected according their different levels of gender policy development.

Over recent years there has been a major growth of international research on gender relations in organizations. Yet, most of this research has focused on gender relations in lower or middle organizational levels rather than the apex of the organization. As multinational corporations expand globally, tasks and responsibilities become increasingly transnational. The operations of the firm as well as its personnel are geographically scattered across countries and time zones. The requirements to perform transnational work influence gender relations at the workplace and at home, and vice versa. Various approaches to global, multinational and transnational organizations and management have been developed both within organization and management studies, and other disciplines. Most of these are specifically ungendered. However, there is now a considerable set of literatures that gender global and transnational organizations and managements. There are many gendered aspects of globalization, for example, gendered patterns of migration, the gendering and sexualing of global symbolic systems, and the emergence of gendered (men/male-dominated) transnational polities. Within this context, multinational corporations are intensely gendered, even though the “gendered multinational corporation” is not a concept that figures in either the literature on multinational corporations or that on gender and organizations.

Similarly, most mainstream texts on international human resource management (IHRM) tend to remain silent, or almost so, on the question of gender (for example, Dowling & Welch, 2004; Harzing & Van Ruysseveldt, 2004; Punnett & Shenkar, 2004). The dominant approach here adopts a ‘gender-neutral’ or ‘gender-absent’ approach (Hanmer & Hearn, 1999) that in itself is a form of gendering. When gender

issues are explicitly discussed, they are interpreted as, first, only related to women, and, second, related to expatriates. In these contexts, women are candidates for expatriate assignments or they play the role of spouses, partners or family members of male expatriates. Research examining women expatriates often focuses on the under-representation of women in international assignments (for example, Fischlmayr, 2002; Harris, 2004). Reasons associated with dual career couples, women's unwillingness to relocate and women's own ingrained, self-reinforcing behaviour have been given as explanations. Other barriers encompass Human Resource or line managers' reluctance to select female candidates who are expected to experience problems during foreign assignments.

### **This research**

This research on transnational business corporations is part of a larger research study, initially funded through an Academy of Finland Fellowship. It has included the sub-project: *The Transnational Business study: Gender Relations in Transnational Organizations and Managements*. This research raises many issues. These range across questions of context, organizational structures, gender and related policies and identities, and include:

- What is the impact of national context? Is the national context naturalized?
- What is the impact of the intersection of the transnational, often increasingly transnational, character of large business corporations' operations and activities and the national context of such large business corporations, in this case in Finland?
- What are the effects of the relations of headquarters and subsidiaries, including whether the promotion of gender equality policies derives from Finnish national or multinational/international headquarters parts of the company?
- What is the corporate context of policy – including relations between headquarters, subsidiary, Human Resource departments, workgroups and individuals?
- What is the relation of the development of gender policies and the development of diversity policies?
- How gender policies are defined, including the extent to which gender policies are equated with family-friendly or reconciliation of home and work policies?
- What is the relation of corporate policies, top management, the Human Resource department and HR managers, middle management, and line managers?
- To what extent policies are discretionary or binding? To what extent do managers have room for manoeuvre in the creation, development, implementation of policy?

- The extent to which there is an orientation to past record, present performance or future expectations in the framing of policy?
- What are the difficulties, political and other, of producing and implementing corporate gender equality plans and policies?
- To what extent are individuals seeing themselves as one and the same as the corporation? What contradictions are there between these contexts?

## **The research phases**

### ***Phase I: Public information phase***

The first phase of this project involved gathering annual reports, website and public material for the 100 largest Finnish companies. The aim was to find background information on their personnel and examine the extent to which annual reports specifically mentioned personnel policies relating to gender. All 100 companies sent their annual reports. This was followed by contacting them by email, letter or telephone regarding corporate policies and practices relevant to gender (policies on equal opportunities; personnel; gender training programmes; promotion; sexual harassment etc.). The information forthcoming was highly variable, so it was decided to undertake a more systematic survey of the largest 100 companies.

### ***Phase II: Questionnaire phase***

In the second phase a questionnaire survey (The “Men and Women of the Corporation” Questionnaire) to the human resources managers of the largest 100 Finnish companies was conducted (Hearn et al., 2002, 2003). This addressed: A. General Company Details; B. The Gender Organization of the Corporation; C. Policies and Practices on Gender; D. The Gender Organization of Top Management; E. Open-ended Issues: such as questions relating to managerial change, managerial succession.

The response rate in relation to questionnaire research with large corporations was relatively high, at 61 percent. All respondent corporations had men at all levels of the organization (as employees, middle and top managers and on the board), with a male majority of employees in 69 percent of corporations reporting on gender divisions. The proportion of women : men was about 1 : 9.4 on the boards, 1 : 9 for the top management, and 1 : 3 in middle management. Of the respondent corporations 13 had no women on the board or in the top management; 17 had women both on the board and in top management; 58% of the corporations had no women on their board. Only one corporation had as many women as men in the board; all the others had less women than men or no women; in 95% of the corporations there were at least twice as many men as women on the board. As with board memberships, only one corporation had as many women as men in the top management; all the others had less women than men or no women. Thirty-seven percent of the corporations had no women in their top management. Fifty-four corporations had from zero to a maximum of three women in their top management with the mean number of top

managers at 20 persons. In half of the corporations, at least nine out of ten top managers were men.

Corporations were asked whether they had a Gender Equality Plan (GEP), as required by law since 1995 (and strengthened since in 2005), and, if they did not, whether they had plans to develop one. Seventy-nine percent (48 out of 61 corporations that answered partly the questions on gender-related policies) reported having some of the gender-related policies. Thirteen corporations reported that they have none of the identified gender policies, nine that they do not have “any other company and/or personnel policies that are relevant to the situation of men and women in the company” either. Nine corporations (out of 42 answering the question) reported having “other gender policies”.

**Table 1 Corporations with gender-related policies**

Policy	‘No’	(%)	‘Yes’	(%)	Total
GEP	<b>20</b>	<b>(33)</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>(67)</b>	<b>60</b>
Equal recruitment policies	<b>36</b>	<b>(61)</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>(39)</b>	<b>59</b>
Equal promotion policies	<b>39</b>	<b>(66)</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>(34)</b>	<b>59</b>
Family policies	<b>40</b>	<b>(69)</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>(31)</b>	<b>58</b>
Gender training	<b>53</b>	<b>(91)</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>(9)</b>	<b>58</b>
Gender training for women	<b>55</b>	<b>(98)</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>(2)</b>	<b>56</b>
Harassment policies	<b>34</b>	<b>(59)</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>(41)</b>	<b>58</b>
Bullying/violence policies	<b>32</b>	<b>(56)</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>(44)</b>	<b>57</b>
Alcohol/substance policies	<b>16</b>	<b>(27)</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>(73)</b>	<b>59</b>

Source: Hearn et al., 2002. Table 9, p. 24.

Two-thirds of the corporations had gender equality plans as responses of all the other gender related questions are significantly lower (Table 1). As regards the existence of GEPs, there were two significant correlations in relation to number of women and men in different levels of corporation. First, the number of women on the board correlated positively to a significant extent with existence of GEP; the more women on the board, the more probably corporation had a GEP (positive significant correlations were found between the presence of men on the boards and the lack of policies aimed at increasing gender equality). The number of women on the board is also the only variable of those referring to numbers of men and women in different levels of corporation that correlates significantly with the existence of gender policies. Second, and surprisingly, the number of men in middle management correlated positively with and the existence of gender equality policies. The more men in middle management, the more probably corporation has a GEP. Explaining this particular finding is not at all easy; as the overall size of corporation does not seem to be a determining factor, it may be that there is some relation here to the form of organizational structure. The greater presence of men in middle management might indicate a relatively less hierarchical structure and culture, and one more open to innovation in gender policy. This pattern might be linked to sectoral effects; however, this was difficult to discern from our data.

To summarise the Phase II results, gender relations operate in multiple ways within organizations and management (Hearn and Parkin, 1983; Acker, 1990; Davies, 1996). It is suggested that there is not only a methodological multiplication of 'levels' of gender analysis in organizations, but also to a substantive dispersion. This may involve dispersion of gender power, dispersion of "gender policy"/"equality activity", and dispersion of gender in corporations, even if such multiple ways serve to maintain structured gender dominance and gender inequalities. Examination of these gendered phenomena in corporations within a relatively gender equal society such as Finland adds further weight to the ways in which such dispersions may reproduce structured gendered power relations. The combination of relevant social forces include: relative societal gender equality and relatively strong ideologies of gender equality by international standards; somewhat uneven existence and relative underdevelopment of corporate policies on gender equality; and continuing presence of men in corporate organizations and management, especially at the highest levels of boards and top management (Hearn et al., 2002: 39).

### **Research phase III: Interviews in the case companies**

The earlier two phases of this project led onto a further third interview phase. This aimed to supplement the quantitative data with a specific focus on gendered management and top management. The purpose of the interviews has been to find out more about gender relations, gender divisions, gender policies, and gender processes in the companies. This is in terms of both the organizational/corporate level, and individually, for the interviewees themselves and their immediate work context, colleagues and significant others. The interviews both build on and complement previous knowledge, but are to be understood separately in its own terms. Both the substance and the process of interviewing have been important. The interviews were semi-structured. In each company it was decided to approach the most senior and chief HR manager, other top managers, and middle managers, with at least half or more men interviewees, between four and eight interviews in each company, and an overall total of 40 interviews across the seven companies. Interviewees were nominated by the HR manager and/or by snowballing, thus perhaps introducing some bias towards managers who were more interested in gender and gender equality issues.

The 62 respondent companies were initially considered in terms of the varying extent of their gender equality activity, especially presence or absence of Gender Equality Plan (GEP) and other gender policies. Three broad groupings were identified:

- Respondent companies relatively active in gender equality activity (16);
- Respondent companies moderately active in gender equality activity (33);
- Respondent companies not active in gender equality activity (13).

#### *Some methodological issues in the interview process*

In the course of the interviews various methodological issues have arisen. The snowball method was used in most cases, in arranging interviews. Interviewing the

powerful, such as corporate elites, raises several methodological challenges (Kezar, 2003; Undheim, 2006; Stephens, 2007). As representatives of their corporations, several interviewees demonstrated attempts to influence and control the interview situation. Some interrogated the researcher instead of directly answering the interview questions themselves. The researcher was also given advice as to how to conduct the present study. For example, one HR manager commented: "I'm not sure about ... the kind of questions you pose ... In this way, you will get very superficial answers." Furthermore, elites and managers are often, even generally, used to being listened to; they are used to presenting themselves, adapting to different situations, and presenting the company and speaking on behalf of the company. Corporate elites frequently identify themselves with the company and it can be challenging for the researcher to distinguish between the company's and the interviewee's perspectives. This "front" should *not* be dismissed or assumed to "hide" a more complete picture. It is of interest in itself, even though the unofficial story is also of interest (Zuckerman, 1972; Odendahl & Shaw, 2002). For example, in answer to the question what the interviewee himself thought of the company gender policy, one senior manager replied: "I share this view completely, I think exactly the same. I have answered to all your questions as myself, not as the company." This interviewee used the term 'we' when describing gender policies and practices of the company.

### *Gender issues in the interviews*

The interviews aimed to find out more about gender relations, gender divisions, gender policies, and gender processes in the companies – both organizationally and individually, for the interviewees and their immediate work context, colleagues and significant others. They provided a great deal of information on multiple forms of gendering and gendered processes in the corporations. Organizations, managements and corporations are gendered in many, diverse, yet structured, ways: in public gender presentations (such as company reports and websites), formal and informal hierarchies, divisions of labour, cultures, interactions, formal policies, and so on. The combination and intersection of these various gendered elements makes for complex and contradictory forms of gendering of organizations and managements. Organizations and managements are not simply gendered in a uni-dimensional way.

In Phase III of this research many gender issues were raised. The contexts of the interviews – large Finnish corporations – are gendered organizations; the subject topic has been on gender and gender policies and practices; the interviewees comprise both women and men in what is an arena dominated by men; and there have been further gender issues in the interview process itself. A basic question in Phase III is the possible differences between the interviews with women and interviews with men. Gender did definitely appear as a significant factor in the conduct and content of most, perhaps all, the interviews. The women were generally more sympathetic and more understanding of the gender issues raised in the interviews. However, a significant number of women wished to distance themselves personally from gender policy or gender issues in their own career, as central or important.

Many of the interviews involve a woman interviewing men. This can raise the possibility of cross-gender dynamics in the interview, including gender power and

hierarchy, politeness and gentlemanliness, flirting, and so on. The female gender of the researcher was picked up by some interviewees, generating personal questions about children and career stage. There may also be defensiveness around gender issues, especially for men and in companies with a 'poor record' on gender equality. When interviewing men, the man may also be thinking about: how does all this relate to 'me and my private life' (Schwalbe and Wolkomir, 2001, 2002; Hearn et al., 1993). At the same time, some women managers appeared defensive on gender issues, wanting to confirm they have advanced through competence not their gender.

There is a very strong social and societal tendency to naturalize gender relations, and indeed sexuality. In general this involves not taking anything for granted; suspend belief in the way things 'are' or appear to be. At the same time one has to enter 'the world of the other', and imagine what their assumptions about the world are. This is especially so in relation to such issues as: top managers tending to be or assumed to be men; cultural and organizational assumptions of heterosexuality, even though that may not be the case; cultural and organizational assumptions around childcare; assumptions of what is a "feminine" or "masculine" style of management. To explore such issues may sometimes involve asking what may appear to be obvious or "stupid" questions.

In the initial access stage, the snowballing technique was used. When asking interviewees about additional informants at the end of the interview, they often started by mentioning names of women who had made it to the top of the organization. Perhaps this could be associated with the need to signal to the researcher that 'we, too, have a few of those top women who you should talk to' and improve the image of the company. This method has sometimes involved initial referral to top women managers rather than to top men managers (who remain less "visible", despite overwhelming numerical dominance), along with risks of selecting gender-positive interviewees. Some women interviewees sought to make it clear that they had advanced through their own competence rather than because of their gender.

### *Interviews with managers*

On this basis, forty interviews were completed with managers in the seven companies during 2003 and 2004 (Table 2). These included the chief HR manager in each company together with a further thirteen top managers, and twenty middle managers. Overall, these interviews comprised twenty with women managers and twenty with men managers, of which eight were women top managers, 12 were women middle managers, 12 were men top managers, and eight were men middle managers (Table 3 and 4).

**Table 2 Distribution of interviews with managers in seven companies with relatively, moderately and non-active gender policies**

	Relatively active		Moderately active		Not active			
Company	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	TOTAL
<b>Top managers</b>	0 women 1 man	2 women 2 men	1 woman 2 men	2 women 2 men	1 woman 2 men	1 woman 1 man	1 woman 2 men	8 women 12 men
<b>Middle managers</b>	3 women 2 men	1 woman 1 man	2 women 1 man	3 women 1 man	1 woman 0 men	0 women 3 men	2 women 0 men	12 women 8 men
<b>Total 40</b>	6 3 women 3 men	6 3 women 3 men	6 3 women 3 men	8 5 women 3 men	4 2 women 2 men	5 1 woman 4 men	5 3 women 2 men	40 20 women 20 men

**Table 3 Interviews by gender and top/middle level**

	Top managers	Middle managers	Total
Women	8	12	20
Men	12	8	20
Total	20	20	40

**Table 4 Interviews by gender and top/middle level**

	Chief HR managers	Other top managers	Middle managers	Total
Women	4	4	12	20
Men	3	9	8	20
Total	7	13	20	40

In the data, there was a rather significant age difference between women and men – in general women managers interviewed were younger than the male informants. Average age of women managers was approximately 43 years (43.05) and men managers approximately 49 years (49.25).<sup>3</sup> The youngest interviewee was a female of age 31 (middle manager), and the oldest interviewee a 59 years old male (middle manager). Most of the woman managers were between the age of 40 to 49 (n=10), and men managers between 50-59 years (n=13).

In the data, there were more men who are in top management (12/20) than women (8/20). This explains partly the age structure, i.e. the average age being higher for men than for women. On the other hand, this arises interesting questions on the age

<sup>3</sup> For a small number of interviewees it was not possible to ascertain their precise age, as this did not become clear in the interview, and their date of birth was not included in their CVs. In those instances an estimate was made.

factor of management, and how it might even be reconstructed in a gendered way. This interview data reaffirms the pattern of management and leadership: older men are 'in power', and middle management is taken care of (increasingly) by women managers. In the data there was a rather large amount of women middle managers who are between the age of 40-49 (n=7). This corresponds to research on women in management in Finland and beyond: often women seem to acquire positions in particular in middle management, but not so often proceed from that into top management. An interesting and important aspect for future research might be to focus on women in middle management in order to analyse if or to what extent their age and generational position has been a significant factor in proceeding to a middle managerial position. Women after their forties might be seen by some (male) superordinates and colleagues as 'less questionable', especially in terms of not getting pregnant and being defined through sexuality or appearance, as well as having accumulated greater working life experience. Women in middle management also provide the pool from which those relatively few women advance to top management.

### **Analysis and results**

Further analysis was completed in a number of phases. We used NVivo to enhance consistency and transparency of the thematic analysis. The emerging themes were frequently discussed between the authors and represented overarching issues raised by the interviewees. These included such issues as career paths, time management, type of foreign posting, existence of a supporting husband/boss, and gendered arrangements at home. First, a general review of all the interview data was conducted. After that, three main more detailed and accumulative phases were completed (Hearn et al., 2009).

#### *Gender policies*

First of these was on *gender policies*, especially as represented through the interviews of the Chief HR managers. They had acted as gatekeepers to the research, and their perspectives were crucial in terms of the interconnections between different elements of the organization, management and identity. This shows some of contrasts between formal policies and reported organizational practices. These are understood partly in terms of differential, and indeed very different, interrelations, of corporate contexts and individual managers' agentic positionings on these matters (Hearn and Piekkari, 2005). Moreover, variations within the companies also apply to the definition and scope of gender policy, and the relation of gender policies and diversity policy.

#### *Gender structures*

This specific focus on gender policies, and key actors around them, needs to be understood and located within a variety of organizational *gender structures*. Thus the second focus was on gender structures, including questions of corporate hierarchies throughout all the interviews. Other relevant structures and structural contexts include national context in relation to transnationalization, relations of headquarters and subsidiaries, and interrelations of management, policy development and policy implementation. These may often be represented, merely descriptively and as gender-neutral, but different structures are themselves gendered and forms of

gendering. This is clear in relation to corporate hierarchies, this being what is perhaps the most immediate manifestation of ‘the organization’, and how they are intensely gendered and frequently taken-for-granted as such.

### *Gender practices*

Third, gender relations in practice and *gender practices* have been considered in more detail, with a special emphasis on the transnational nature of much of this managerial work and experience. The question of the social construction of men, men’s arenas and masculinities is in some ways a theme throughout, but is returned to here more explicitly. It is not really possible to have an informed analysis on the management of such companies, and especially their top management, without some attention to men’s predominance there within these men’s arenas. This in turn is necessary to understand the character and experience of women’s gendered careers. This section thus engaged in a more detailed discussion of how gender relations for the women and men managers operate, in these companies at least, at the intersections of gendered transnational managerial work, careers, family-type relations, including marriage and children, or lack thereof (Hearn et al., 2008). Particularly important here is the way in which women and men managers may be part of the same management levels or management teams, but have totally different family-type situations and thus gendered experiences. The interconnections of – first, managerial hierarchies and managerial work; second, domestic, family and personal life; and, third, transnationalizations – are crucial, intensely gendered matters, both for those concerned and for broader analysis. The long-established historical debate on the public/private continues to be important for both gender relations and organizational relations, but now with a further emphasis and elaboration in terms of transnationalizations. This research also highlights the complex interrelations of gender and other HR policies, gender structures and gender practices, all in their national and transnational contexts.

### *Implications for research and theory*

This research raises many research and theoretical questions and implications. One key set of issues concerns the relations of different material gendered contexts – transnational, national, capitalist, corporate – and gendered practices, both individual and more collective, of managers and non-managers. This arena of study needs to be interrogated by a variety of conceptual contextualizations rather than seeking one way only. These relations are also likely to be subject to considerable change and tension, not least through the recent financial and corporate crisis. Thus a more specific aspect of this arena of change is the interrelations of identity work, individual rewards, corporate development and the corporate financial climate. While these matters are all strongly gendered, the relevance of social intersectionalities is also important, including intersections of gender, ethnicity, nationality, age, sexuality, and marital/familial status. More theoretically, this research points to the need to move beyond a narrowly discursive approach to organizations and management, to appreciate the materiality of discourse, to examine the complex intertwinings of the material and the discursive, and to develop material discursive analysis. Without that, there are dangers of neglect of power relations, in this case intersectional gender power relations.

### *Implications for policy and practice*

There also major policy and practice implications. The impact of gender equality and other equality legislation appears to remain limited, especially at the management levels. The extent and scope of national, and indeed transnational (such as the EU), gender legislation and policy has uneven effects, as is clear in the uneven interest in and practice of monitoring and implementation of gender equality plans. For example, problems around gender inequality may be assumed by managers and others to 'solve themselves naturally' over time. On the other hand, in some equality policy there may also be a danger of managers making promises that cannot be kept or that key actors do not want to be kept. Senior and line managers, often men, may (need to) be severely challenged, in both senses, in terms of 'giving up' some power, authority or autonomy. This raises the broader question of whether gender change can be brought through greater state or trans-state interventions or whether more fundamental transformations in business structuring are a possible lever of change. This parallels the debates on the introduction of gender quotas on corporate boards of listed companies, as has become law in Norway. The question of intersectionality is a key matter in policy and practice terms, with the need to recognize the variety of inequalities, but also the dangers of hiding, obscuring and diversion from gender inequality. The move to broad, multi-dimensional bases to equality law, in Finland, the EU and elsewhere, raises potential for complex intersectional policy interventions and, at the same time, possible diversions from focused action on gender equality and instead facilitations of increasing men's power and gender inequality. The translation of broad policy into practical actions remains a clear challenge, at the transnational, national, corporate and everyday working levels.

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## **Women on board of directors: developing a contingency approach**

*Nea Kontoniemi*

### **Introduction**

During the past decade, corporate governance and boards of directors have received increasing attention among academics. Various waves of shareholder activism have contributed to the changes in board responsibilities, board composition and board performance. The board composition has shifted towards the inclusion of more outside directors and members with gender and race different from the traditional white male director (Hillman et al., 2002).

Although the number of women directors has grown during the past decade, their share in the boardrooms remains very low. For example in Finland, women held only 14.6 percent of the board seats in 100 largest companies in 2005 (Hammarsten et al., 2005). This is regardless of high level of women attending paid work and the family-friendly employment legislation with generous maternity and paternity leave and childcare facilities. The figures look about the same outside the Nordic countries. In the US, 13.6 percent of all board members in the Fortune 500 companies were women (Catalyst, 2003), and in UK, 11.8 percent of the FTSE non-executive directors were reported to be women (Singh & Vinnicombe, 2003).

The purpose of this paper is, firstly, based on the literature review, to address the need for more research on women on boards of directors emphasizing both board dynamics and contextual factors, and secondly, to explore the ways a more contingent approach in studies on women on boards of could be developed.

### **Literature review**

Women corporate directors have received much attention among academic researchers in the past ten years. Bilimoria and Wheeler (2000), in their review of literature on women corporate directors, describe two streams of contemporary research, namely research on the representation of women on boards, and research on the status of women directors. The former has been concerned with issues like contributions, presence, and expertise of women corporate directors. The latter has been concerned with issues like women directors' role and identity, their treatment as tokens, and sex-biased attitudes towards women directors on corporate boards.

The extant empirical work on the topic is characterized by 1) the use of samples from large firms, 2) the use of archival and survey data; and 3) a multitude of studies describing the demographic characteristics, attitudes, and views of women corporate directors (Bilimoria & Wheeler, 2000; Burke & Mattis, 2000; Catalyst, 2003; Singh & Vinnicombe, 2003). Firstly, the research about women directors has mainly focused

on investigating boards of directors in large firms such as Fortune 500 or FTSE companies, which might be because of more information exists on large and publicly quoted companies. Secondly, the extensive use of archival and survey data is evident. This may be because it is easy to get access to simple and non-classified measures, such as the number and rate of women on boards, the age and tenure of women directors, etc. These measures can usually be found in corporate annual reports or other published materials. Furthermore, surveys (self-reporting questionnaires to women directors) are widely utilized. They can be considered as an easy way to gather information on women on boards, too, since the number of women directors is so limited. Thirdly, there are numerous studies, which draw a picture of a successful woman director and/or her attitudes, experiences, and insights. A lot of descriptive statistics and anecdotal findings have been used to produce this information. In sum, the research on women on corporate boards has been highly descriptive by nature. It also seems possible that it suffers from the common academic phenomenon called the “lamp” syndrome (e.g. Huse, 2000). It means those issues and samples that are the easiest to get access to, are studied most.

In their review Bilimoria and Wheeler (2000) state that the research on women on boards thus far has succeeded in documenting many important facts about the women serving on corporate boards. It has also been crucial in establishing a comparative database against which new information might be evaluated. Still, Bilimoria and Wheeler, with other scholars on the field, call for the new generation of research on women on corporate boards. They suggest that instead of reporting current practices and phenomena, academic scholars should focus on advancing the theoretical body of knowledge and provide practitioners with constructive perspectives. They call for more analytic approaches and theoretically rigorous studies, which would allow researchers to produce frames instead of facts.

What does the call for the new generation of research mean in practice? I construct one possible answer by leaning on Bilimoria and Wheeler’s (2000) conclusions, as well as the views of other scholars’ studying corporate boards from a gender sensitive point of view or in general.

Firstly, there is a need to consider *the importance of board dynamics and processes* affecting women corporate directors and their possibilities to serve on boards successfully (Bilimoria & Wheeler, 2000; Burke, 2000; Huse & Solberg, 2006). According to Gabrielsson and Huse (2004) board processes include issues such as board leadership, the development of rules and norms, and the board decision-making culture. Studying women directors from the point of view of board dynamics would mean, e.g., addressing issues like norms, power distribution and interpersonal relationships on boards, women’s personal strategies of influence, the role demands of women directors or women director’s impact on board working style. By focusing on board dynamics and processes it would be possible to gain deeper understanding on the issues that have an impact on women director’s possibilities to act and have influence on typically male-dominated boards.

Secondly, some scholars suggest highlighting *the importance of contextual factors* in the future research (Burke, 2000; Huse, 2000; Gabrielsson & Huse 2004). Burke

(2000) notes how the issue of women on corporate boards should be placed in a larger context and how it would make the research findings more meaningful. Contextual factors affecting corporate boards of directors and thus women serving on them are manifold (Burke, 2000): environmental (e.g., industry sector, uncertainty), and organizational factors (e.g., firm size and life cycle, ownership), and board attributes (e.g., board's role, functioning and performance).

By taking both board dynamics and contextual factors into account when investigating women on corporate boards, it would be possible to move towards *a more contingent approach* in studies on women on boards of directors. The need for this is not explicitly announced among academics. However, I consider it as a valuable goal for research, mainly because of the arguments presented by Huse and Gabrielsson (2004). They argue that “research has shown that a corporate governance design that works in a specific firm is highly contingent on the context”. Based on that, I assume that the potential advantages that women can bring to corporate governance and the issues affecting their possibilities to act successfully and use all their potential on boards are highly dependent on the contextual factors.

### **Women and board dynamics**

How might women affect board dynamics according to prior literature? In the first place, women directors might affect by bringing *new insights, ideas and approaches* into business deliberations (Burke, 1994; Ibrahim & Angelides, 1994). Some reports suggest that they generate a more productive discourse (Catalyst, 1995), bring strategic input (Catalyst, 1995), and deal better than men with diversity issues in the company's product and labor market (Morrison, 1992; Fernandez, 1993). This may be due to women's different backgrounds (Singh & Vinnicombe, 2004; Daily et al. 1999; Ashburner, 1993).

Secondly, women might *address and initiate different issues* than men in board meetings. Burke (1994), in his survey of almost 300 Canadian women directors, found that women were active in raising and discussing themes which he labels as “issues of concern to women”, including, for example, equal opportunity and environmental issues. Thus, he suggests that women directors are functioning as champions of women's issues. Bradshaw and Wicks (2000), in turn, report somewhat opposite findings. In their study, Canadian women directors interviewed did not have a feminist agenda, and they refused “to rock the boat”.

Thirdly, *women being more motivated and prepared* to board working might affect the board's working style (Fondas & Sassalos, 1999). One reason for higher motivation and preparation is that the women selected to corporate boards have crossed such a high hurdle to appointment. In addition, women dedicate more time to board tasks than men (Burke, 1994; Ashburner, 2003). Like motivation, preparation and the use of time, also education plays a significant role. Female corporate directors are more highly educated than male directors (e.g., Hillman et al., 2002).

Fourthly, women's representation on boards might affect *the relationship between board of directors and executive management* (Burke, 2000). For example, Fondas and Salsalos (1999) found, that boards having one or more female directors had significantly more influence over management decisions than did the boards without female directors. It may be, however, that influential boards have made efforts to include women directors.

In sum, there are several ways, presented in prior literature, how women may affect the board processes and working style. However, more empirical evidence is needed to identify the actual processes between women directors and board level consequences. Usually, the board and board work are taken as a black box (Gabrielsson & Huse, 2004). Thus it could be asked, for example, how does women's higher motivation affect the board processes and board performance in practice? Could it be seen, for example, in the growing number of board meetings and better decisions made in them?

The individual-level factors are not the only ones that have a role to play in defining the board dynamics. In addition, board-level mechanisms must be considered. To begin with, boards of directors are not gender neutral. On the contrary, gender is affecting both in the boardroom and outside it (e.g., Bilimoria & Piderit, 1994; Bradshaw & Wicks, 2000).

In addition to that women are largely *excluded from boardrooms*, they are also excluded from more important board committees. Bilimoria and Piderit (1994) found significant sex differences in board committee memberships: There were less women in more powerful committees (e.g., compensation and finance committee), which shows that women directors are not free from sex-based bias. Kesner (1988) reports similar findings in her study, too. Bilimoria and Wheeler (2000) report of a study indicating that committees having women were, on average, larger than those not having women. The authors of the study concluded that committees were made larger by adding a woman rather than by replacing a man. In Bradshaw and Wicks' (2000) study, women directors articulated clearly their exclusion from "the old boys' clubs", and other instances of discrimination. The women interviewed did not assume that the board was gender-neutral at all.

Besides of the threat being excluded from the board and its decision making, many women on corporate boards must carry the additional *burden of tokenism*. According to Kanter (1977), token women are subject to excessive scrutiny and they are taken as general representatives of their sex. This may lead women to become entrapped in stereotypical roles that limit their probabilities of success. Tokenism can also cause anxiety about a woman director's roles and activities. Although many women directors view themselves as directors, not women directors (Bilimoria & Huse, 1997; Bradshaw & Wicks, 2000), many believe that they were recruited mostly because of their sex (Mitchell, 1984). This may lead to special role expectations and further confusion. Women directors are aware of the dangers of having a women's agenda or being seen as single-issue women.

To summarize, there are debates about the role of women on board of directors and the potentially unique role that women may play, or be expected to play, on them. Based on prior literature, it can be concluded that when a woman enters the boardroom, the dynamics inside is prone to change. This may be due to individual or board-level factors or both. However, the possible advantages women can bring to boards of directors seem to be highly dependent on contextual factors. Therefore, there is a need for better understanding of the dynamics in the boardroom and the contextual factors affecting them.

### **Tentative research designs**

When aiming at exploring women operating on corporate boards of directors and addressing the factors affecting women directors' possibilities to use their full potential, the possible approaches outlined are:

1. Focusing on *women directors operating and acting* both inside and outside the boardroom and identifying the ways women contribute to the operations of the board of directors. This would be addressed by recognizing the significance of various contextual factors. Women directors' actions and views would also be studied in connection with the various different board tasks and roles.
2. Focusing on *the board's decision-making processes* and studying directors' roles and actions. This approach would mean defining some board decisions or acts and the board processes that led to them. After defining the outcome, women and men directors' roles in the process would be studied and compared. The research design might allow the researcher to define some board characteristics, which enhance women's possibilities to use their full potential on boards of directors.
3. Focusing on the possible *change in the board processes and working style* after appointing a woman director to the board. This approach would include comparisons between the time before and after appointing a woman to the board.
4. Focusing on *the personal "surviving" strategies*, which women directors employ in order to overcome the problems derived from being a token in hegemonic masculine setting. Here the starting point for the inquiry would be the problems that women directors face because of gender discrimination on corporate boards.

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## **Discourses of competence and gender on corporate boards**

*Sinikka Pesonen, Janne Tienari, and Sinikka Vanhala*

### **Introduction**

As an ‘advanced’ society in terms of equality between men and women, Finland provides an interesting setting for studying gender and corporate boards. Together with other Nordic countries, Finland has a strong tradition of egalitarianism. Discourse on gender equality is well established in Finnish society (Korvajärvi, 2002), and women are well represented in politics and government. At the same time, the Finnish labour market remains gender segregated, vertically and horizontally (Kolehmainen, 2002). The number of women in top management has not increased in any significant way since the early 1990s (Vanhala, 2003). This alarming lack of progress resonates with recent findings from, for example, the UK (Martin et al, 2008). In 2008, women comprise 12 percent of the board members in publicly listed companies in Finland, showing a slight decrease compared with the preceding year (STM, 2008).

Corporate boards of directors continue to be dominated by men. Recent research has suggested several explanations for the persistent gender imbalance in top jobs in Western societies. On the one hand, studies have emphasized human and social capital (Singh et al, 2008a; 2008b) and the dynamics of power (Huse and Solberg, 2006; Huse, 2007) in accounting for why women remain underrepresented on corporate boards. Explanations have been sought at the level of individuals, organizations and national environments, focusing on women’s lack of line management experience, the persistence of male networks, and traditional gender roles in society (Oakley, 2000; Singh and Vinnicombe, 2004; Terjesen and Singh, 2008). On the other hand, research has focused on the ‘doing’ of gender in understanding practices of inequality (Gherardi, 1994). This perspective emphasizes the mundane everyday practices in and around organizations that keep women from reaching positions of power and influence.

Our study on female board professionals remains an exploratory endeavor, providing insights for further theorizing on gender and corporate boards. In the following, we first outline the relevant literature. Next, we present our data and analysis and then substantiate our argument through empirical illustration and discussion. Finally, we offer conclusions based on our analysis, discuss the limitations of the study, and suggest avenues for future research.

### **Gender and corporate boards: A discursive perspective**

The persistent positioning of men over women in working life in general, and corporate boards of directors in particular, can be made sense of through various theoretical lenses. As a basis for our research, we elaborate on two research traditions. First, we outline what we term the ‘women-in-management’ perspective on corporate boards (Calás and Smircich, 2006). This perspective is based on tracking the challenges faced by individual women and on making a business case

argument for their inclusion at the top (Burke, 1994; 1997; Cassell, 1997; Singh & Vinnicombe, 2004; Martin *et al*, 2008). Second, we discuss insights on ‘doing gender’ (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Gherardi, 1994). This view detaches itself from individuals and focuses instead on social interaction, especially from the point of view of the symbolic aspects of gender relations. On this basis, we forge a discursive perspective on the subject of study.

In the ‘*women-in-management*’ perspective, the seminal longitudinal research by Susan Vinnicombe and Val Singh in the UK consistently shows that “senior women do not easily gain access to the boardroom, where an elite group of male directors maintain their power” (Singh & Vinnicombe, 2004, p. 479). Their findings belie many of the individual-level explanations for this restricted access, for example, the myth about women’s insufficient experience or lack of adequate human capital (Singh *et al*, 2008a). Instead, it is emphasized that the organizational barriers that women face are manifold: women tend to receive less support for career-making than their male counterparts, ‘feminine’ ways of managing are inscribed to women and depreciated vis-à-vis the ‘masculine’, and important networks remain out of women’s reach at crucial career junctions (Oakley, 2000; Singh & Vinnicombe, 2004). Women may also eschew the use of impression management that is necessary for achieving success in organizations (Singh *et al*, 2002). When women do reach corporate boards, they may be considered tokens by their male colleagues (Kanter, 1977; Burgess and Tharenou, 2002) and their “real input and responsibility” may be questioned (Peterson & Philpot, 2007, p. 177).

The ‘*women-in-management*’ literature on gender and corporate boards is prone to underline that it makes sound business sense to include women in top decision-making (Cassell, 1997). Burke’s (1994) well-known study confirms that male CEOs recognize that their female directors make unique and positive contributions to board work. Daily *et al* (1999), in turn, point out that women can contribute to better understanding of female customers. Fondas and Sassalon (2000) report that women tend to take board work very seriously, while Huse (2007) notes that women tend to be better prepared than men for board meetings. In this way, Huse (2007) suggests, women may enter the ‘knowledge vacuum’ of board work and exercise power that might otherwise be denied them. In brief, much of the argumentation in the ‘*women-in-management*’ literature resides in the notion that individual women somehow make a difference (cf. Alvesson & Billing, 1997); that they are different from men, and in this way make a contribution of their own to board work (Huse, 2007). Power is conceptualized as a resource for individuals to grasp and use. Established gender relations and gendered practices that disadvantage women as a group – or social category – in particular contexts are not specified in-depth.

To complement this perspective on corporate boards and boardroom dynamics, we consider the notion of ‘*doing gender*’. According to the seminal work of West and Zimmerman (1987), this view is based on conceptualizing gender as a routine accomplishment that is embedded in everyday interaction between human beings. Gender is conceived of as an activity and a social dynamic rather than a role<sup>4</sup>. Studying how gender is ‘done’, then, is about exploring how gender figures in social interaction (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Gherardi, 1994; see also Acker, 1990), silencing, marginalizing and excluding women from positions of influence (Tienari *et al*, 2004; 2005). One example of ‘doing gender’ is the ways in which powerful men on corporate boards engage in practices of homosociality when they make top

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<sup>4</sup> ‘Sex’, in turn, is a determination made through the application of socially agreed upon biological criteria for classifying persons as females or males (West and Zimmerman, 1987).

management recruitment decisions; they knowingly or unwittingly seek and find other men who resemble themselves (Holgersson, 2003). ‘Doing gender’ can also relate to how men and women routinely deny the significance of gender differences in organizational life in general and executive work in particular (Korvajärvi, 2002), or to how they deny gender inequality in organizations as something that is impossible – and thus non-existent – in an equal society (Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998).

A further example relates to the notion of competence, which is frequently discussed in the literature on gender and corporate boards. While competence is typically addressed as a question of individual characteristics (Johnson et al., 1996) and/or human capital (Singh et al., 2008a), it is socially constructed and elusive if viewed from the perspective of ‘doing gender’. It is always based on criteria set and used by those with power, and a degree of subjectivity is always involved when decisions based on so-called competence are made. In practice, ‘key competence’ often turns out to be male competence (Yancey Martin, 1996; Abrahamsson, 2002; Tienari et al., 2002) and women often become constructed as deficient when the competence of individuals is evaluated in ostensibly gender-neutral ways (Wahl, 1998; Holgersson, 2003). In brief, ‘doing’ gender may be about ‘doing’ difference and opposition between the sexes, with material consequences for individuals. In this view, power is defined differently from the ‘women-in-management’ literature; it resides in relations and established ways of interacting rather than in individuals, and it is context-specific. Gender can thus also be ‘undone’ (Deutsch, 2007) as established gendered interactions are challenged and changed.

From a *discursive perspective*, understanding gender as something that is ‘done’ focuses our attention on discourses that produce and reproduce specific gendered states of affairs – for example, male dominance in corporate board work – as self-evident and taken-for-granted (Tienari et al., 2005). Studying language use, this perspective focuses on the relations and established ways of interacting where power resides. Discourses, then, are viewed as an inherent part of the socio-cultural practices of ‘doing’ gender embedded in social contexts; they are both socially conditioned and socially constitutive, and they (re)define what is justified and legitimate (Fairclough, 1992, 1997). Particular discursive resources open up (or close) for human beings in particular contexts. How women (and men) talk about gender and corporate boards in interviews with researchers in a given society is one example of this; these encounters are subject to social norms that regulate the discursive resources available to interviewers and interviewees.

## **Methodology**

In our study, we focus on the ways in which gendered notions are reproduced in and through social interaction between female board professionals and a female researcher in an interview. We conduct our study in the spirit of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1997). Our conviction is that texts (such as those produced in interviews) and social contexts are linked together and mediated by discourse practices, which are generated and (re)articulated through diverse processes and limited by hegemonic relations and structures, not least in relation to gender.

We are interested in how women in influential positions ‘do’ gender when they talk about their experiences and viewpoints. Five female board professionals were interviewed. All interviewees hold board positions in both listed companies and not-for-profit sector in Finland (one of them also abroad) and their board experience in companies ranges from two to over 10 years. The interviews were carried out in spring 2007 by a female scholar, who approached potential interviewees as a representative of a publicly funded research project on women and management. The

interviewees were guaranteed full anonymity throughout the research. Three questions were e-mailed to the interviewees prior to the interview: (1) which boards of directors have you served on?, (2) what kind of positive and negative experiences of board work do you have?, and (3) in your view, what competences are necessary for board work?. These questions also formed the basis for the interviews, which proceeded in a free-flowing manner.

As is typical for discourse analysis, our research process has evolved in an iterative manner (Wodak, 2004). The interviews were conducted after an initial literature review (on the ‘women-in-management’ perspective and its alternatives), tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim by the interviewer, who then analyzed the transcripts with specific questions in mind: (1) through what discourse practices do interviewees talk about, and legitimize, the competences needed in board work?, (2) what kinds of meanings do they give to competence and gender (and diversity more generally)?, and (3) how do they talk about change on corporate boards? Next, the transcripts were independently analyzed by the other authors of this paper. Interpretations of pieces of text were discussed and negotiated among the author team.

### **Discourses in the talk of female board professionals**

Based on our analysis of the talk of Finnish female board professionals about their experiences and viewpoints on gender and corporate boards of directors, we located two prevalent discourses. We have termed these the ‘*discourse of competence*’ and the ‘*discourse of gender*’. Below, we specify and illustrate the two discourses on the basis of three key dimensions: how men and women are discursively constructed as social categories within the discourses, how social dynamics in accessing, and taking part in, board work are constructed, and how the potential for change (in terms of women’s increased access to corporate boards) is constructed. It is important to note that the discourses located are not coherent constellations. They can be inherently inconsistent.

#### *Discourse of competence*

Within the discourse of competence, the essential sameness of men and women is emphasized. The discourse is based on the assumption that the most competent individuals are invited to join corporate boards, irrespective of gender. This is exemplified by one of our interviewees, who reflected on her own experiences: “*I’ve been asked on board because of my reputation. I’m well known internationally. I have a wide network.*” She described at length how she has always been the only woman in the key fora for networking in the industry where she has made her career. She casually remarked that the men “*get used to this*”, and stressed that “*they note that I’m a professional. So, once again, it’s the professional competence that counts. They don’t note me as a woman, they treat me as a professional.*” In brief, the interviewee constructs business life and board work as gender-neutral practice. “*You need to have experience and insight and you need to have street credibility,*” as another interviewee summed up the necessary qualities for accessing corporate boards.

In general, our interviewees concluded that board work is teamwork. One of them underlined, on the one hand, that “*it is important to have a range of competences*” present on corporate boards. On the other, she emphasized that for board members “*the most important thing is to have business knowledge, in other words, to have managing director experience or experience in managing a large business unit or in having been a director of finance.*” In effect, then, within the discourse of

competence, to access corporate boards women must comply with a standard that in practice favors men who have accessed top management in companies.

The discourse of gender-neutral competence swarms with tensions. In practice, the interviewees note, *“women need to be even more competent than men.”* Women must be active and assume power: *“I’ve discussed this with female colleagues. One of them complained that the decisions are always made elsewhere. I said that the answer is that you have to be tough and ask questions, take a stand and show that you are present one hundred percent ... If you keep quiet, well, it’s your own fault.”* The discourse of competence stresses that being active (in addition to having the right experience) is a precondition of credibility, which, in turn, is crucial for the success of women in the boardroom. However, being active requires a balancing act for women, as will be discussed later.

For change to take place – to increase the number of women on corporate boards – women need to continue to do more of the same: to build relevant experience and to appear credible in how they address board work. However, change is always a precarious endeavor. *“They [i.e. men] say that, well, we do have women already ... so it’s a sensitive thing. You shouldn’t do it by force. Rather, you need to wear them [i.e. men] down, increase women’s competence,”* an interviewee stated and reflected upon her own position: *“I have managing director experience ... everyone knows ... that I’ve managed a billion euro business.”* Finally, it should be noted that within the discourse of competence, legislative means such as gender-based quotas are denied as a viable solution for increasing the number of women on boards. You cannot simultaneously be competent and a *“quota woman.”*

#### *Discourse of gender*

In contrast to the discourse of competence, the discourse of gender emphasizes essential differences between men and women. Universal similarities among women are also constructed as women (‘us’) are juxtapositioned with men (‘them’). For example, women as a social category are frequently represented as being critical (of themselves and in relation to the content of board work). This may become problematic for them. *“It is in us,”* one of our interviewees noted, *“we question our own competence. We’re afraid to challenge ourselves, if we are not absolutely sure that we have all the qualities necessary for the job at hand.”* Male characteristics, in turn, are represented as necessary qualities for successful work on corporate boards. This includes self-confidence and assertiveness. *“Men don’t question themselves as much.”*

The interviewee who was quoted above, talking at length about how she has succeeded as a professional (not as a woman) in the gender-neutral world of business and competence, casually remarked: *“undoubtedly it would be relevant if people with different backgrounds were represented on corporate boards. That’s how you get new questions on the agenda. And it’s really important to get women on board because the women’s perspective is often a little different from the men’s, and their background and experience is often different.”* This interviewee exemplifies a recurring discursive formation in our data: during the same interview, interviewees are able to construct women as both essentially similar to, and different from, men.

Another interviewee reflected on the gendered politics of board work: *“many women feel that it is necessary to make explicit that they are not feminists. They are quick to point out that it is not their femaleness that is important, rather, it is the competence ... they’re afraid of being stereotypically labeled ... and they hide their specific female or personal characteristics.”* Our data confirms that female board

professionals are constantly under the gaze of influential men, getting labeled by them (cf. Oakley, 2000; Singh and Vinnicombe, 2004). One of the interviewees noted: *“you are easily put into this role of nice person ... the one who’s agreeable and who always agrees and commends others. But, hey, you don’t have to take up that role!”* She went on to describe an alternative role: *“the woman with a ‘male heart’ who uses the same slang and who is every bit as tough.”* She then concluded that *“none of this solves the problems. I’m not saying that it’s the wrong survival strategy ... but you can also do things your way ... you are considered weird, yes, but you can also make changes happen and you can be accepted as the person you are.”*

Within the discourse of gender, our interviewees constructed being *“accepted as the person you are”* as a balancing act. One of our interviewees said, on the one hand, that *“there’s a distinct possibility that you’d stir things up, disturb their established ways ... so it’s best to be invisible, as it were, so that they forget all about you. That’s when you’re able to do a bit of your own thing, too.”* On the other hand, as already discussed, she concluded that *“if you keep quiet, well, it’s your own fault.”*

One of the interviewees reflected on her positive personal experiences, connecting these experiences to what she sees as the situation today: *“there are genuine opportunities for young women today, exactly as was the case when I began my career ... all doors were open for me. I didn’t encounter glass ceilings of any kind ... it’s in the personality, I guess, I’ve always grasped opportunities that have come my way, and I’ve been humble when it has been necessary to be humble.”* While the interviewee constructs opportunities for (young) women precisely because they are (young) women, the only precondition is that these women are assertive – in other words, they need to be more like (young) men. Moreover, *“no-one is going to come and get you from home.”*

All the female board professionals interviewed pointed out that gaining access to boards and taking part in board work successfully require that *“you adjust to the rules of the game.”* One of the interviewees stated: *“you can be different, but you can’t bring your femaleness to the fore, you can’t be who you are ... because you already look different ... you shouldn’t be a troublemaker ... if you emphasize how different you are, you are considered a troublemaker. And why would they then take you on board?”* In brief, the *“rules of the game”* in board work are gendered in the sense that they work to prevent women from realizing their potential. From a discursive perspective, however, the notion of ‘being a woman’ is in itself blurry. On the one hand, it can be stated with conviction that *“women are bolder in asking questions, questioning things.”* On the other, it can be argued that *“women are not assertive, they have been taught to be humble and nice and obedient.”*

Moreover, within the discourse of gender, *“the rules of the game”* may also be constructed as unfair. Men’s homosocial practices emerge as challenges to women’s access to boards of directors (Kanter, 1977, 48). Our interviewees constructed boards as tight circles of men maintaining control and at times reproducing themselves in their own image. Board work *“is not exactly nuclear physics,”* as one of our interviewees put it, noting that *“it’s this very very homogeneous bunch of people”* that run the show in Finland. *“They meet each other constantly in different fora.”* She then suggested that *“it’s kind of funny how boards of directors swarm with these ex-top managers who have retired or who have got the sack from their previous jobs. If you think about it, it’s not very smart. Most of them are pretty old anyway. And today, business is so hectic and it changes all the time.”* Another interviewee presented a gloomy vision of the future: *“it’s often said that the next generation will be smarter. Well, I have my doubts. My daughter’s around 30 years old and she*

*says that it's funny to see how the young men recruit their own buddies. And that's other men. So nothing's going to change, unless the women do it themselves."*

Yet, within the discourse of gender, the potential for change is to a significant extent related to changing men's attitudes towards having more women in influential positions. Our interviewees constantly pointed out that *"the role of the chairman is absolutely crucial"* in promoting women's access to corporate boards and functioning on them. Furthermore, while some solutions were emphasized, others were in practice rejected, like quotas.

*"This quota thing"* was actively rejected by most of our interviewees. One of them said: *"I fear that a quota system would be more harmful than beneficial right now as this whole thing is already in pretty good shape. Men are getting used to ... well, we have a female president and all, so women can access all positions."* Apart from juxtapositioning competence and being a *"quota woman"* (as in the discourse of competence), quotas can hence also be opposed on the basis of reflections on the dynamics of board work: *"I don't like this quota thing... Men know all the tricks. That's a fact. When there's plenty of women around, they make the decisions elsewhere. That's so clear. The best way forward is that the men in charge do this voluntarily and that they genuinely want women on board. That'd be sustainable development."*

## **Conclusion**

In this paper, we have contributed to research on gender and corporate boards of directors (Singh & Vinnicombe, 2004; Huse & Solberg, 2006) by offering an in-depth discursive perspective which is based on conceiving gender as something that is 'done' in social interaction (Gherardi, 1994). Our focus has been on how successful female board professionals 'do' gender: how they talk about their experiences in research interviews and how they thereby construct particular gendered notions of accessing and succeeding in corporate boards. Based on our analysis, we have located two discourses in the talk of the female board professionals. We have termed these the discourse of competence and the discourse of gender.

We argue that the two discourses constitute a *boardroom gender paradox*, which is characterized by contradictory elements. First, while the discourse of competence constructs an essential sameness between men and women, the discourse of gender builds on their essential difference. Second, while the discourse of competence constructs the world of business (and access to corporate boards) as a meritocracy, the discourse of gender constructs it as a male game where the rules favor men and where women either lack the necessary qualities or must constantly engage in a balancing act. Third, while the discourse of competence constructs building relevant experience and demonstrating credibility as the conduits of change for increasing the access of women to corporate boards, the discourse of gender constructs change in the attitudes of influential men as the only viable way forward.

Our evidence suggests that the discursive paradox remains unresolved. Earlier research on gender and management in Finland has shown that women in top management are, in effect, simultaneously required to be different from and similar to men, who remain the uncontested, taken-for-granted norm in business life (Tienari et al., 2004). This relates to what Gherardi (1994; 1995) has termed dual presence, explicating the different and often paradoxical expectations that are attached to femininity (see also Fletcher, 2004). The outcome is a vicious circle where any significant large-scale entry of women into corporate boards becomes elusive. Talk by Finnish female board professionals about potential introduction of gender-

based quotas on corporate boards exemplifies this in a vivid way. On the one hand, the discourse of competence rejects gender-based quotas because it is not possible to simultaneously be competent and a “*quota woman*.” On the other, within the discourse of gender, quotas can be rejected on the basis of practical reflections on board work: if quotas were introduced, men would make relevant decisions elsewhere.

It is important to note that our study remains an exploratory endeavor, providing insights for further theorizing on gender and corporate boards. It is limited in the way that all studies carried out in a single societal context tend to be limited: it draws on particular contextual understandings. The forms that the discourses located here take are an inherent part of the socio-cultural practices of ‘doing’ gender in the Finnish context, (re)defining what is justified and legitimate in talking about gender and corporate boards in Finland in 2007. We suspect that the *boardroom gender paradox* is present in other societal settings, albeit in different forms. Future studies should make use of the insights developed, and apply them to cross-societal research. Finally, our study also offers food for thought for corporate decision-makers. Should women’s limited access to corporate boards (and top management) be considered problematic, our findings urge a rethinking of how ‘competence’ is defined and applied. We find it hard to believe that over 80 percent of the most competent individuals in Western countries are men.

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## **Challenging the gendered meanings of the nursing profession in an industrial action context**

*Kirsi LaPointe, Elina Henttonen, Sinikka Pesonen, and Sinikka Vanhala*

### **Introduction**

This paper examines how a particular profession is discursively constructed in the media during industrial action in the context of public health care. In much of the sociological literature on work and professions, questions of gender are overlooked or ignored and theorizing of the relation between gender and professions rarely acknowledged (Davies, 1996; Kerfoot, 2002). However, several feminist scholars have argued for the crucial role of gender in understanding the restructuring of health care and particular professions in this field (Davies, 1995a, 1995b, 1996; Henriksson, 2008; Kerfoot, 2002; Meerabeau, 2005; Witz, 1992). Nursing is a classic example of a gendered profession, associated with culturally feminine meanings of nurturing, caring and comforting. Although these cultural meanings of nursing have remained relatively constant through the years, its context has been changing radically in recent years. As a result of the ideology of new public management, the position, power and legitimacy of health care professions have been challenged as their self-control has diminished and power has shifted from health care professionals to managers and financiers (Blomgren, 2003; Cooke, 2006; Henriksson et al., 2006; Kurunmäki, 1999).

In this article, we address the nursing profession and nurses' professional struggles as they appear in the media. We consider the media as a powerful storyteller that uses and reproduces cultural understandings, social institutions and social identities (Fairclough, 1995; Mills, 1997), such as professions. Moreover, the media represents a key site for collective sense-making (see Vaara & Tienari, 2002), such as negotiating rights, responsibilities, and legitimacy of occupational groups. We focus on an empirical case of nurses' industrial action in the Finnish health care sector and analyse this recent labour dispute from a discursive perspective (Grant et al., 2004; Vaara and Tienari, 2002), i.e. by examining how cultural meanings related to the nursing profession were constructed in this context (see also Clarke & O'Neill, 2001).

Our paper is divided into five sections. We will begin by reviewing relevant literature on gender and professions and consider the professionalization of care work from the contextual perspectives of the Finnish welfare state and the ideology of new public management. In the second section, we will present the specific context and particulars of our empirical case, the mass resignation threat of Finnish nurses in 2007. This will be followed by a description of our methodology and the genre of opinion texts as our empirical data in section three. In section four, we will present

our findings and followed by a discussion of the case via a discursive framework and our conclusions in the last section.

### **Caring professions and the emergence of new public management**

Nursing is a gendered profession strongly associated with caring. Traditionally caring has been considered as 'natural' for females (Daniels, 1987; Davies, 1995a) and the responsibility of caring has, accordingly, been ascribed on the basis of gender (Waerness, 1984). The discourse of professionalism, however, is overlaid by masculinity (Kerfoot, 2002). The traditional understanding of both professions and masculinity are associated with the cultural meanings of control, discipline, impersonality, individual autonomy (separation from others), and rationality (Muzio & Bolton, 2006). These meanings, in turn, sustain a goal-oriented and target-driven approach to professional practice that is defined by a dichotomy of competence and care; and that of public and private (Davies, 1995a; Muzio & Bolton, 2006). Accordingly, Davies (1995a) argues that the public world is built on an absence or denial of caring, which does not fit into the previously defined masculine ideals of professionalism and the public sphere of life. From this perspective, the nursing profession presents a particularly interesting example as it operates on the boundary of these dichotomies.

The meanings attached to professions, however, are not fixed. Professionalization is a socially and institutionally embedded process shaped by historic and social contexts. In the health care sector, welfare policy plays an important role in shaping professional practice (Henriksson et al., 2006). In the Nordic context in particular, the centrally planned welfare state has been of crucial importance to the development of female-dominated health care professions (Henriksson et al., 2006). The restructuring of the welfare state has, however, profoundly influenced care work (Davies, 1995a). The introduction of the new public management ideology has resulted in an increasing emphasis on managerialism and market-oriented mechanisms for care delivery. The increasing managerial control of care work has shifted the emphasis from process accountability towards accountability in terms of results (Hood, 1995) and placed the profession of nursing under heavy external regulation and output control (Thomas & Davies, 2005). As a result, nurses are no longer considered as experts in their own work, nor do they have the autonomy to define it (Henriksson et al., 2006). Instead, they need to adjust their own professional values and expectations of professional practice with managerial processes and the requirements of accountability (Nowak & Bickley, 2005). To address this issue of nurses' professional struggle more closely, we will next introduce an empirical case from the Finnish health care context.

### **A case of a mass resignation threat of Finnish nurses**

Our research focused on a recent labour dispute of Finnish nurses that culminated in a threat of a campaign of mass resignation launched by the nurses' union as a response to the undelivered pay increases promised. The foundation of this particular crisis was set in February 2007. As part of its parliamentary election campaign, the centre right National Coalition Party (Kokoomus) publicly announced that the

persistent gender wage gap had to be reduced and, in particular, the wages of well-educated female occupational groups needed to be raised. This culminated in the ultimatum made by the party secretary (and bolstered by the media) that the monthly income of nurses should be raised by 500 euros. In March, the Coalition Party won the parliamentary election and the so-called equality increases were planned to be included in a comprehensive income policy agreement. As these negotiations failed, collective bargaining was left to the unions. The pay increases offered by the Commission for Local Authority Employers were modest compared to the election promises, but nevertheless, the proposed agreement was accepted in October by all other employees' unions except by the Union of Health and Social Care Professionals (Tehy). This marked a visible break from the generally binding nature of collective agreements.

In October 2007, Tehy announced a refusal of its members to work overtime and demanded a significant salary increase (25%). Most importantly, Tehy decided to threaten with a mass resignation campaign if their demands were not accepted. This mass resignation campaign was considered more effective by Tehy compared to a regular strike under which the delivery of critical care would have been ensured. To support the demands, Tehy launched a visible advertising campaign with the slogan: 'A Matter of Will'. Altogether 12,800 nurses signed the resignation document. Both the Commission for Local Authority Employers (KT) and Tehy summoned each other to the labour court for engaging in illegal industrial action.

As a result of this standoff the Government proposed a coercive law to guarantee the critical care of patients. This law was designed to prevent the mass resignation of the nurses and was accepted by the Parliament. In the end of November, within days and under huge public pressure, the arbitrators and Tehy came to an agreement for an exceptionally long, four-year deal with salary increases of 16-28 % (depending on the method of assessment) and the resignation threat was thus withdrawn at the last minute. Within a short period, the work in the Finnish health care sector normalized. Afterwards, various contradictory estimates, ranging from 350 to 650 euro increases in monthly salaries within the agreement period, have been presented concerning the 'actual' increases obtained (Jokivuori, 2008b). It is unclear, however, how much these increases differ from those that Tehy would have obtained by 'normal' collective bargaining.

## **Methodology**

What was striking in this labour dispute case was that it generated a heated public debate in the media (see also Jokivuori, 2007). As the media had a particularly prominent role in this case, we chose to analyse media texts as our empirical data to examine the discursive construction of the nursing profession. The particular genre of media texts that we chose are opinion texts and, more particularly, texts published in the 'letters to the editor' section of the printed version of the Helsingin Sanomat (the main Finnish daily newspaper). Opinion texts represent a distinct genre of media texts that uphold certain shared conventions. First of all, they often deal with current topics that are familiar to many people through other media. Secondly, the texts are very argumentative in character, i.e. they usually take an explicit stance for or against

the issue being addressed in the text. This is why opinion texts also make the cultural understandings and various arguments related to the position, power and legitimacy of the nursing profession particularly visible. This, in turn, enables the analysis on how different discourses are used in the texts to construct the nursing profession, and how these discourses intertwine within individual texts (Vaara & Tienari, 2002).

For our analysis, we selected 74 opinion texts published during the three months of the most intensive period of this debate, from October to December 2007. The opinion texts were collected from the Helsingin Sanomat electronic archive by using thematic search words. Of the 74 texts, 48 were published as full texts in the main part of the 'letters to the editor' section whereas 26 were short commentaries published in a separate column on the same page. In our analysis of the texts, we draw on discourse theory that seeks to provide novel interpretations of events and practices by analysing how their meanings are constructed by political forces and social actors, and how they are located in larger historical and social contexts (Howarth, 2000). As Grant et al. (2004) put it: 'discourse does things', i.e. constitutes and reconstitutes social arrangements in organizational settings, and produces and maintains systems of power and control (see also Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000). Discourses also specify or suggest what is considered as legitimate or valid knowledge in particular times and places (Dent & Whitehead, 2002). As opposed to linguistic discourse analysis, we use the concept of discourse in a broader sense referring to systematic and coherent ways of speaking and representing certain objects. Hence, the task of discourse analysis here is to analyse social and organizational phenomena and the (re)production of legitimacy and power in textual form (Vaara and Tienari, 2002). Following this, we approach our empirical data - the opinion texts - as cultural sites where meanings related to the nursing profession and their industrial action are negotiated and located in societal contexts (see e.g. Jokinen et al., 1999).

### **Negotiating the nursing profession in the opinion texts**

In this section of the paper, we illustrate the empirical data – the opinion texts published in the Helsingin Sanomat – through a thematic framework based on the arguments put forward in the texts. On a broader level, the texts can be characterized as an attempt to frame what this particular labour dispute is about. They approach the issue from various perspectives framing it, for example, as a labour market case, gender issue, or a reflection of the crisis in the health care sector. In addition to constructing meanings about this case, the debate can be interpreted as a negotiation of the moral order, in other words what is considered right or wrong in this context. In a thematic analysis of the texts, we found that a particular feature of this debate consisted of assigning rights and responsibilities to the various actors. Our reading of this negotiation of rights and responsibilities focused specifically on those assigned to the nurses.

Most of the opinion texts took a stance of defending the pay demands and/or industrial action of the nurses. These texts draw on arguments that assign nurses particular rights, i.e. a right to receive a fair pay under fair working conditions, and a right to take industrial action if these are not achieved. However, about one third of the texts opposed either the pay demands or, more typically, the means - the mass

resignation threat - arguing that the mission of caring had been neglected. These texts oppose or reframe nurses' rights and ascribe particular responsibilities to them, i.e. a responsibility for patient care and solidarity. In the following analysis, we will illustrate the rights and responsibilities assigned to nurses and the main arguments used to substantiate or oppose these claims.

#### *The right to take industrial action*

One of the main topics of the media debate focused on the nature of the nurses' industrial action and the form that it took, i.e. the threat of a mass resignation. The texts siding with the nurses emphasized that it is a legitimate right to take industrial action. The dispute is also heralded as an exemplary labour struggle employing the vocabulary associated with war. The Government's efforts to prevent nurses from taking the threatened action were strongly criticized, particularly the infamous comment given by the Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen – that 'the state cannot be blackmailed'.

In some of the texts, although not directly questioning the right to engage in industrial action, the arguments focus on the legitimacy and legality of the particular format of their action. For example, the texts label the strike threat and the possible mass resignation as extortion or blackmail. In some texts, the radical nature of nurses' industrial action is condemned as raising concerns about the possibility of other low wage occupational groups starting similar industrial action. Altogether, the texts construct contradictions between arguments that support the basic right to take industrial action and arguments according to which the action taken is an unacceptable or illegal way of pursuing one's interests.

#### *The right for fair pay*

The recurrent claim found in the texts relating to the demands of the nurses is that the pay level is too low compared to the challenging nature of their work. First of all, the importance of this type of work for society is underlined. The pay demands are also legitimized by the professional nature of the work and the education it requires. Some texts emphasize the professional nature of nursing work by differentiating nurses from less-educated practical nurses and hospital attendants. Moreover, the work of nurses is claimed to have become more demanding to include tasks that previously only doctors were allowed to perform.

In addition to the nature of the work, the legitimacy of the pay demands is enhanced by comparing them to other compensation issues that the state has been recently involved, such as the million euro options paid by state-owned companies to their managers or the pay increases to members of the Parliament. The pay demands are also compared to the ample economic resources of the State and the lower level of health care sector expenditures in comparison with EU average. Finally, the compensation level is connected to larger concerns that refer to the ability to recruit educated nurses and thus to maintain the quality of service. Although the nurses' right to demand higher wages is not questioned per se, part of the texts view the demands to be too high by arguing that there are occupational groups in the public sector that would deserve it even more, such as policemen or firemen. Thus, the texts

juxtapose the demanding nature of the nursing profession and the quality of health care in general with other professions and the value of their work in society.

#### *The right for fair working conditions*

Although the industrial action taken by the nurses was often associated with the high pay demands, the public debate, including the opinion texts in our analysis, also paid attention to the overall state of the health care sector. These arguments imply that the Finnish health care system is in crisis and view the nurses' industrial action as a reflection of a pressing need for structural changes in the entire health care system. From this perspective, the labour dispute highlighted the various problems of the sector that have resulted in unacceptable and deteriorating working conditions. In addition to the removal of services and emphasis on efficiency and results, some texts highlight the challenging working conditions nurses face. In taking extreme industrial action to fight for their working conditions, nurses are positioned as going over and beyond their duties by risking their own employment for the development of the health care sector at large. In other words, nurses are positioned as heroic reformers serving the interests of citizens. They are also credited for taking the responsibility that should be the task of the Government. Thus, the industrial action is portrayed as a rescue operation of the Finnish health care sector in crisis.

#### *The responsibility for patient care*

Whereas many of the texts highlight the various rights that they assign to nurses, some texts either oppose these arguments or assign nurses particular responsibilities and claim them to be neglected. One of these is the responsibility for patient care; seen as an essential part of the nurses' professional duties. From this perspective, nurses threatening mass resignation are seen as immoral. Their immorality is accentuated in texts that view the nurses as responsible for risking patient lives with their industrial action. In several texts, nurses are accused of being selfish and their demands incongruent with the image of nursing as a caring mission. In questioning the nurses' morals, not only are they evaluated as bad professionals but also as bad women. However, the counter arguments place the responsibility for patient care on the Government or the state. Altogether, the debate juxtaposes the individual professional and moral duties of the nurses with the wider perspective of the responsibilities of the functioning health care system.

#### *The responsibility for solidarity*

A further responsibility that the texts assign to nurses is that of solidarity. In other words, nurses are positioned as selfish individuals advancing their own interests while ignoring other underprivileged groups. Collective bargaining is seen to be a thing of the past since the nurses were pursuing their own interests. One text suggests, in a sarcastic manner, that we should perhaps abandon the whole idea of common interests. Interestingly, some of the texts use the solidarity argument in nurses' favour by claiming that the lack of solidarity prevents nurses from obtaining what they are demanding.

## Discussion

The opinion texts used as the empirical data in this paper illustrate the variety of competing arguments and meanings used in the public debate in order to make sense of the nurses' labour dispute. To further examine how the nursing profession was discursively constructed in this debate, we will suggest a framework to make sense of the discussion and the underlying assumptions behind the variety of arguments used in this debate. This is achieved by outlining various discourses emerging from the case and its context and by discussing their competing and contested relations.

With regards to the texts considered to favour the nurses' claims and focusing on the nurses' rights, the arguments draw mainly on the understanding of nursing as professional work – that is a *professional discourse* – which constructs nursing as a demanding profession and a field of expert knowledge. Accordingly, nurses are constructed as skilled professionals with demanding responsibilities and with a right to equivalent compensation. However, in privileging competence and technical knowledge the professional discourse also reproduces the gendered dichotomy of competence and care (Davies, 1995a). Thus, caring is devalued as a 'natural' quality of the feminine and only technical skills are considered professionally significant and worthy to legitimize the demands for pay increases. The professional discourse enhances the legitimate status of nursing as a profession also by constructing difference within the care work. In this sense, it is a form of boundary work that distinguishes who can be considered as qualified and legitimate members of the profession. The profession and its boundaries are constructed by comparing it to other care-workers (e.g. practical nurses or hospital attendants) whose work does not require similar expertise.

In contrast, the arguments that criticise the nurses' demands and the claims for the nurses' responsibility for patient care in particular, draw primarily on a *caring discourse*. In this discourse, nursing is constructed as an activity that is not necessarily a profession or even paid employment but associated with nurturing that the nurses do out of their genuine interest and good-will to serve other people. This kind of understanding of nursing is markedly gendered, attached with meanings traditionally considered feminine and framing nursing as being essentially about serving others. In this sense, the objective is not primarily to earn one's living, but to express one's inherent qualities and to follow one's calling. Due to the gendered underpinnings of the discourse, the nurses are not judged only as care-workers but as women with inherent qualities and responsibility for caring. From this perspective, nurses are positioned as women and caring for patients becomes a moral responsibility.

What is at the heart of this discursive struggle, therefore, is the conflicting understanding of the professional and caring discourse as opposite and excluding of each other. What makes the case more complex, however, are discourses of new public management and labour markets that frame the professional struggle of the nurses, and the claims for and against their rights and responsibilities. *The new public management discourse* is related to the position and power of the nursing profession. Some of the texts argue that the various NPM measures, such as

increased managerialism and focus on accountability and efficiency, have resulted in undermining the possibilities for carrying out nursing according to its professional standards, and moreover, deteriorated nurses' working conditions. By positioning nurses as employees subject to managerial measures the new public management discourse is thus directly competing with the professional discourse on the questions of nurses' autonomy and control over their work. However, in the context of the debate, the new public management discourse is used to legitimize the nurses' claims and constructions of nursing as a profession by painting a bleak picture of the conditions and realities of nursing work in its contemporary context. Therefore, in framing the labour dispute as resistance, the new public management discourse works to support the professional struggle of the nurses.

The professional struggle is also enhanced by *a labour market discourse* that primarily defines nurses as workers with interests and rights. In the opinion texts, this discourse is employed to frame the nurses' industrial action, and their demands for fair pay and working conditions, as their basic right and as a normal labour market initiative. In these texts, the labour market discourse also positions the radical industrial action measures as not only representing nurses' basic right but also as a legitimate way to advance their professional interests. In this sense, this discourse functions to support the professional interests of the nurses. Although the texts construct the labour market discourse as gender-neutral, the apparent aggressiveness of labour market activities, such as using the threat of mass resignation, calls forth masculine images of industrial relations (Wajcman, 2000).

To conclude, at the heart of the nurses' struggle are conflicting and exclusionary discourses of profession and caring. The professional discourse, supported by the new public management and labour market discourses, paints a very masculine picture of the nurses' industrial action as an assertive professional project aimed to claim their rights and control over their own work and its conditions. This professional project clashes with the feminine ideals and assumptions within the caring discourse, supported by the pleas for solidarity within the labour market discourse. From this perspective, the nurses stained their white uniforms by not acting in line with the traditional assumptions about nurses as serving the needs of others, showing empathy, and emotional engagement, and by not responding to the pleas for more gender-sensitivity in industrial relations and labour market issues (Danieli, 2006; Wajcman, 2000).

The crucial meaning of the discourses identified here is their possibility to both reproduce and resist the normative gender order (Connell, 1993; Gherardi & Poggio, 2001) or the gender system (Hirdman, 1990; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004) and to produce symbolic and material consequences influencing the lives of many people. By resisting how the normative expectations within the caring discourse positioned them, the nurses challenged cultural beliefs about gender and the nursing profession. Yet, gender beliefs are remarkably resilient and persisting (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). One indication of it in this case is the enduring dichotomy between care and competence (professionalism) illustrated by the apparent necessity of the nurses to downplay the role of caring to be able to further their professional interests. In order to change the gender system, these enduring gender beliefs need to be made visible

and challenged, as in the case of the nurses' industrial action. However, a sustained effort is required to allow for professional projects that transcend the dichotomies.

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## **Emerging identities: women in Russian business management**

*Anna-Maija Lämsä and Irina I. Pshenichnikova*

### **Introduction**

*“Ten years ago I was in the U.S.A. presenting a paper at a feminist conference on women’s issues in business and management. I was dressed differently from the American women, in brighter colours, with definitely feminine elements. When I started to say that it’s great to be a woman and to use one’s femininity, there was whistling from the audience.”*

This experience of a Russian business woman proves the complexity of interrelationships between diversity dimensions such as gender and ethnicity as well as cultural and ethical norms. The idea of diversity has recently come to be popular both in HRM scholarship and management practice. When companies are aiming to success globally, the profile of managers and employees includes high preference to diversity, meaning that people’s different styles and ways of working are acknowledged and appreciated because of the range of alternative perspectives they are able to offer to achieve organizational success (Cox & Blake, 1991; Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000; Richard & Shelor, 2002; Wentling, 2004). In a business context, diversity is usually understood as the presence of a range of different people at the workplace and diversity management as bringing these differences together. Thus, businesses have to address a number of diversity dimensions: gender, nationality, ethnicity, culture, age, sexual orientation, and so on.

However, diversity is important not only for competitive reasons but also for ethical and cultural reasons (Hopkins, 1997; Bless & Maak, 2004; Lämsä & Sintonen, 2006). From an ethical viewpoint it can be said that since diversity stresses that differences are recognized, valued and engaged, different voices in organizations are understood as legitimate and as opening new vistas. Moreover, since diversity is about values, norms and expectations, it only becomes an effective organizational practice, when it is culturally valued and accepted (Bless & Maak, 2004). Creating a cultural context which values differences and alternative perspectives is therefore important in successful diversity management. Successful and sustainable diversity management promotes interaction between various groups and thus counters prejudice and stereotypes. It can contribute to decreasing discrimination at work and can advance people’s potential in an organization.

The current understanding of gender as a dimension of diversity in management which is in focus in this chapter is often based on an Anglo-Saxon paradigm (Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000), and thus a question arises if a “western” model can be

universally applied across cultures. Considering the increasing importance of globalization in contemporary business world, it is essential to analyze and understand intersections of diversity and culture in different social and geographical settings. This article contributes to the existing discussion by offering a picture of diversity from a female gender viewpoint in the quite different cultural setting of Russia. In particular, it discusses how women managers' identities are discursively constructed by the Russian business community, and the role of the socio-cultural and historical background in their formation.

### **Women in Russia: socio-cultural and historical background**

Women have always played an active role in Russian society and economy. Yet, the historical heritage of Russia and the Soviet Union and the introduction of new global market-based business models are posing many challenges to Russian business women regarding contradictions in their status and roles. The construction of womanhood in Russian business management can be argued to be affected by three main historical and socio-cultural tendencies. Firstly, it carries traces of the Soviet heritage in its societal and economic patterns of women's participation in production and working life. Secondly, it is influenced by the traditional Russian essentialist view of gender. Thirdly, it is shaped by more recent global, market-based business models. Next, these tendencies are discussed.

In the Soviet era the Constitution officially guaranteed equal employment opportunities for men and women, and Russia inherited these traditions of female employment (Rzhanitsyna 2000). The official Soviet policy was to mandate full employment for the adult population. Women and men were both expected to hold full-time jobs – a principle consistent with the ideology that an independent source of income and participation in the productive sector of society would emancipate women (Grapard, 1997). Women's share in professional roles and working life was high compared with Western countries (Metcalf & Afanassieva, 2005). However, according to the Soviet ideology, class, but not gender, was the basic social category; the social roles of women and men were similarly governed by the class structure. Women were to have an equal role in production alongside men – at least officially.

Women's participation in working life was facilitated by extensive supporting systems such as childcare support, flexible working arrangements and generous maternity and child allowances, which allowed women and men alike to fully devote their time and efforts to building the society. The biological reproductive role of women was important in the Soviet system in terms of the state's concern over national reproduction. It was the task of women to ensure that the population, and hence the labour force, was kept high enough to maintain the Soviet Union itself (Harden, 2001). Consequently, the supporting systems which helped Soviet women to manage their reproductive task were not meant to progress their professional status, like advancement to management positions, as corresponding systems are often understood in Western countries, but rather to fulfil their reproductive role in the society.

However, in practice many patterns of gender inequality were apparent in Soviet society. Harden (2001) contends that women's participation in working life was characterized by their horizontal segregation into particular occupations and sectors, and their vertical segregation into occupations with lower ratings of authority and skills. Women were hardly ever top managers or heads of institutions; they were most likely to be found as supervisors at the department and group level (Prokofeva et al., 2000). Soviet women were also expected to perform the majority of the household work. Women carried a 'double burden', identified both as workers and as mothers, while men only had one role, that of workers.

The essentialist view of gender has also a long tradition as a fundamental value of Russian womanhood, a tradition extending far into pre-Soviet history. Essentialism is the belief that, because biological differences exist between women and men, women and men are "naturally" different in terms of character and behaviour. As a result, women are thought to be suitable for and have long had responsibility for housework and parenting, while men are regarded as the breadwinners. Women's "natural" features such as, for example, gentleness, strong motherhood, beauty, dedication to family values, and capacity to nurture are viewed as determined by their nature (Rubchak, 2001). So, it can be argued that one of the central reasons why women carried the 'double burden' in the Soviet system was this essentialist view of gender. This kind of thinking describes gender relations also in contemporary Russia (Salmenniemi, 2005).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, global corporations entered the country and brought along new western business models and new styles of business management and leadership to Russia. Introduction of the market-based system has increased gender income disparities. This has raised the importance of marriage, family ties and social networks for Russian women. The erosion of child care support systems due to market-based competition complicates women's possibilities to combine work and family. In general, traditionalism and remasculinisation seems to be gaining ground in gender relations (Metcalf and Afanassieva, 2005). Thus, women are more inclined to feelings of ambiguity and it seems to be harder for them to manage their identity in a new context.

### **Women managers' identities in contemporary Russia**

When analysing and interpreting women managers' identities in current Russian business life, main data used in this article were based on the minutes of discussions of the first post-Soviet roundtable '*Gender and Business*' organized by the Association of Managers of Russia which is a leading non-profit organization in Russia representing widely business professionals and companies. The roundtable included more than 60 representatives of Russian business companies.

The second source of data was based on mass media and specifically a number of articles from the main Russian business journals *Company* («Компания») and *Firm's Secret* («Секрет фирмы»). Altogether 40 articles which contained interviews of businesspeople addressing the issue of the female gender in management were analysed. The third source of empirical data comprises 20 articles accessed through

the internet business portal e-xecutive.ru (hosted by Ward Howell International in Russia) and the business and corporate portals [www.begin.ru](http://www.begin.ru), [www.cfin.ru](http://www.cfin.ru), [www.hr.ru](http://www.hr.ru) and [www.superjob.ru](http://www.superjob.ru).

The theoretical foundation of the analysis of the data lies in discourse analysis (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Shortly put, it is based on the idea that language is a medium which reflects and constructs business reality through discursive practices. Language use creates the variety of meanings of women managers' identities through which businesspeople in the Russian context understand and relate them to one another (Lämsä & Sintonen, 2001).

The data analysis revealed five discursive identities of women in contemporary Russian business management: valuable organizational resource, genderless professional, power behind the throne, manipulator of femininity, and woman warrior. Next, our discussion turns to a description of these identified identities. Quotations from the data are presented to illustrate the essence of them.

### ***Valuable organizational resource***

*"I am absolutely sure, that if the woman has an aspiration, a clear goal and a strong self identity, she can achieve the highest results surpassing men's. ... Everything depends on how strong is her personality and desire."*

*"Today women are at the top of many serious companies, and their professional competence and abilities to lead and to operate such complex "cruisers" [metaphor for a company - IP] is not worse at all than of the men who are at the same level."*

These quotes from our data highlight a female identity as a valuable organizational resource for the company's success. Women are described to be successful in management when they use their feminine management style in favor for the company as well as manage to combine their feminine competences with the masculine style expected in the world of business. A variety of competences in their gender variations presents a woman manager as a key player for gaining competitive advantage in companies.

From the socio-cultural point of view, this identity indicates that the Russian business mindset is gradually accepting modern global ideas of strategic management. By regarding feminine talent both as an organizational resource, a competitive advantage and a competency, this identity can be interpreted to derive from larger institutional discussions on a resource-based view of the firm which sees a company as a set of internal capabilities and resources, critical to the success in strategic management (Barney, 1991).

Moreover, the identity can be interpreted to derive from the ideas of the essentialist view of gender in Russia: women's role in management is an expression of their inherent feminine competencies and nature. Finally, this identity has its discursive roots in the Soviet ideology stressing the productive role of both genders in working

life. Thus, the identity of a woman manager as a valuable organizational resource draws upon main socio-cultural, historical and business discussions going on in Russia today.

### ***Genderless professional***

*“Gender does not play an important role at the recruitment process. Professional qualifications of the applicant – this is the key issue.”*

*“Professionalism is on the first place. Many researches have demonstrated that women and men use different approaches for managing people and come through different ways to equally successful results. And in fact the result is the only thing what is important for dynamically developing company, isn't it so?”*

These examples show the core idea of a woman manager's identity constructed as a genderless professional. The priority of professionalism over gender is emphasized and, for example, the claim that women have to struggle for equal rights at work is not relevant. Thus, a universal standard of professionalism regardless of gender is built as appropriate in business manager's profile. This identity correlates with the findings of a study on professional and gender identity conducted among business students at the School of Management of St. Petersburg State University which demonstrated that the majority of future Russian managers adhered to the same point of view (Pshenichnikova, 2002).

From a Russian sociocultural perspective the construction of female identity as a genderless professional can be interpreted from two approaches. Firstly, it draws upon the official Soviet ideology where women had an important productive role in society alongside men. Valuation of one's overall role in production constructed a platform for gender neutrality – at least officially. Secondly, the identity derives from current western business management discussions that stress the significance of human competencies for business success. Both this scholarship and the general literature on management and leadership – often of the Anglo-Saxon origin – place much emphasis on this kind gender neutrality or even gender blindness.

### ***Power behind the throne***

*“There is always a strong woman behind a strong man, the man-leader even though she is always in his shadow. A woman is a “grey cardinal” who advances and promotes a man in business. I do not know any successful leader, top-manager or CEO of any large company who is successful without owing to his woman.”*

*“A woman in business – whether a chief accountant, a consultant or a PR adviser – plays the role of a ‘power behind the throne’. In my opinion and to my experience this happens very often.”*

These quotes highlight how men predominate in positions of power. A woman manager's identity constructed as a power behind the throne underlines her role as subordinate to men's priorities. She provides safety, help, comfort, and supports

business management gender mode of “successful masculinity” of a Russian businessman. Men are able to build success in management by making use of women’s intellectual and other competencies. Thus, a woman manager has to keep her power concealed behind the male manager’s throne; men and masculinity hold higher authority at least in public.

From a socio-cultural perspective this discursive identity can be interpreted from the historical heritage of Russia stressing patriarchal values and norms governing women and the essentialist view of gender. The woman’s natural role as nurturing and supporting is highly valued. Consequently, in this discourse male domination is not associated with women’s discrimination or seen as a problem in the Russian business context, as is usually the case in a Western framework but rather understood as necessary and natural.

### ***Manipulator of femininity***

*“When I enter the room where there are men visitors who do not know me personally, some of them often ask me to bring a cup of tea or coffee assuming that I am a secretary. After we exchange business cards and they realize that I am a top manager, they feel ashamed, and this shame of them often profitable for me in further negotiations.”*

The description of this manager proves the strength of stereotypes of women in working life based on male order of life and particularly brings forth that women can use their gender as an instrument for achieving desired goals by utilizing stereotypes. Women are argued to be able to exercise control over others by applying feminine verbal as well as nonverbal behaviours. Thus, the female identity as a manipulator of femininity underlines the idea that women can be powerful professionals by managing their outlook and their psychological and intellectual characteristics as well as their ability to operate politically without others realizing this. Men and also other women can be objects of this kind of manipulation.

Since femininity is constructed in a Russian business context in terms of a woman’s feminine appearance and attention to her dress and style, these features are typically regarded as a sign of overall professionalism from a socio-cultural perspective (Metcalf & Afanassieva, 2005). The active management of women’s feminine behaviour and aesthetics is important for their use of power and has its roots in the essentialist view of gender in Russia. Thus, this discourse differs from Western gender thinking where desexualisation, such as diminishing specific feminine features and promoting neutral outlook is generally perceived as a necessary protective strategy for Western women managers (Wajcman, 1998).

### ***Woman warrior***

*“In the world of business women still need to prove that not all females are fools.”*

*“Men need to give more room. Women are slowly but surely approaching the highest steps on the career ladder.”*

Business media data set is the only sphere which depicts management as the arena where female and male managers are presented as contenders and competitors. Gender relations and business management represent a modified cultural opposition between 'Us' (men) and 'Them' (women), and the core idea is that men and women oppose each other and that they compare and judge each other, both aiming to be superior. The world of business is presented particularly in mass media by a metaphor "men's club", where the rules had been written for centuries, and are passed from father to son. Women's participation in business management is described in terms of military actions or even war and, thus, the identity of a woman manager becomes articulated as that of a warrior, and, paradoxically, a woman to be able to reach a managerial position is explained to obtain masculinity as a key to success.

From a socio-cultural point of view this identity arises from the Western feminist thinking, which stresses women's equal rights in relation to men. In a Russian context this identity is strongly associated with such feminist ideas. Yet the degree of acceptance of such ideas may not be very high among Russian businesspeople, since the data of the round table public discussions by business professionals does not reveal any reflection on the topic.

### **Summary and discussion**

The analysis of the data in this article revealed five different women managers' identities by the Russian business community. The result shows that many discursive meanings can be given to women managers that can have then also different consequences for women's opportunities and valuation in Russian business life. The table 1 summarizes the main results.

Seen from the diversity viewpoint the identity of a power behind the throne can be problematic because this discourse takes for granted a woman's subordinate role to a superior male. Women's opportunities, for example, to advance to top positions is not viewed as necessary or important and, thus, their potential becomes discursively underestimated. The identity of a warrior argues for a need for a change in asymmetrical gender relations in management particularly from a mass media point of view. Moreover, the discourse stresses the ethical and political arguments for gender diversity. However, this identity was not explicitly discussed by the Russian business community in their public discussions. In general, the analysis of the data indicates that the identities of a power behind the throne and a warrior for gender equality are used rather marginally in the discussions of the Russian business life representatives.

The woman manager's identity as a genderless professional is one of most commonly expressed identities. This way of presenting a woman manager dismisses gender issue as basically irrelevant in a business managerial environment. Thus, it is problematic from a diversity viewpoint because it diminishes the whole topic of gender by downplaying its role. Another commonly expressed identity is that of a valuable resource. This identity combines essentialist view of gender and the heritage

of the former Soviet ideology together with current global business models and, thus, establishes a powerful discursive foundation for legitimizing gender diversity in the Russian business management. What is problematic in this identity, however, is that it sees the whole female gender through its 'natural' feminine features and reproduces the traditional essentialist notion of a woman as gentle, nurturing and motherly. The question arises whether this way of presenting a woman manager makes her roles and identities in Russian business management more diverse and flexible than today.

**Table 1. Summary of main results**

<b>Women managers' identities</b>	<b>Valuable organizational resource</b>	<b>Genderless professional</b>	<b>Power behind the throne</b>	<b>Manipulator of femininity</b>	<b>Woman warrior</b>
<b>Main idea</b>	Women are key elements of corporate competitive advantage and efficiency	Qualities of successful managers are universal rather than determined by gender	Women are subordinate to masculine priorities and values	Women use gender as a tool to achieve goals and control others by informal means	Men and women oppose each other, seeking superiority, comparing and judging each other
<b>Function</b>	To open new management opportunities for women by emphasizing their competencies; to silence problems in women's management by praising women's feminine capacity	To silence the gender and diversity viewpoint by rendering such discussion irrelevant	To maintain hierarchical gender relations by treating them as self-evident	To underline women's gender-specific possibilities to use power by stressing their seductive and political capacity	To openly demand change in gender relations by making visible women's inequality
<b>Sociocultural and historical background</b>	Traditional essentialist view of gender; Soviet ideology stressing the productive role of both genders; Global business management trends	Soviet ideology stressing class, not gender; current business management models emphasizing professional competencies as crucial for business success.	Traditional essentialist view of gender and asymmetrical gender relations; new business models that can change asymmetrical gender relations	Traditional essentialist view of gender	Western feminist thinking

Particularly the identity of a woman manager as a manipulator of femininity becomes crucial from an ethical perspective. Its view of a woman as a manipulator strengthens the existing asymmetrical relations between men and women managers and makes the relationships instrumental. Thus, it is worth asking: How are women managers constructed as different from men, for what purposes and with what consequences? At what point does gender as a competency and a competitive advantage become articulated as an act of manipulation, and why is it an ethical issue? How should gender aspects be dealt with in codes of business conduct and in other corporate regulations? To what extent is the demonstration of femininity acceptable and appropriate in business and society?

From a practical point of view, this article shows that the interdependence between cultural values, norms and assumptions about women and the role of the female gender in business management is a relevant aspect in diversity management. An awareness of the cultural sensitivity of gender roles and its application into business practices brings gender issues into the paradigm of diversity management. To better manage diversity in organizations special cross-cultural and gender-specific educational and developmental programs can be introduced in the HRM menu. Workshops, trainings and coaching sessions as well as day to day real-life experiences and cooperation of people with different backgrounds can lead then not only to a better understanding but also to the inclusion of diversity issues into everyday practices in globalizing businesses.

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## Women in management in the Middle East

*Katlin Omair*

### Introduction

The study of women and their working lives has gained a considerable attention among western researches; however, these studies have been mostly limited to European and North American settings. Studies on women from other parts of the world have been given little attention. This paper seeks to fulfil this gap by concentrating on women and their professional lives in the United Arab Emirates. Life for Arab women has become one of the most rapidly changing elements in Arab societies. Women in the Arab region can no longer be described as domestic, inferior women who hardly see life outside of their homes. Arab women are increasingly entering the work force and Arab women's employment is no longer an exception but a growing trend.

In 2001, the participation of women in the labour market in the Middle East was 29 per cent (UNDP, 2003). However, some Arab countries have seen dramatic changes between 1960 and 2000: In Bahrain women's labour participation increased by 668 per cent, in Kuwait 486 per cent, and in the UAE 548 per cent, while Yemen's female labour participation increased only 15 per cent (World Bank, 2003). Consequently, the participation of women in the labour force is still low, compared to other regions in the world. Al-Mandhry (2000) suggests that the low percentage of women participating in the labour force is mainly attributable to a lack of employment opportunities rather than a lack of interest. The participation of Arab women in all arenas – be it political, economic or social – is complicated by the by the fact that women are subjects to a number of coded and unwritten social mores in patriarchal, male-dominated societies. Some authors see the role of religion in the area – Islam and patriarchal interpretations of Islam – as a reason for women's limited participation in the labour market (El-Saadawi, 1997; Mernissi, 1991).

In the Gulf Arab region, women's increasing participation in the labour market and rise to higher positions in organizations has been attributed to politically led nationalization strategies designed to encourage and support the employment of nationals in preference to expatriates. For example, Rees et al (2007) have reported that in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) employers may be asked to make a choice between investing in the recruitment and development of a UAE national employee and paying a levy for employing a fully trained and experienced expatriate. For national women, nationalization of the labour market provides privilege in recruitment and selection, education and training, career development and remuneration. However, Harry (2007) points out that the bias against women in the labour markets may continue to hamper women's participation and it can be expected that such bias will become even stronger when they must compete with male citizens seeking to enter the labour market.

Arab women's work activities have traditionally been carried out in exclusively female circumstances, as most Arab societies maintain a strict code of gender segregation in public, at prayer and even at home (Guthrie, 2001). Typically, women entrepreneurs are concentrated in the service sector and local market, where less is required for initial investment and life experiences/hobbies can be expressed and developed. Often women engage in sectors that are traditionally female: nursing, teaching and clerical work (Metle, 2002). As a result, some women graduates are unemployed and the popular teaching occupations are over-employed. In Qatar, the over-employment in some female-dominated jobs is ten times the need (Abdalla, 1996).

Arab societies are currently in the state of confusion due to rapid changes, the impact of westernization and modernization that their countries have experienced. Arabs seem to be in a futile search for a new identity that will not contradict their deeply rooted traditions and at the same time connect them to the future and development. In these unique socio-economic circumstances, it is valuable to study the position of Arab women, especially their advancement in their working lives. Therefore in this paper we enrich existing scholarship by focusing on the perspective of women in management in the Arab region, a topic largely overlooked in the current formation of knowledge about gender and management.

The aim of this paper is to report on the results of two studies that were conducted in 2007. The first study (Omair, 2008) is a qualitative content analysis that looks into existing literature on gender and management in the Arab region in order to obtain an overall picture of the advancement of Arab women in their professional lives. The second study (Omair, 2009) is a study conducted in the United Arab Emirates with an aim to explore how Arab women managers construct their social identities through the meaning they ascribe to their clothing while pursuing managerial careers.

### **Existing research on the topic of Arab women in management**

In the content analysis study (Omair, 2008), the aim of the quantitative analysis is to describe the theoretical roots and methodologies that underpin the research field of Arab women in management, the main topics, the authors, the point of time and geographical location, as well as publication patterns. Descriptive content analysis is especially useful first for obtaining an overview of the main results reported in the research and secondly, to identify the knowledge gaps in the extant research.

The quantitative and descriptive content analysis on the studies about Arab women in management showed that the majority of research has been published from 2000 onwards and methodologically quantitative research methods were preferred. The themes covered in the research are mostly limited to attitudes, career barriers and supporting factors. An overview of the research topics will now follow.

Most favourably, the studies on women in management in the Arab region deal with the existence of barriers to careers for women. In the study of public sector employees in Kuwait, Metle (2002) found that although the position of women has improved, they are still far from achieving equality, especially equality in

advancement. Women are recruited to civil service and private positions on an equal pay basis, but none hold decision-making positions comparable to what men do. Moreover, according to Metle's study, there is a tacit official understanding that men should be given priority and that women should be discouraged from working wherever men can replace them.

Wilkinson (1996), in a study among the UAE, Oman and Bahraini women in top management positions, found that the challenges faced by those women were overt discrimination at work, cultural taboos, negative attitudes towards working women and lack of confidence and trust in women managers.

Jamali et al. (2005) studied constraints facing women managers in Lebanon. The study revealed that the strongest barriers to career advancement stemmed from cultural expectations and patriarchal attitudes, which emphasize the role of women as mothers and homemakers. Women were perceived as a higher employment risk than their male counterparts due to their family responsibilities. In addition, women reported having suffered from negative perceptions of their commitment and professional qualifications. It was reported that women in Lebanon are seen as being submissive and emotional individuals while men are perceived as being balanced, assertive, aggressive and autonomous. Women were thus not perceived as fit to assume leadership positions in an environment that capitalizes on a masculine leadership prototype. Some women managers reported having to openly confront highly stereotypical attitudes to establish respect and authority in their positions. Some of the women managers pointed out that not all organizations in Lebanon have cultures that enhance gender interaction; many organizations have a strong masculine culture.

According to Al-Lamki's (1999) research among Omani women, the main obstacles for women managers were limited opportunities to higher education, discriminatory appointment and promotion practices, traditional attitudes of male bosses towards working women, male dominated domain, male resistance to women in management, absence of policies and legislation to ensure participation of women in management positions, lack of professional networking, lack of female role models, and lack of professional management development programs. Al-Lamki (1999) also argued that several women managers in the study reported feeling an inferiority complex towards men in the management cadre as well as facing the conflicting roles of domesticated wife and mother, and that of a professional woman. McElwee and Al-Riyami (2003), in their study about women entrepreneurs in Oman, revealed that the majority of women feel there is a lack of networking among businesswomen for exchanging information, discussing issues and seeking advice on common topics.

In general, the studies on barriers to women's careers in the Arab world report similar obstacles western women face, yet there is also a strong impact from traditional views that place women in an inferior position.

The second most common theme in studies reviewed was attitudes towards women who work. Abdalla (1996) studied attitudes towards women in the Arabian Gulf region and found that women are still locked into restrictive traditional roles. The

results revealed that there exists a wide gender gap, women having more favourable attitudes towards working women than men do. The results suggested that while Arab women are willing to accept more responsibilities in the political, occupational, educational and social spheres, Arab men are not willing to share these responsibilities with them. The study concluded that the situation may change in favour of women in the near future, particularly in terms of educational and employment opportunities.

Abd El-Latif (1988) studied Egyptian societal attitudes towards women managers. The study found a negative attitude towards women in top managerial and leadership positions. The study also found that women occupy only 11 per cent of the top managerial positions in Egyptian organizations. Similarly, Mostafa (2005) investigated societal attitudes in the UAE towards women managers on the basis of a sample of 186 participants. The research findings indicated a moderate shift from the expected restrictive traditional attitudes towards women managers in the UAE to a more liberal view. However, a considerable gender gap in attitudes towards women managers persists with females consistently more supportive than males.

In general, studies on attitudes towards women who work showed that in the Arab world the traditional view of women's primary role being in private spheres is evident, but the traditional views are showing some moderate changes towards more liberal views.

Driving forces for success for women managers were studied by Al-Lamki (1999). She reveals that in Oman, factors behind women manager's success being first and foremost family support from parents and spouse, determination and inner drive for success, opportunities for access to all levels of education and academic achievement, self-confidence, diligence and perseverance, job opportunities and the potential for professional growth and development. Similar results were reported from UAE by Wilkinson (1996) and from Saudi Arabia by Alajmi (2001).

A study from Oman by McElwee and Al-Riyami (2003) noted that, as women are regarded with great respect in Arab societies, women entrepreneurs may find several advantages. Women get faster services and more assistance from administrative institutions and have to spend less time queuing for government services. Because Oman is a patriarchal society, it is very important for a woman to get family support from a male member or husband in her business. Many of the women who have support from their family or husband agree on the important role of the family in their businesses. Husbands can play an important role in the public arena for these women.

An interesting finding from the analysis was to see how Arab women managers define success. McElwee and Al-Riyami (2003) mentioned that most women entrepreneurs in Oman define success in terms of the reputation of their business and satisfying others, followed by self-satisfaction and finally business growth. A study conducted by Alajmi (2001) found that Saudi women defined success in terms of their children's happiness, self-fulfilment and having the respect of others, and not in terms of wealth or power.

In summary, the studies show that the driving forces for success for Arab women in management are education and the support of their husband and families and that success for Arab women is not defined in terms of financial gains but rather satisfaction, happiness and growth.

In their study on work-life balance, Shah and Al-Qudsi (1990) reported how Kuwaiti women have at least two servants, who relieve them from practically all housework, including the care of their children. Although Arab women get domestic help either in the form of paid servants or relatives, housework and child-care remain their most important responsibilities. For most Kuwaiti women, a combination of family and career is possible only insofar as it does not interfere with one's role as a mother and wife. Similarly, from Oman, Al-Lamki (1999) reported that Omani women enjoy a wide range of child-care support services. These range from family support to professional services such as affordable housemaids/nannies and child-care centres. Different results were reported by Jamali et al. (2005), where in the Lebanese context, alternative work arrangements were conspicuously absent. Job sharing, flexitime and childcare support are, to a great extent, virtually non-existent.

The results of studies on this topic highlighted that the Arab woman's primary role and responsibility was seen as being a good mother and housekeeper. However, abundant wealth has enabled women to use help in their domestic spheres, which allows them to concentrate better in their public lives. Shah and Al-Qudsi (1990) reported that due to more women advancing in career, value orientations concerning age at marriage, fertility control, family size and inter-spouse role relationships may undergo significant modifications.

McElwee and Al-Riyami (2003) found that for Omani women entrepreneurs, the main reason for starting a business was not economic gain but rather enjoyment, a hobby and to occupy oneself or to utilize one's knowledge and skills. Similar results were reported by Alajmi (2001) in Saudi Arabia, where the majority of women worked for personal development, and economic gain was the least mentioned reason. This reluctance to admit working primarily for economic gain may suggest an attempt to save face and avoid embarrassing the male head of the household.

Regarding the topic of role models, a study by Metle (2002) showed that the Kuwaiti women are severely limited in their circle of friends, especially at work where their relationships are mostly confined to other women with similarly limited work experience. Hence, social support and as well as role models for women are likely to come only from family members involved in the business.

Several studies explored the cultural factors affecting women's working lives. Hammoud (1993) wrote that, the role of women in management cannot be treated in isolation from the general status of women in society. The conservatism and the invoking of tradition and religion in the Arab countries affect the view women have of themselves. Gender socialization is extremely patriarchal and strongly supportive of traditional family values (Mensch et al., 2003) and girls are socialized from their early years to acquire a domestic role that fits their expected gender roles (Alajmi,

2001). The traditional role of Muslim women is a source of conflict for the more aware, educated women, trying to balance the modern world and a traditionally conservative social background (Metle, 2002). Men's traditional stance and the many rules and regulations surrounding women may lead to fewer opportunities for utilizing a potential native female workforce. Evidence that Arab culture is submitting to modernization is substantiated in a number of studies (Mostafa, 2003). With the passing of time and especially through the effects of equal education, it is likely that tradition will have diminishing weight against the forces of modernization, and the quantitative as well as qualitative input of women in the economy will rise (Al-Dhafiri, 1987).

To conclude, the research results analysed in this study seem to have adopted a primarily traditional gender reform feminism perspective, viewing gender as a variable and considering women as a research category (Calas & Smircich, 1996). Although this kind of research makes an important contribution to the literature, its crucial limitation is that it involves a rather simplistic idea of gender (Alvesson & Billing, 1997; Kark, 2004). The author suggests, due to the scarcity of studies about the topic in general, that there is an urgent need for more research on women and management in the Arab world. However, there is an even more urgent need for studies dealing with topics by applying a more complex understanding of gender. Studies that bring forth the experiences of women managers themselves would be especially fruitful. For example, it would be interesting and necessary to investigate how women themselves in the Arab world construct their social identities while pursuing managerial careers and other topics in relation to career.

### **Arab women managers and identity formation**

The second study (Omair, 2009) presented in this article is an empirical study that seeks to explore how Arab women managers construct their social identities through the meanings they ascribe to their clothing while pursuing managerial careers.

In the field of organizational studies, there is an ever-increasing interest towards organizational, occupational and professional identities (Alvesson et al., 2008; Watson, 2007; Pullen, 2006). Our focus here is on social identity, which broadly defined helps individuals to answer the question, who am I? An individual may have numerous different selves, identities that become evident in different contexts. Coexisting identities are constructed from such aspects as age, occupation, gender, nationality, language, politics or clothing, just to mention only a few. Identity work is also concerned with how the images and representations (physical, symbolic, verbal, textual and behavioural) become imbued with meaning and are taken as being part of one's identity (Beech, 2008). Our particular interest is in dress and its association with social identities and we argue that dress is a convenient medium to represent multiple and contradictory, even conflicting identities in organizational settings.

The choice and wearing of dress is a performance, i.e. purposeful behaviour designed to convey information regarding themselves to others and which facilitates their engagement in social interactions and social systems (Hunt & Miller, 1997). Furthermore, dress provides information regarding, for example, professional and gender identities (Pratt & Rahaeli, 1997) and political, economic or religious status

(El Guindi, 2005). Dress is also one means by which power and control are exercised in organizations (Humphreys & Brown, 2002). Trice and Beyer (1993) emphasize that the meaning of symbols is context specific, therefore, depends on time and place where it appears and is subject to continuous redefinition.

Scholars studying women in organizations have argued that dress and appearance are more sensitive issues for women than men (Kanter, 1977), as women in male-oriented organizations have a greater need for credibility, acceptance and legitimacy. Feminist literature has stressed that the construction of women workers, in contrast to men, centres on visual appearance. Wolf (1991) describes how women, in their pursuit to gain visibility in a male-dominated business culture, often face the dilemma of appearing either too feminine or too masculine. The danger of appearing too feminine means possible loss of credibility and women may be perceived as sexual objects instead of as professionals.

Arab women in the United Arab Emirates, the group that we focus on, wear their traditional clothes, black colour *abaya* with a matching head cover, as their professional clothes. The research context, the UAE, was chosen for a number of reasons. First, women's professional advancement is highly encouraged by the political elite in this country. Second, its demographics are multi-cultural with expatriates comprising more than 90 per cent of the working population (Shihab, 2001). For local women managers, this means that they are not only exposed to the different cultures that expatriates bring to the country, but the business environment where they work is also highly multi-cultural. Third, the UAE is considered to be the most modernized Arab Gulf country. For those reasons it is valuable to see how the women nationals in management construct their social identities through the meaning given to their traditional dress in a modern multi-cultural business environment.

An interview-based qualitative approach was adopted, which gives the possibility for women managers to express their thoughts and experiences widely and more thoroughly. In-depth interviews with 15 women nationals from the UAE in managerial careers from various industries were conducted in January 2007.

### ***Results and discussion***

The results of this exploratory study show that Arab women are fully aware of the reasons for wearing their traditional clothes and what their dress communicates about them. Although Arab women are proud to wear their traditional dress there is little diversity to be found in clothing choices. Women's clothing choices are neither done by women themselves nor by their men but it is the deeply rooted societal and cultural norms that dictate the "proper" clothing.

As stated by several authors (Tsee'lon, 1995; Beech, 2008), this study argues for the existence of multiple identities within the same individual. This study identified four coexisting identities: being a Muslim in contrast to non-Muslims, being an Emirati in a highly multi-cultural society, and lastly, being a woman and pursuing a managerial career in a patriarchal society. Women's identities are not stable and in constant re-

construction in reaction to the changes in the context. The results of this study show that women's identity as a Muslim and as an Emirati is subject to conformity and preservation and neither of these identities provide discomfort for women in this study.

The contradiction that was identified in this study was between the identity as a woman and identity as a manager. While pursuing their managerial careers, women have faced discrimination by being under-valued and as a result, have had fewer chances for career advancement compared to their male colleagues. The idea of a woman as a manager is still loaded with traditional ideas that women are inferior to men and therefore less capable in leadership positions.

Furthermore, as Arab women's dress is visually feminine and contrasts with men's dress, Arab women have few options to mimic man's dress or hide their femininity. As the idea of a woman dressed in traditional clothes emphasizes her religiousness and being on the "right side", women have gained, among other things, respect and the image of being serious and professional. In addition, the "right clothing" opens a door to the public sphere to pursue a professional career and guarantees easy interaction with males without being dubbed immoral. The traditional dress also becomes a tool to avoid sexual harassment and to gain sexual neutrality in managerial work.

This study has concentrated on individual identity construction of Arab women in management. Future research could look into the organizational identity in the Arab region. Considering the demographic diversity in the UAE and the continuous influx of foreign labour force, it would be worth studying how the organizational identities are formed through the numerous different nationalities present in one organization.

## **Conclusion**

The results of both of these studies (Omair, 2008, 2009) demonstrate that the topic of Arab women, even if not studied extensively, is nevertheless important, not least due to the fast changes the Arab societies are currently experiencing. Research has shown that Arab women have made major advancements in working life and entered managerial careers. However, Arab societies are still regarded as highly patriarchal, with clear gender-role differences, which hinder women's managerial careers.

For researchers, the results of the studies discussed in this article provide a solid base for understanding the position of Arab women in organizational settings, and factors influencing Arab women's managers' careers. For public policy making, the results show that public discourse in support of women's economic participation and career advancement is needed in order to change the traditional patriarchal attitudes towards women in management. For practitioners, the results of both of these studies provide useful information on struggles and barriers women face in their managerial careers and the identity conflict of being a woman and a manager.

Future research on women in management in Arab societies should integrate an analysis of the impact of culture and tradition. However, it would also be worth conducting cross-cultural studies within the Arab region to identify similarities and differences in the experiences of women, in order to avoid viewing the region as a

homogenous unit. Future research may also explore the relationship between masculinity and hostile sexism in the Arab region, and whether there is evidence of acculturation and accommodation of new cultural patterns in Arab societies. Also, the author suggests that it is worth studying the importance of Islam in women's careers, and whether religion might not be a good proxy for the negative attitudes towards women's advancement. It would also be interesting to study the dynamics of the rising fundamentalism in some of the Arab societies, together with growing female empowerment and advancement.

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## Ongoing research

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### Gendered identity work in business graduates' career transitions

*Kirsi LaPointe*

#### Introduction

The purpose of this ongoing PhD research is to examine the practices of identity work in the context of career transition and the discursive resources empowering and constraining this work. Identity work has become unavoidable in our contemporary world (Watson, 2008). In the context of careers, this need has risen along the changing career practices and patterns as well as increasing uncertainty, discontinuity and fragmentation. Although the weakening of traditional career structures may offer more flexibility and possibilities for identity and renewal, they pose a threat to a sense of coherence and continuity in its construction. As a result, there is more need for identity work i.e. maintaining, strengthening, repairing or revising identities (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). This becomes particularly salient at times of transitions which have become a frequent phenomenon in careers. The non-institutionalized career transitions, in particular, typically require justification and result in uncertainty and even in identity conflict (Ibarra, 2003, 2007; Ashforth, 2001). However, how these conflicts are managed particularly in the middle of a transition has not received much attention.

Although career transitions have become a frequent aspect for all workers, women's careers have historically been more subject to change and non-linear career patterns. In this sense, their careers may serve as exemplars of how identity work is done in the face of multiple and competing identity positions. Moreover, it has also been argued that the positions available in traditional career discourses have been built on masculine assumptions whereas the new boundaryless career (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996) discourses would be more inclusive and flexible. Regardless of one's gender, these gendered assumptions can also both constrain or empower career identity construction and development. Therefore, this study seeks to examine how the available career discourses and identity positions genders identity work and what the consequences may be for career development over time.

The empirical study focuses on Finnish business graduates, both men and women, who at the initial stage of the research were in a middle of transition wanting to make a career change. The second phase of study consisted of follow-up interviews with eight women. In this paper I will first briefly outline the theoretical framework of the study and then describe the research design and methodology. This will be followed by presentation of the results so far, as well as some tentative conclusions.

#### Identity work, careers and gender

The theoretical approach to identity in this research is based on the notion of identity as a discursive and performative phenomenon (Butler, 1990; Gergen, 1991; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). In particular, narratives represent a particularly relevant genre of discourse from which to examine identity. Narrative not only represents and orders

experiences but also constitutes identities (MacIntyre, 1981; McAdams, 1993; Sarbin, 1986). In other words, identities come to exist within discourse and specifically through narration as a particular type of identity practice. Compared with other discursive contexts of identity construction, the defining characteristics of narrative are temporality and sequences (Polkinghorne, 1988; Riessman, 2008). By connecting past events and experiences through emplotment (Polkinghorne, 1988), narratives construct causality and continuity as well as a sense of coherence (Linde, 1993).

As a temporal scheme used to order experiences, narrative is similar with the concept of career as *'the evolving sequence of a person's work experiences over time'* (Gunz & Peiperl, 2007:4). Hence, it has been argued that narratives help in making sense of one's career by assigning meaning to it (Cohen & Mallon, 2001). This meaning-making is socially constructed via the wider cultural and social narratives (master narratives) and discourses (Cohen et al., 2004). Discourses and master narratives are understood here in the Foucauldian sense of constructing social reality and the objects they refer to (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004). In career context, career discourses constitute systematic ways of representing and understanding careers and their development and thus govern their enactment (Fournier, 1998). Master narratives, in turn, are a form of discourse that imposes a coherence structure on experiences with particular themes and plot lines (Linde, 1993). These master narratives and discourses position individuals in their local contexts and also construct their identities and agency via the identity positions they offer (De Fina et al., 2006).

The process of identity construction is not fully deterministic, however. Positioning also involves individual agency through the capacity of individuals to negotiate and modify positions made available in discourses and master narratives (Bamberg, 2004; Davies & Harré, 1990; Hollway, 1984; Harré & van Langenhove, 1999; Wortham, 2001). Hence, positioning is a form of identity work (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002), referring to the agentive, interpretative activities of *"forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening and revising the constructions that are productive of a sense of coherence and distinctiveness"* (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003: 1165). In engaging with identity work, individuals actively craft their narratives by adapting, resisting and selectively appropriating cultural storylines (Mishler, 1999). Focusing on this process of positioning, career identity is conceptualized here as a practice, i.e. something that is done in social interaction through the practices of narration (Holstein and Gubrium, 2000). Thus, identity is co-constructed and actively crafted within the demands and resources of the local interactional context as well as the larger socio-cultural contexts (Mishler 1999). The idiosyncratic career trajectories and varying exposure to identity positions offer different scopes of possibility (Dreier, 2009) and thus result in the particularities of identity positioning.

A key determinant in careers and identities, and the practices they are part of, is gender. In this study, I conceptualize the role of gender as gendered career discourses and as gender identities. The notion of gendered career discourses refers to the gendered meanings of careers and their development. For example, the traditional career discourse is embedded in masculine norms and expectations of linear, upwardly progressing careers focused on extrinsic markers of success, such as status and authority. The so-called new career discourse, in turn, has been defined as more inclusive, allowing a greater scope of idiosyncrasies and emphasizing subjective meanings of success (Arthur & Rousseau, 1994; Hall & Moss, 1998). However, these individualized conceptions of career have been argued to construct new norms that may be just as constraining and masculine as the previous ones (Pringle & Mallon, 2003). In terms of identity, various career discourses construct identity positions that are gendered and thus may work in exclusionary fashion. Gender also plays a role via gender identities. In this sense, gender identity can be used explicitly to speak from a

position of a woman, for example, or it can be enacted implicitly by defining oneself with gendered characteristics.

### **Research design and methodology**

The empirical study in this project has examined Finnish business graduates in a career transition at different junctures of their careers. The 12 participants are all professionals living in the greater Helsinki region but their professions and fields, ages (between 33 and 53) and family status vary. Ten of them are women, two are men. Eleven of the participants were selected with the help of a career counselor of the Finnish professional association of business graduates. The participants had all been career counseling clients seeking help in their desire to make a career change. I interviewed nine of them in 2005 and two in 2009. One of the participants is the first person I interviewed to determine the research design for this study. She is similar to others in all respects except that I did not get her name from Sefe's career counseling service. Of the nine people interviewed in 2005, I interviewed eight, all women, again in 2009. The purpose of this longitudinal design was to see how their careers had changed and what kind of identity work they were engaged with four years later.

The interviews were conducted using the principles of narrative interviewing (Mishler, 1986; Riessman, 2008). In narrative inquiry, interviews are considered as narrative events that facilitate development of narrative accounts instead of following a question-response protocol. Thus the interview is a conversation where both the researcher and the interviewee are active participants in constructing meaning and narrative (Mishler, 1986). I conducted the interviews either at cafés in the Helsinki region or at the participant's home and asked them to tell me about their career and the current transition phase in the manner they saw appropriate. The interviews, from one to two hours, were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim. The follow-up interviews were similar where the only pre-determined question was to ask the female business graduates to tell about their life and career since the previous time.

In the analysis of the transcribed interview texts, I use a narrative approach that Riessman (2008) calls dialogic/performance analysis and De Fina & Georgakopoulou (2008) the social interactional approach. These analytical approaches are in line with the theoretical framework of the study emphasizing narratives and identities as social practices, co-constructed and emerging in local interactional settings. Thus narratives – including narratives elicited in interviews - are considered socially situated actions and identity performances (Mishler, 1999). In contrast to the conventional paradigm of narrative analysis, this kind of analytical approach pays close attention to the context, including the influence of the researcher, the research setting and the cultural and social contexts on the construction of narrative (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Riessman, 2008). Thus, in addition to asking what is being said (thematic narrative analysis) and how (structural analysis) it also examines to whom, when and why events are narrated the way they are (Riessman, 2008).

As to the specific analytical methods, I have used a pluralistic approach (Frost, 2009) drawing on thematic analysis, structural analysis (Labovian approach), and key episodes. I have looked at the basic structural elements (beginning, middle and end) as well as the main events of the story including their evaluation and themes. In particular, I have examined the key episodes in the narrative which represent important turning points or transitions in life (Denzin, 1989) or parts of the narrative that signal a breaking down of expectations and identity work (Hyvärinen, 1998; Löyttyniemi, 2001). Through a more detailed transcription and analysis of the key episodes I have examined how the narrators do identity in narrating the episode via the identity positions they were claiming or negotiating with. I have expanded this

analysis to other parts of text as well, to see how the participants were positioning in their narration. I have also looked at my own participation in the narration such as the timing of supportive utterances (right, ok, mmm) that have helped the narrative to go forward. After having analyzed the narratives as individual cases, I have looked for similarities and differences which in turn has helped me deepen the analysis of the individual cases.

## Results

The study is still on-going but so far the results show, first of all, that there are three types of career transition narratives in this context which I have named as disruption, mismatch and development narratives. Secondly, within the career narration, identity work is realized through the practices of 1) accounting for need to change careers and positioning as the main character of a career change story; 2) discursive and temporal positioning which refers to the variety of identity positions (career, profession, gender, family, hobbies etc) available that are used, and the way they are temporally ordered; and 3) negotiating and struggling between competing positions. These identity work practices are intertwined and used in all of the three narrative types but in a different manner due to the particular challenges of identity work. In the following, I will briefly describe these practices within each of the narratives.

In the disruption narratives, the need to change career is due to a disruption in one's career, such as a lay-off or burn-out. The narrator positions herself as a victim who has lost a valuable career and also, identity. By positioning as a career changer, the narrator actively takes charge of her career and shows the virtue of resilience, associated with the new career discourse. Of the twelve interviewees, six of them narrate their career transition in this fashion. In the disruption narratives, the past career identity is constructed as something valuable that has been lost due to the transition. Therefore, the career change calls for identity work to repair the damage done to one's career identity. This is done by narrating some aspects of one's career identity in the past and by attempting to replace the lost aspects with new meanings. For example, one may still follow a traditional career development model but try to form a new professional identity where to enact it. Future images of possible career directions are used to deal with the changes but also to emphasize the current identity and the new meanings the disruption has called forth, such as a need for better work-life balance. As a result of this identity positioning, there is a negotiation and even a struggle among the conflicting identity positions. Due to their embeddedness in the past identity positions, it is difficult for the narrators to let go of them even when they have imagined and are drawn to new ones. Moreover, the situational position, as an unemployed for example, influences this sensemaking and bears its own constraints on the alternatives.

In the mismatch narratives, the narrators do not claim ever having had a career or professional identity congruent with their own conception of who they are. In the transition they have realized this mismatch and look for more authentic career choices. In these cases, three out of the twelve, identity work is required to find and form new identities. Although knowing oneself and finding a match for it can alone be a struggle, it is enhanced by the narrators' embeddedness in other competing identity positions, such as one's gender, that make the change difficult.

As to the development narratives, three out of the 12 cases, the reasons for the career transition were intertwined with feelings of unfulfillment, lack of development opportunities and changes in one's life. These life changes included divorce, age transition and engagement with new hobbies that then awoke a desire to change one's career as well. In these narratives, identity work had to do with strengthening

one's career identity through some kind of career development. There were no disruptions, neither were there feelings of inauthenticity. The struggle in these narratives arose from non-work related identity positions such as a mother and spouse and the way they conflict with the imagined career identities.

As to the follow-up study of the eight women, the analysis is still on-going but the preliminary results indicate three types of developments in their career identity struggles. First of all, there are those who claim success after having made a career change. They have formed a new professional and career identity and have found their "thing". Although honeymoon may not have even been over, in some cases there are already new changes and struggles emerging. Secondly, there are cases where the past struggle was solved but not in the form of a career change. These people were now drawing on a new identity position that has allowed them adjust their expectations and give up their plans for career change. Third, there were those whose struggle was on-going although they were all re-articulated following the changes in their work during the four years time.

## **Conclusions**

In examining how identity work is constrained and empowered in these career transitions, it can be argued, first of all, that by positioning as a career changer all the narrators are engaging with new career discourse. In this way, they are enacting the identities of self-reliant career actors, or heroes, who take charge of their own careers by changing them. This rather masculine discourse is at the core of career change although it is interpreted differently in each of the narratives. This career changer positioning can be seen as empowering particularly in those cases where it can help legitimize a career disruption and repair damaged identity. However, in some cases, the cultural ideal of a career change seems to be very constraining and stalling decision-making.

The analysis also shows that there are multiple identity positions that come into play in career transitions. Thus the transitions are not simply about giving up an old professional identity in favor of new, for example, but involve one's identities as a parent, spouse or related to a hobby. The meaning of career is intertwined with the other spheres of life, sometimes constraining, sometimes empowering them. Due to the different assumptions and values within all of these practices and identity positions the narrators are embedded in, there is a need to negotiate between the conflicting ones. In this sense, the career transitions are in fact moral struggles between competing understandings of what makes a good career or life.

Finally, these career transitions and struggles are gendered in many ways. Gender plays a role not only in the masculine ideal of a career changer but also in the career discourses and in the identity positions the narrators draw on. In many cases, the meanings attached to one's career were gendered without there being an explicit acknowledgment of this. For example, the various negative career disruptions are seen to be a result of gendered practices of organizations. The resulting feelings of inauthenticity are also gendered and sometimes lead particularly women to question their suitability for business or leadership roles altogether. Each struggle is unique, however, in the sense that the idiosyncratic career and life patterns situate the narrators in a different way. This variety also provides the seeds for change and possibilities for agency through a creative negotiation and adaptation of the identity positions available. Heroic career change is not always necessary but through subtle shifts, whether at the level of identity work or action, struggles can be resolved or adjusted to.

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## **Johtamisurat sukupuolinäkökulmasta tarkasteltuna: naiset ja miehet korkean teknologian organisaatioissa**

*Marianne Ekonen*

### **Abstract: Managerial careers from the gender viewpoint: women and men in high technology organizations**

This ongoing doctoral dissertation investigates women's and men's managerial careers from the gender viewpoint in Finnish high technology organizations. Recently there have been calls for to move 'beyond' gender differences in studying managerial careers (Ranson 2003; Sools, Van Engen & Baerveldt 2007; Wajcman 1998). Instead of telling the 'story of women' or the 'story of men' this study highlights the differences within the categories of 'women' and 'men'. The study of careers in modern and fast changing high technology industry might also challenge the idea of traditional, masculine career model giving way to new experiences of how the phenomenon is constructed. Also the idea of careers as continuous narratives, merging past and present, is central to the new definitions of managerial careers. The theoretical framework consists of the fields of gender and career, particularly in management and leadership studies. The study uses narrative methodology. The main research question is: What meanings do the managers give to their careers from the gender viewpoint? The qualitative study involves semi-structured interviews with eight women and eight men managers in five high technology organizations.

Aikaisemmat tutkimukset johtamisuriin ja sukupuoleen liittyen ovat käsitelleet aihetta pääasiassa naisten johtamisurien näkökulmasta. Sukupuoli liitetäänkin tyypillisesti vain naisten johtamisuriin. Naisten ja miesten johtamisurista puhuttaessa näkökulma on yleensä vertaileva, joissa todetaan naisten ja miesten urien eroavan toisistaan ulkoisesti mitattavissa olevien tunnusmerkkien puitteissa tuottaen eroja ja yhtäläisyyksiä naisten ja miesten välillä. Miesten johtamisurat on kuvattu katkeamattomiksi, lineaarisesti organisaatiohierarkiassa ylöspäin eteneviksi. Naisten johtamisurat on sen sijaan nähty monimutkaisempina ja katkonaisempina kuin miesten ja siten myös ongelmallisempina. (Kirchmeyer 2002; Lyness & Thompson 2000; Ragins & Sundström 1989).

Viimeaikaiset muutokset niin yhteiskunnissa kuin organisaatioissakin ovat asettaneet edellä kuvatut käsitykset naisten ja miesten johtamisurista kyseenalaisiksi. Suomalaisen työelämän ja työkuulttuurin muutos oli voimakasta 1990-luvulla teknologian nopean kehityksen seurauksena. Teknologisen kehityksen myötä Suomeen syntyi täysin uusia toimialoja. Esimerkiksi korkean teknologian toimialalla työskentely perustuu uuden tiedon kehittämiseen ja uusien teknologioiden tuottamiseen ja johtamiseen. Selviytyäkseen, organisaatioiden on pysyttävä jatkuvasti kehityksen kärjessä mukana. Ne myös toimivat globaaleilla markkinoilla ja ovat siten jatkuvasti alttiina ympäristön muutoksille. Toimialaa luonnehtiikin parhaiten epävarmuus ja jatkuvassa muutoksessa oleminen. (Harpaz & Meshoulam 2004). Johtamisurien näkökulmasta alan muutosvauhdin ja epävarmuuden myötä myös uralle annetut merkitykset ovat jatkuvassa muutoksessa ja moninaisempia kuin aikaisemmat tutkimukset ovat osoittaneet.

Tässä tutkimuksessa sukupuolta ja uraa ei tarkastella ulkoisina tunnusmerkkeinä vaan sosiaalisina konstruktioina, joita tehdään arjen käytännöissä (esim. Ranson 2003; Sools, Van Engen & Baerveldt 2007; Wajcman 1998). Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on kuvata ja tulkita, mitä johtajat urastaan kertovat ja mitä merkityksiä he sukupuoleensa liittävät. Tutkimusotteeltaan kyseessä on laadullinen tutkimus, jossa tutkimusaihetta lähestytään ja tarkastellaan narratiivisesta näkökulmasta. Tutkimuksen empiirinen aineisto koostuu 16 johtajan haastattelusta (8 naista ja 8 miestä). Sosiaalisen konstruktionismin näkökulmasta on mahdollista avata ja purkaa sukupuoleen ja uraan liittyviä puheentapoja, kuten tässä tutkimuksessa narratiiveja, ja sitä kautta monipuolistaa ja laajentaa naisten ja miesten johtamisuriin liittyviä merkityksenantoja.

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## Women managers and intersections of age and gender

*Marjut Jyrkinen*

### Intersectionality of Age and Gender

Issues on age, ageing and ageism have become increasingly topical given the demographic trend towards ageing populations in many western(ised) countries. Attitudes and prejudices about age, policies and practices concerning ageing and older workers, and concerns about income in later life, are pertinent issues for employing organisations and for workers (Wilkinson & Ferraro, 2002; Ilmarinen, 2005). Age is also highly relevant in workforce recruitment, selection and retention, performance and performance evaluation, and training and career development (Perry & Parlamis, 2006): current demographic changes induce competition pressures in these areas.

Like many other late modern countries, Finland has a rapidly ageing population. This change will intensify when the baby-boom generation of the 1940s reaches retirement between 2010 and 2020. Organisations need diverse workforces that include women of different ages not only as employees, but increasingly also in management positions. In 2004 the Finnish Government highlighted the challenges caused by the ageing population and the need for a double strategy in the future: firstly, to guarantee Finland's competitiveness in the global economy, and secondly, to safeguard the welfare society's services. Hence 'special attention must be paid to the development of diverse work communities and diversity management and leadership, and the prevention of discrimination in worklife' (Government of Finland, 2004, pp. 36-37).

While there is increasing research and policy interest in age and ageing, less focus has been paid to the intersection of gender and age. Previous research, however, indicates that women and men experience age, ageing and ageism in different ways in organisations and management (Itzin & Phillipson, 1995). Duncan and Loretto's (2004) survey study of the financial sector in the UK suggests that women experience more age discrimination than do men. Another UK study (Granleese & Sayer, 2005) found that women in higher education are discriminated against in ways that differ from those that men identify: women experience a triple jeopardy of discrimination because of age, gender and 'lookism'. In order to help address the gap left by earlier studies on age as a gendered issue in managements and organisations, my ongoing research project (see below) addresses intersectionality (e.g. Knudsen, 2006) of age and gender in women managers' careers.

### The Case of Finland

In an international comparison, Finland has a strong image as a country with relatively successful gender equality policies. Official statements emphasise gender equality achievements and gender-neutrality as a basis of Finnish citizenship, and note the involvement of women at senior levels of political decision-making, in civil society and in the public sector. Although there have been many advancements in the position of women in Finnish society, there are also many shortcomings.

Finnish women are highly educated, holding 63% of all university degrees in the country, and are very evident in social and political life. In 2009 women made up 41.5% of Members of Parliament and 60% of government ministers, which is a historical high. Finland has also had a woman president, Tarja Halonen, since 2000. Women make up half of the workforce in Finland, and unusually for the EU, 81% work full time (European Labour Force Survey, 2006). This is due in part to universal day care and a parental leave system that enables (either of the) parents to stay home until their children are three years old. However, only 6.1% of parental leave days are used by fathers (Haataja, 2009).

Assumptions about gender-neutrality and equality allow many policy-makers, politicians and business leaders to conclude that inequalities between women and men are marginal or that women are actively choosing to undertake unpaid labour and thus to restrict or limit their career advancement. However, despite Finland's image as having a relatively gender-equal society, gender segregation is highly evident in the labour market: there is a persistent gender pay gap of 20%, which is higher than the EU average of 17.4% (European Commission, 2009). Finland's work market is the sixth most gender segregated in the EU-27<sup>5</sup> with women dominating in public sector jobs, especially in care provision, and men dominating in both the private and public sectors in construction work, logistics and traditional manufacturing industries.

These trends are repeated in the corporate world where women and men managers are situated differently within organisations (middle versus top management) and across sectors (e.g. public/private; service/production sectors; HR/line management). Top managerial positions are largely held by men, and of the one third of all management positions that are held by women in Finland, 48% are in state sector, 55% in municipalities, and 27% in the private sector (Labour Force Survey, 2008). In addition, there is a high prevalence of age discrimination reported by women: in 2000, Finland's figure on age discrimination experienced by women 45 of age and over during a 12-month period was highest of the EU-15 countries (Ilmarinen, 2005).

The shift towards a knowledge intensive society and the ongoing demographic changes increase the need for a more diverse workforce also in management. In addition, there are pressures to increase the rather low number of women involved in economic decision-making. Diversity in gender and age are becoming more relevant for corporations, their competencies and their competitiveness. Currently, the Finnish economy as a whole is experiencing the constraints of an economic downturn as well as concerns about innovation for future economic development. The current recession is shifting the economy towards social and commercial reorganisation. Old structures, such as the clear division of 'the public' and 'the private', are being challenged and are changing. The third sector is becoming more important: many non-governmental organisations are increasingly taking on the original duties of the state, such as eldercare.

## **The Research**

This postdoctoral research project 'Age, Gender and Diversity: Women Managers and Policies in Organisations' was funded by the Academy of Finland (2008-2010). It addresses intersections of age and gender diversity in organisations and their management, and hence it affiliates with the NASTA Project. As stated above,

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<sup>5</sup> Finland follows behind Estonia, Slovakia, Latvia, Cyprus and Lithuania (Arajärvi, 2009).

age(eing) is a current theme in Finnish society, where demographic changes, in particular ageing of the population, take place. This research is based on further development of my previous research topics and collaboration with other researchers and research projects on issues of gender, management and organizations, and violations, policies and practices in organizations and managements in knowledge intensive sectors of the society (Jyrkinen, 2005; Hearn & Jyrkinen, 2007; Hearn et al., 2008, 2009; Jyrkinen & Hearn, 2008; Jyrkinen, 2009; Jyrkinen et al. 2009).

The current research builds on national and international co-operation in Finland, UK and elsewhere. The research training includes intensive collaboration and co-writing with other researchers, exchange periods in the University of Edinburgh, and participation and training in teaching and supervision. The research comprises multiple research methods and data, and it includes comparative aspect between Finland and Scotland/UK. The data (interviews and focus group) is to be analysed in order to produce both scientific and practical implications.

The main research questions are as follows:

- 1.) How does the age of women managers impact on their career paths in different phases, in particular in knowledge intensive work sectors? What is the acceptability of women managers of different ages with employees and other managers in organisations?
- 2.) How does age and gender intersect in organisational work contexts when focusing at two demographically quite similar but also in some ways different countries, Finland and Scotland/UK?
- 3.) What are the main policies and practices which facilitate inclusion, or exclusion, of women in management in their different life-stages and ages?
- 4.) What are the differences/similarities concerning women managers' inclusion/exclusions and personal coping within careers in management in organisations in knowledge intensive sectors in the light of state or corporate policies in these two different EU country contexts?

The main contributions from the Project are:

- 1.) Identification and analysis of the paths and plans of women managers in the different age stages of their careers in Finland and Scotland, contributing to the areas of gender studies, studies on management, and research on intersectionality and diversity.
- 2.) Analysis and comparison of policies that increase (or decrease) inclusion or exclusion of women in their different age stages in corporations in Finland and Scotland.
- 3.) Feedback for the involved women managers.
- 4.) Re-theorising diversity management in order to incorporate capacities of various age groups of women (young, middle age, senior) in management.
- 5.) Recommendations for new policies on handling the needs for increased diversity.

The analysis of the interview data, gathered in 2008-2009 in Finland and Scotland/UK is ongoing. The interviewees consist of women managers in companies and the third sector in three different age groups. On the basis of this part of the data it seems that gendered ageism is a serious issue in organisations in both countries. Gendered age discrimination is a relatively unexplored issue in Finland as in many other countries. The lack of research relates to the non-existence of effective policies to prevent ageism: women's reports indicate high rates of experiences of ageism in Finland (Ilmarinen, 2005). My research also indicates that in work organisations gendering takes place in many forms, and women managers try to balance their careers in-between the triple jeopardy of gender, age and 'lookism' (Acker, 1991; Granleese & Sayer, 2005). In gendered organisations women's self-presentations,

bodies and sexualities are subject to gendered ageism already at rather early stages of their careers, but increasingly during their senior years. In addition to personal interviews, the ongoing research comprises of focus groups of women managers in Finland and Scotland- This data will be analysed at later stage.

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## **Work/family reconciliation: corporate management, family policies and equal opportunities**

*Charlotta Niemistö*

### **Introduction**

Work/family reconciliation is a crucial question for both personal well-being and on societal level for productivity and re-production throughout the Western world. Studies on organisational policies for reconciling work with care responsibilities are still relatively few. Most outcomes are measured through individual effects on well-being. The present project looks at how in corporate life, different worlds meet: a culture of corporate level ‘family friendly policies’, and a traditionally Nordic culture of broad legislative frame in employee parental rights. It is interesting to see if and how corporations in Finland with an existing wide range of choices facilitating reconciliation of work and family protected by law have reacted and will react to the developments in the corporate life. Are the so-called corporate family friendly policies becoming more common? Are they be used in the Finnish context? Is the legal frame used as a minimum and is work/family reconciliation regarded as a mandatory and basic HRM-function or are work/family reconciliation and work/life balance seen as something worthy of further promotion, so gaining a competitive advantage as employers in search of competent human resources?

Work-family reconciliation – as a part of work/life balance – is a both strategic and operational issue in corporate life, as well as in society (in connection to family policies) more generally. There is a need to understand the different approaches to work-family reconciliation issues and to combine studies of management, gender issues, and family policies in the same research.

As background information it is necessary to understand the Finnish setting: one can say that Finland to some extent has been a pacesetter in gender equality promotion, which has led to, in international comparison, a quite extensive equal opportunities policy framework and has affected national family policies. These two political areas are, along with the corporate, the main structural stakeholders within work/family reconciliation issues.

### **Research questions**

The research questions for this project are:

1. To what extent are there written corporate level policies for reconciliation of paid work and care responsibilities of children in corporations operating in Finland, which are the policies, what is their accessibility and how are the policies used?
2. What affects the development of written corporate level policies for reconciliation of paid work and care responsibilities of children in corporations operating in Finland?

## **Theoretical frame of reference**

Work/family reconciliation is a subject of ongoing research from different theoretical frames. My framework combines feminist and gender theories, family policy, and institutional theory.

### ***Gender issues approach***

In the 20th century the discussion of gender equality introduced a demand for economic and social equality beside the earlier known political equality (Holli 2002). This was of great value to women as the social reforms were based on universal principles of citizen rights, not based on family or marital status. The state began to take part in costs of maternity and childcare. Positive factors for the Finnish gender equality development have said to be, for example, the need and demand for women's work input and, obviously, the early political rights of women in Finland (see Julkunen 2002).

Equal opportunities have a strong social justification. The division of parental costs in their present form are believed to create gender inequality, keeping young women in short-term employments and the salaries of female dominated fields on a relatively lower level. The socially constructed gender dilemma can be seen as reducing national competitiveness in terms of both economic and social development.

However, the definition of equality is not always clear. Gender equality in its different forms may be combined in different ways with western societal ideals (Holli 2002) and is defined as an equal and justice state between men and women (ibid). Nordic countries define equal opportunities through work-life: career opportunities and salaries. Equal opportunities in Finland have sometimes been regarded as equality between two equal and similar sexes (see Hearn et al. 2004). The focus is on gender-neutrality in policies and linguistic gender-neutrality. Furthermore, in the Nordic countries power structures are often disguised by gender-neutralizing discourses and practices (Tuori & Silius 2002). In EU-level work-family discourses, the term 'reconciliation' has often presented as gender-neutral at the same time as it has been given the meaning of enabled division between paid and unpaid work for women, rather than equal sharing of these two domains between men and women, even if on the European level the aim has explicitly been to move towards the latter division (Lewis 2006). Since the 1990s the Europe-level work-family reconciliation policies have lost the dimension of equal sharing of work and care between the sexes and narrowed the focus substantially to the provision of childcare services (ibid), which will eventually also change the focus in regimes of care from less private to more public and at the same time have an impact on labour markets. At the same time, explicit assumptions have been made that the unpaid work of care would increasingly enter the paid labour market (Lewis 2006b).

According to Julkunen (2002), one of the few positive social reforms of the 1990's has been the extension of the subjective right to day-care in 1996. This input in service supported the national strategy of increase the employment rate, and the extension of the day-care right was, according to this opinion, the only alternative at hand that would decrease the discrimination of women in labour market. Special characteristics for the Finnish labour market in comparison with the other Nordic countries is the high employment rate among both men and women, full-time work of women, the high education level and the high organisation rate of women (Kivimäki & Otonkorpi-Lehtoranta 2003). In Finland women make a share of 47% of

the total labour force (Lämsä & Tiensuu 2002). The share has steadily grown since the late 1960's, when Finland was third in international comparisons, with only the Soviet Union and the former East Germany ahead. Today, the participation of Finnish women in workforce is the highest among the OECD-countries (Jallinoja 1999). Today, 63.5% of the women with children under the age of seven are working (Statistics Finland 2003).

### ***Family policies approach***

At this point, it is of important to stress the importance of including family policies in the approach of work-family reconciliation issues. Half of Finnish families include children, even if their share for some time now has been decreasing (Kivimäki & Otonkorpi-Lehtoranta 2003). Priorities in how Finns value their work, leisure-time and family years have changed from work toward leisure-time and family since the mid 1990s (Liikkanen 2004). The importance of home and family has increased remarkably during the 1990s (ibid). As the importance of work seems to decrease and the importance of family seems to increase, it is fair to assume that pressure will be created for the development of work-family reconciliation issues.

The development of family policies, the political ethos and both past and current views of the family play an important role in the discussion. An analysis of the Finnish post-war social and family policies is needed to fully understand the dimension of the family policy and its significance. How the parental leaves rights are formed, how maternity, paternal and parental leave allowances are calculated, and how general family policies are developed by the government are also important.

### ***Institutional approach***

Institutional theory can widely be used to explain phenomenon on both societal and organisational level. It regards organisations as social and cultural systems based on socially constructed values, beliefs, norms and rules. The theory utilises three levels of analysis (Scott 1995). At the macro level, there are the societal institutions formally proposing models of legitimacy. The meso level consists of organisations and organisational field, and the micro level consists of actors, whether they are individuals or groups. Previous research has showed that so called family-friendly policies on the corporate level are developed for several reasons: some indicate normative, coercive and mimetic pressures in line with institutional theory (DiMaggio & Powell 1983) emerging from the law; or the need to increase legitimacy and decrease insecurity, as well as from the need to imitate successful competitors (Davis & Kalleberg 2006). According to Davis and Kalleberg (2006), organisations are more likely to adopt so called family friendly-practices in order to imitate a successful organisation in their field rather than based on economic calculations; this might include adapting practices that seem to give others a competitive advance. Still, these policies occur in organisations that face greater economic and institutional pressures to have the policies. Organisations may provide different kinds of work-family policies and benefits depending on different economic and institutional pressures: e.g. employees in large organisations have access to more policies, not only based on economic factors but also the fact that larger organisations are objects of greater regulation and larger public interest. Imitating successful organisations is more likely to take place among companies operating in the same industry or home country (Björkman 2006). Formalized organisations are more likely to be under coercive pressures, as their processes often are legitimacy seeking ones in themselves, wanting to appear open and fair (Davis & Kalleberg 2006).

## Methodology

The methodology of the study is plural, including varying epistemological emphasis and both quantitative and qualitative methods. The focus of my research is on national and corporate policies. Within corporate policies, I have focused on what is said and written about reconciliation of work and childcare responsibilities of employees with children in the Finnish context. Specifically, I examine indications of “corporate family friendliness”, defined as the existence of corporate policies (for reconciliation of paid work with care responsibilities of children) that go beyond the national legislation on these issues. Policy analysis from two different sectors is followed by a survey answered by 113 HR-managers, and then, based on quantitative analyses, interviews in four chosen case companies.

The idea with the survey has been to gather information about corporate policies in reconciling work with care responsibility of children. One major aim has been to gain information about (a) if there are written corporate family friendly policies in these companies, (b) if there are corporate family friendly policies that go beyond the Finnish legislation on reconciliation of work and care responsibilities of children in these companies, (c) which policies are used and what is their accessibility within the organisation (d) to gather some information about the background and development of the corporate policies in reconciling work with family/care responsibility of children – have they developed from HQ company policies on these issues or is the background in the Finnish legislation? From this and the clusters I have been able to develop, I have moved on to ask about the use of policies, HRM-managers’ interpretations of governmental and corporate policies as well as the contrasting policy regimes.

I have conducted 10 interviews within 2 chosen clusters, based on the existence of corporate level written policies for reconciling work with care responsibility of children and the perceived importance of these policies, in order to learn more about how management and HR-units look at the issue of work/family reconciliation? Is it merely a parental legal right and inconvenience for the employer or is “family friendliness” used as a competitive advantage in recruitment and employee commitment?

I have also analysed what has affected the development (or lack of it) and the direction of the policy development and I am for the moment doing a gendered analysis of the corporate policy development. The national development is a historical and a political question and not a very easy one. However, it is highly relevant in order to gain a deep understanding in the issue with competing and often short-term political agendas, which in its turn affects the corporate life and individuals.

## Findings

The central findings of the thesis are that there indeed are written corporate level policies for reconciling work and family in companies operating in Finland, in spite of the strong state level involvement in creating a policy context in work/family reconciliation. Also, the existing policies vary in accessibility and use. The most frequently used work/family policies still are the statutory state level policies for family leave, taking place when a baby is born and during his or her first years. Still, there are new policies arising, such as a nurse for an employee’s child who has fallen ill, that are based on company activity only, which shows in both accessibility and use of the policy.

Reasons for developing corporate level work/family policies vary among the so-called pro-active and re-active companies. In general, family law has a substantial effect for developing corporate level policies. Also headquarter gender equality strategies as well as employee demands are important. In regression analyses, it was found that corporate image and importance in recruitment are the foremost reasons for companies to develop policies, not for example the amount of female employees in the company. The reasons for policy development can be summarized into normative pressures, coercive pressures and mimetic pressures, in line with findings from institutional theory. This research, however, includes awareness of different stakeholder interests and recognizes that institutional theory needs to be complemented with notions of gender and family, which seem to play a part in perceived work/family conflict and need for further work/family policies both in managers' personal lives and on the organisational level.

A very central finding, demanding more attention, is the by HR managers perceived change in values towards work and commitment towards organisation at the youngest working generation, Generation Y. This combined with the need for key personnel has brought new challenges to companies especially in knowledge business and will presumably lead to further development of flexible practices in organisations. The accessibility to this flexibility seems to, however, be even more dependent on the specific knowledge and skills of the employee. How this generation will change the organisations remains to be seen in further research.

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## Miten johtamiskoulutus vaikuttaa naisten johtajuuteen?

*Anna-Maija Lämsä*

### **Abstract:**

#### **How does management training impact on women's leadership?**

The research focuses on a management development scheme called female MBA (fMBA), which is addressed exclusively to women. The programme was conducted in Finland during 2005–2008. Women managers are known to encounter more problems in relation to their careers than their male counterparts, which is why many women are unable to develop to their full potential in management and leadership. The fMBA programme was designed specifically for women managers at mid-career to enhance their managerial careers and leadership competencies. The effect of the programme for the women's objective and subjective career transitions and competences in leadership and management are studied. Twenty women who completed the programme have been interviewed in summer 2009. The data will be analysed qualitatively. A report of the results will be published in Finnish, followed by international presentations and publications. Moreover, two master's theses at Jyväskylä University started in autumn 2009 using the data. They investigate the role of social support among the women during the programme and their meaningful learning experiences from the programme.

### **Taustaa**

Sen sijaan, että johtaja valikoituisi tehtäväänsä luonteenpiirteittensä perusteella, uudempi johtajuustutkimus on osoittanut, että vaikuttava ja hyvä johtaminen on kehitettävissä (Yukl, 2010). Suomessa johtamisen koulutus ja valmennus ovat lisääntyneet erityisesti 1980-luvulta lähtien. Meillä on nykyisin runsaasti erilaista valmennusta, ja johtamisen kehittämiseen myös investoidaan taloudellisesti paljon. Organisaation ulkopuoliset ja sisäiset ohjelmat muodostavat näistä investoinneista suurimman osan (Luoma ym., 2005).

Likimain kaikki johtamisen kehittämistä toteuttavat organisaatiot keräävät palautetta koulutuksen onnistumisesta ns. reaktiivisena tyytyväisyyspalautteena (Kirkpatrick, 1994). Sitä vastoin koulutuksen ja johtamisen kehittämisen laadullisista pitkäaikaisvaikutuksista osallistujien omien kokemusten valossa on vähemmän tietoa (Mutanen ja Lämsä, 2006). Edelleen, merkittävä osa johtamisen kehittämisen kirjallisuudesta kohdentuu kehittämisen ja valmennuksen keinoihin, ja on usein fokukseltaan kapeaa eikä siten luo syvempää ymmärrystä aiheesta.

Vaikka Suomen poliittisessa elämässä naisia on ja on ollut runsaasti johtopaikoilla, kuten ministereinä, eduskunnan puhemiehenä ja presidenttinä, yritysten toimitusjohtajina naisia on vain 7-8 %. Yritysten hallituksissa naisten osuus on jonkin verran yli viidenneksen (Kotiranta ym., 2007). Esimiehistä noin kolmannes on naisia (Lehto, 2009). Hiljattain ilmestynyt Maailman Talousfoorumin selvitys *The Global Gender Gap Report* (Hausman ym., 2009) tuo esille, että 130 maailman maan joukossa olemme toisella sijalla Islannin jälkeen sukupuolten tasa-arvossa.

Peruskoulutustaso, mahdollisuudet politiikassa sekä terveys ja elinikä ovat alueita, joilla sijoitumme ensimmäiselle sijalle. Sitä vastoin sijoitumme 15. sijalle taloudellista osallistumista ja mahdollisuuksia koskevassa osuudessa. Tämä osuus sisältää naisten miehiä huonommat mahdollisuudet edetä johtamisuralla ja sukupuolten palkkaerot. Raportin mukaan on olemassa jonkin verran näyttöä siitä, että maan kilpailukyvyyn ja sukupuolten välisen tasa-arvon välillä on yhteys: maat, jotka eivät hyödynnä kaikkea inhimillistä pääomaa, menettävät taloudellista kilpailukykyä.

Viime vuosina naisten etenemismahdollisuuksien ja johtajuuden edistämiseen on ryhdytty kiinnittämään erityistä huomiota sekä tutkimuksessa että käytännön tasolla. Asiaa perustellaan tasa-arvolla ja osaamisen hyödyntämisellä (Lämsä, 2003). Toisin sanoen ajatuksena on, että sukupuolesta riippumatta kaikki ihmisten osaaminen tulee saada organisaatioiden ja myös yhteiskunnan käyttöön, ja kaikilla tulee olla tasa-arvoiset mahdollisuudet työelämässä. Voidaan myös sanoa, että mitä enemmän ihmisillä on tietotaitoa ja kyvykkyyttä, sitä paremmin hän pystyy edistämään ja parantamaan omaa ja organisaation toimintaa – kuten myös varautumaan huonompiin aikoihin.

Naisten osuus korkeatasoisissa johtamisen kehittämissuunnitelmissa on yleensä miehiä pienempi (Ibeh ym., 2008), vaikkakaan sukupuolijakaumaa ei usein systemaattisesti seurata. Esimerkiksi valtionhallinnon loppuraportti naisten urakehityksen edistämisestä (Naisten urakehityksen edistämisen työryhmä, 2009) toteaa, että valtionhallinnon pitkissä johdon koulutusohjelmissa miesten osuus on ollut yleensä kaksi kolmannesta. Naisten osuus on vaihdellut satunnaisesti eikä vahvaa suuntausta naisten määrän lisääntymisestä ole ollut havaittavissa useaan vuosikymmeneen. Yhtenä ratkaisuna valtionhallinnossa on viime aikoina käytetty yksinomaan naisille kohdennettuja johtamiskoulutuksia, joista on saatu myönteisiä kokemuksia.

Jostain syystä naiset eivät hakeudu tai pääse pitkiin ja korkeatasoisiin johtamisohjelmiin samassa määrin kuin miehet. Ohjelmat ovat kuitenkin yksi tärkeä tekijä johtajuudessa kehittämisessä ja onnistumisessa – tapahtuipa se toisen palveluksessa tai omassa yrityksessä. Keavenyn ja Inderriedenin (1999) tutkimuksen mukaan on mahdollista, että naisia tuetaan miehiä vähemmän johtamisen kehittämiseen osallistumisessa. Silloin kun naiset osallistuvat johtamisohjelmiin, tietoa siitä, miten kehittäminen on vaikuttanut heidän johtajuuteensa ja osaamiseensa, on niukasti saatavilla. Yleisesti kuitenkin ajatellaan, että johdon kehittäminen on osaamista edistävä prosessi, joka auttaa organisaatiota menestymään ja parantaa yksilön suoriutumista työroolissaan (Luoma, 2005).

## **Tavoitteet ja tutkimusmenetelmä**

Tässä tutkimuksessa on kohteena organisaation ulkopuolinen johtamisen kehittäminen, tarkemmin sanottuna johtamisosaamisen kehittämiseen tähtäävä MBA-koulutus. Kyseessä on vain naisille kohdennettu vuosina 2005–2008 toteutettu hanke nimeltään *femaleMBA (fMBA)*, josta vastasi Oulun seudun ammattikorkeakoulun täydennyskoulutus. Hankkeen päärahoitus tuli Euroopan Sosiaalirahastosta. NASTA-hankkeesta Anna-Maija Lämsä ja Minna Hiillos olivat mukana fMBA-ohjelmassa tutkijoina (Lämsä ja Hiillos, 2008). Anna-Maija Lämsä myös toimi suunnitteluryhmässä tieteellisenä asiantuntijana ja ohjausryhmän puheenjohtajana.

Tässä tutkimushankkeessa selvitetään sitä, millainen vaikutus fMBA-koulutuksella on ollut sen suorittaneiden naisjohtajien uriin ja johtamisosaamiseen. Tutkimuksella myös selvitetään sitä, miksi naiset osallistuivat vain naisille tarkoitettuun ohjelmaan. Aihetta tarkastellaan koulutuksesta valmistuneiden naisten kokemusten näkökulmasta. Tutkimus tuottaa tietoa koulutuksen vaikutuksesta ja tukee sitä kautta

kehittämistä tulevaisuudessa. Tutkimuksen tavoite on tiivistettävissä seuraaviin pääkysymyksiin:

- Millaisia siirtymiä uralla ja työtehtävissä tutkittaville tapahtui koulutuksen johdosta?
- Millaista johtamisosaamista tutkittaville syntyi koulutuksen johdosta? Miten tätä osaamista on hyödynnetty käytännössä?
- Miksi tutkittavat osallistuivat koulutukseen? Millaisena tutkittavat kokivat sen, että koulutukseen valittiin ainoastaan naisia?

Tätä kirjoitettaessa tutkimusaineisto on hankittu. Koulutuksesta valmistui alkuvuodesta 2008 kaksikymmentä henkilöä. Heidät on haastateltu teemahaastattelumenetelmällä kesällä 2009. Haastattelujen kesto oli noin 1-2 tuntia. Ne nauhoitettiin ja transkriboitiin sanasanaisesti syksyllä 2009.

Tutkimukseen osallistuneista naisista reilu puolet työskentelee esimies- ja johtamistehtävissä pääosin lähiesimiehinä ja keskijohdossa. Vajaa puolet toimii oman yrityksen omistajajohtajana. Naisten voi katsoa olevan työuransa keskivaiheilla (O’Neil ja Bilimoria, 2005), joten kaikilla on paljon mahdollisuuksia työelämässä urakehityksen ja osaamisen hyödyntämisen näkökulmista. Kaikki haastateltavat olivat suorittaneet fMBA-ohjelman loppuun. Sen päättymisestä haastatteluhetkellä oli kulunut keskimäärin puolitoista vuotta. Näin mahdollistuu koulutuksen vaikutusten tarkastelu paremmin ja pitemmällä ajalla verrattuna siihen, että haastattelut olisi suoritettu heti valmistumisen jälkeen. Puoltatoista vuotta voi pitää kuitenkin niin lyhyenä aikana, että haasteltavilla oli vielä hyvin mielessä koulutuksen sisältö, prosessi ja tapahtumat (vrt. Mutanen & Lämsä, 2006).

### **Tutkijat ja aikataulu**

Tutkimushankkeen kesto on 2009–2011. Sen vastuullinen johtaja on professori Anna-Maija Lämsä Jyväskylän yliopiston taloustieteiden tiedekunnasta. Tutkimukseen osallistuu myös projektipäällikkö KTM Terttu Savela Oulun seudun ammattikorkeakoulusta. Lisäksi on käytetty tutkimusapulaista, joka suoritti haastatteluiden transkriboinnit syksyllä 2009. Tutkimuksesta kirjoitetaan kansaintajuisia artikkeleita suomalaisiin talousalan lehtiin/muihin julkaisuihin. Tavoitteena on myös kirjoittaa kansainvälinen artikkeli. Tutkimusta rahoittaa NASTA-hanke, Oulun seudun ammattikorkeakoulu ja Liikesivistysrahasto.

### **Jatkohankkeet**

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fMBA-koulutuksen yhteydessä on myös kerätty aineisto, jossa naisjohtajat kertovat havaitsemistaan sukupuolittuneista käytännöistä työelämässä. Tämän aineiston pohjalta on tehty opetuskäyttöön caseharjoitus vuoden 2010 aikana osana Pohjoismaiden Ministerineuvoston rahoittamaa Nordplus Neighbour *Development of Environmental and Ethical Competence in Leadership and Management* (DECOM) -hanketta (<http://decom.vukhf.it/>). Casen tekivät yhteistyössä Anna-Maija Lämsä ja Suvi Heikkinen Jyväskylän yliopistosta ja Marjut Jyrkinen Hankenilta.

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## **The quest for well-being in growth industries: a collaborative study in Finland and Scotland**

*Jeff Hearn, Teemu Tallberg, Pernilla Gripenberg, Marjut Jyrkinen, Charlotta Niemistö (Hanken); Linda McKie (Glasgow Caledonian University), Andrew Smith (University of East London), Gill Hogg (Heriot-Watt University), Sophie Bowlby (Reading University)*

The Academy of Finland "QUEST" Project builds on extensive ongoing Finnish and UK research collaboration. As part of the Academy's Research Programme on Work and Well-being, this collaboration explores the relationship between work and well-being, and aims to open up new research frontiers with a view to meeting future challenges. The project examines the contradictory pressures for policies and practices towards both the inhibition and the enhancement of work-related well-being that are likely in growth industries. The overall aim is to evaluate the development, implementation and use of work-related well-being policies in growth industries, selected on the basis of EU and national forecasts, and socio-economic trends in employment. This project provides national and transnational data, analysis and outputs. The project aims:

1. To provide a systematic mapping and situational analysis of relevant work-related legislation and policies for well-being.
2. To identify which policies are in place, being used, monitored and evaluated, in key growth sectors.
3. To examine the interactions between work-related well-being policies, practices and cultures.
4. To identify the opportunities and barriers to the development of well-being policies and practices both formally and informally in the selected industries.
5. To examine how gender and other forms of social differentiation, including non-standard and standard employment, affect competitive advantage and well-being.
6. To examine how transnational processes and structures affect operation of growth industries and work-related, well-being policies.

Methods cover a) critical review of relevant documentary, policy, published literature and material not formally published; b) survey of companies contacted drawn through a quota sampling frame; c) 'portraits of practice' approach to include interviews, field notes and documentary analysis of policies in selected companies; and c) policy analysis and dissemination focus groups.

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C. Hagemann-White, D. Gloor, J. Hanmer, J. Hearn, C. Humphreys, L. Kelly, R. Logar, M. Martinez, C. May-Chahal, I. Novikova, K. Pringle, R. Puchert, M. Schröttle, *Gendering Human Rights Violations*. European Commission, Brussels, 2008.

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Jeff Hearn 'Researching the "man problem" in national and supranational contexts: men, policy and organisational practices in six EU countries', with H. Niemi, Hegemonic Masculinities & International Relations Conference, Univ. of Manchester, May 2005.

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Jeff Hearn 'Men, masculinities and men's practices and processes in the academy', Swedish National Gender Equality Conference, Uppsala University, October 2006.

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Jeff Hearn 'From hegemonic masculinity to the hegemony of men to transpatriarchies Hegemony and Gender Workshop, University of Wollongong, November 2006.

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Jeff Hearn 'Deconstructing the hegemony of men', GEXcel Launch Conference, Linköping University, May 2007.

Jeff Hearn 'Are organisations gendered?', International Governmental Conference, Helsinki, May 2007.

Jeff Hearn 'The personal is work is political is theoretical: Continuities and discontinuities in (pro)feminism, Women' Studies, men and my selves', Past, Present, Future Conference, Umeå University, June 2007.

Jeff Hearn 'On organisations and transnationalisation: Explorations in personal, institutional and global connections', University of St. Mary's, Halifax, Canada, June 2007.

Jeff Hearn Keynote 'What next in critically studying men and masculinities? Neglected themes and developing theories', 'Family Life from the Male Perspective: New Roles, New Identities' Conference, Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, September 2007.

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Jeff Hearn 'Women and men managers "home and away": Domestic life and international business life', Karriär, förebilder och ledarskap Seminar, Ruter Dam program, Helsinki, November 2007.

Jeff Hearn 'Three neglected intersectionalities in studying men: age, virtuality, transnationality', Mälardalen University, Sweden, December 2007.

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Jeff Hearn: 'Focusing on men's violences by not focusing on men's violences alone, Violence Against Women: Histories, Methodologies, Activism and Research, Conference in Honour of Jalna Hanmer, University of York, May 2008.

Jeff Hearn: 'Three and a half approaches to patriarchy/patriarchies/transpatriarchies', Symposium on Theories of Patriarchy and Structural Gender Theories, University of Oslo, June 2008.

Jeff Hearn: Roundtable 'International perspectives on gender research', The Graduate Programmes for Gender Studies of Switzerland Conference, University of Geneva, June 2008.

Jeff Hearn: 'Current challenges for gender research in an international perspective', and 'Normative processes of masculinity in medicine and technics', The Graduate Programmes for Gender Studies of Switzerland Conference, University of Geneva, June 2008.

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Jeff Hearn: 'Men's violence against women: What supports it, what might prevent it', 1<sup>st</sup> Prevention of Violence against Women Conference, Copenhagen, September 2008.

Jeff Hearn: 'Men/masculinities, violence/war/militarism: Searching (for) the obvious connections?', The War Question for Feminism. Gender aspects on militaries, armed conflict, peacekeeping and anti-war activism, September 2008, Örebro University, Sweden.

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Liisa Husu 'Gender and excellence in research funding: European perspectives', Swiss National Science Foundation Kolloquium Geschlecht und Forschungsförderung, Bern, November 7, 2008.

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Jeff Hearn 'Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities', Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, March 2009.

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Lämsä, Anna-Maija (2008) 'Case studies: Women's leadership project NASTA, School of Business and Economics, University of Jyväskylä', teoksessa Esben Rahbek Pedersen, Simon Tywuschik & Conzalo Sanchez Gardey (toim.) *The Symposium Report Diversity Management in Business Schools: Emerging Trends, New Priorities & Good Practices*, EABIS European Academy of Business in Society, European Institute for Managing Diversity and EFMD The Management Development Network, 1page.

Välimäki, Suvi, Lämsä, Anna-Maija & Hiillos, Minna (2008) *Millainen mies on menestyvän naisen takana?* Jyväskylän yliopisto, taloustieteiden tiedekunta, working paper N:o 351/2008.

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### Web-based articles

*Naiset ja johtajuus –open access verkko-opetusaineisto*

Editor/toimittaja: Lämsä, Anna-Maija (2006)

<http://naisjohtajuus.jyu.fi>

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Tekijä: Lämsä, A-M. (2006)

Luku 1.4 open access -verkko-opetusaineisto. "Naiset ja johtajuus" (NASTA-projekti).

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Tekijä: Lämsä, A-M. (2006)

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<http://naisjohtajuus.jyu.fi>

*Sukupuolen käsite*

Tekijät: Hiillos, M. & Lämsä, A-M. (2006)

Luku 2.2 open access -verkko-opetusaineisto. "Naiset ja johtajuus" (NASTA-projekti).

<http://naisjohtajuus.jyu.fi>

*Feminismi ja johtajuus*

Tekijä: Lämsä, A-M. (2006)

Luku 2.3 open access -verkko-opetusaineisto. "Naiset ja johtajuus" (NASTA-projekti).

<http://naisjohtajuus.jyu.fi>

*Tutkimuksen analysointia*

Tekijä: Lämsä, A-M. (2006)

Luku 2.5 open access -verkko-opetusaineisto. "Naiset ja johtajuus" (NASTA-projekti).

<http://naisjohtajuus.jyu.fi>

*Urateoriat*

Tekijä: Ekonen, M. (2006)

Luku 3.1. open access -verkko-opetusaineisto. "Naiset ja johtajuus" (NASTA-projekti).

<http://naisjohtajuus.jyu.fi>

*Esimerkki valtionhallinnosta*

Tekijä: Lämsä, A-M. (2006)

Luku 3.4 open access -verkko-opetusaineisto. "Naiset ja johtajuus" (NASTA-projekti).

<http://naisjohtajuus.jyu.fi>

*Steroetyypit ja myytit*

Tekijät: Hiillos, M. & Lämsä, A-M. (2006)

Luku 4 open access -verkko-opetusaineisto. "Naiset ja johtajuus" (NASTA-projekti).

<http://naisjohtajuus.jyu.fi>

*Kirjallisuus- ja artikkeliesittelyitä*

Tekijät: Ekonen, M., Hiillos, M., Kontoniemi, N. & Lämsä, A-M. (2006)

Luku 7 open access -verkko-opetusaineisto. "Naiset ja johtajuus" (NASTA-projekti).

<http://naisjohtajuus.jyu.fi>

## **Doctoral, licentiate and master's theses linked to the project**

### **Hanken School of Economics**

#### **Master's theses – pro gradu –tutkielmat**

Ahlgren, Nina (2007): Motarbete glastaket för kvinnliga ledare – HR-funktionens roll. Johtamisen pro gradu –tutkimus. Svenska handelshögskolan.

Alftan, Emma (2008): What does it take to become a channel director? A study of Women Television Channel Directors in Finland. Hanken, pro gradu –avhandling i företagsledning och organisation.

Huvtus, Emma (2008): Kvinnor, företagande och attityder – En studie om småföretagares genusperspektiv inom handeln. Hanken, pro gradu –avhandling i entreprenörskap och företagsledning.

Idman, Heidi (2006): "You do not need to be superwoman to succeed": Women in Management in a Global IT Company in Finland. Johtamisen pro gradu -tutkimus. Svenska handelshögskolan.

Keinonen, Petra (2007): Networking at the Top. Networking amongst women and the role of gender in top management and corporate boards in Finland. Johtamisen pro gradu -tutkimus. Svenska handelshögskolan.

Klaus, Stella (2008): Alterneringsledighet ur ett arbetsgivarperspektiv – en fallstudie i Pohjola Försäkring Ab. Hanken, pro gradu –avhandling i företagsledning och organisation.

Poulsen-Harilahti, Anna (2008): Att förena arbetslivet och familjelivet – en fallstudie ur de anställdas perspektiv. Hanken, pro gradu –avhandling i företagsledning och organisation.

Österlund, Linda (2010): Betydelsen av personliga kontakter i ekonomers arbetssökning. En studie om skillnader mellan kön och språkgrupper. Hanken, pro gradu –avhandling i företagsledning och organisation.

#### **Doctoral theses – väitöskirjat**

Niemi, Hertta (2010): 'Managing in the "Golden Cage": An Ethnographic Study of Work, Management and Gender in Parliamentary Administration', *Publications of the Hanken School of Economics, Economics and Society* no. 218.

Niemistö, Charlotta (2011): 'Work/family reconciliation: Corporate management, family policies, and gender equality in the Finnish context', *Publications of the Hanken School of Economics, Economics and Society*, no.236.

Segercrantz, Beata (2011): '... the walls fell down but the blokes just coded ...' - Varieties of stability in software product development during organizational restructurings', *Publications of the Hanken School of Economics. Economics and Society*, N:o 226.

Teemu Tallberg (2009): 'The Gendered Social Organisation of Defence: Two Ethnographic Case Studies in the Finnish Defence Forces', *Publications of the Hanken School of Economics. Economics and Society*, n:o. 193.

## Helsinki School of Economics

### Master's theses – pro gradu –tutkielmat

- Hiltunen, E. (2007): Henkilöstön organisaatioon sitoutuminen suomalaisissa hotelleissa. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Kattilamäki, M. (2009): Job rotation as a tool for developing managerial competencies. Case International trainee programme. Master's thesis in Organization and Management, Helsinki School of Economics.
- Kärkkäinen, K. (2008): Perheystävällinen organisaatiokulttuuri. Case: Valio Oy. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu –tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Kärkkäinen, M. (2008): Miksi naisia on vähän yritysten johdossa? ”Syllistämisen” diskurssit suomalaisissa lehdissä. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu –tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Lindholm, S. (2008): Ylimmän johdon valinta Suomessa. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu –tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Markkanen, S. (2008): Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulun naisopiskelijoiden mielikuvia johtajuudesta. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu –tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Mäkinen, J-M. (2008): Elinikäinen oppiminen elämäntapana: Työn, iltaopiskelun ja perheen yhdistäminen, aikuisopiskelijoiden kokemuksia. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu –tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Narkiniemi, P. (2008): Suorahakuprosessin tarkastelua sukupuolen näkökulmasta - Case Stanton Chase International. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu –tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Niimes, A. (2006): Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulun ensimmäisen vuoden opiskelijoiden työelämäorientaatiot. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Nokkonen, M. (2007): Näkemyksiä pörssiyritysten sukupuolikiintiöistä. Retorinen diskurssianalyysi Helsingin Sanomien verkkokeskusteluista. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Ojala, S. (2011): Sukupuolistereotyytiat organisaatioissa – Suomen Ekonomiliitto SEFE ry:hyn kuuluvien johdajien näkemyksiä naisjohtajuudesta. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu –tutkielma, Aalto-yliopiston kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Oksa, J. (2008): Ulkomaankomennuksella mukana olleiden puolisoitten kotiinpaluu ja uudelleensopeutuminen kahden uran pariskunnissa. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu –tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Puumalainen, S. (2008): Naisten verkosto asiantuntijaorganisaatiossa - Case Tigress/Accenture. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu –tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Raitanen, V. (2009): Johtajien urakehitys. SEFE:n jäsenten suhtautuminen työelämään. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu –tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Rantanen, J. (2007): Johtajina työskentelevien naisten ja miesten työn ja perheen yhteensovittaminen. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Reijonen, H. (2008): Naisjohtajien organisaatioon sitoutuminen. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu –tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Soininen, E. & Soininen, T-M. (2008): Miesyrittäjän työn ja perheen yhteensovittaminen. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Toiva, A. (2009): Mentorointikokemuksen sosiaalinen rakentuminen ja koetut hyödyt Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulun mentorointiohjelmassa. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu –tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.

Tolvanen, V. (2007): Non-profit-sektorin HR-ammattilaisten onnistumistarinoita. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.

Weiste-Palvanen, H. (2009): Vuokratyöntekijöiden organisaatioon sitoutuminen. Case MedOn2. Organisaatiot ja johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.

### **Doctoral theses**

Kirsi LaPointe (2011): 'Moral struggles, subtle shifts : narrative practices of identity work in career transitions', *Aalto University publication series Doctoral Dissertations*, 34.

## **University of Jyväskylä**

### **Master's theses – Pro gradu –tutkielmat**

Halmetoja Hannele (2006): Naisjohtajien työhyvinvointi vakuutusallalla. Fenomenologishermeneuttinen lähestymistapa, johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Jyväskylän yliopisto, taloustieteiden tiedekunta.

Hartikainen, Armi (2009): Työn ja perheen myönteinen vuorovaikutus, johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Jyväskylän yliopisto, taloustieteiden tiedekunta.

Höylä, Miia (2007): Miksi suomalaisia naisia on yritysten ylimmässä johdossa vähän? Etnometodologinen lähestymistapa, johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Jyväskylän yliopisto, taloustieteiden tiedekunta.

Kankkunen, Suvi (2009): Identiteetit ja identifioituminen urasiirtymissä. 8 naisjohtajan urakertomuksen diskursiivinen analyysi, johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Jyväskylän yliopisto, taloustieteiden tiedekunta.

Kautto, Hanna (2008): Naisten johtamisurien edistäminen organisaatioissa henkilöstöjohtamisen ammattilaisten näkökulmasta, johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Jyväskylän yliopisto, taloustieteiden tiedekunta.

Kumpulainen, Kaisa (2007): Suomalaisen huippunaisjohtajan profiili, johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Jyväskylän yliopisto, taloustieteiden tiedekunta

Mutanen, Sanna (2005): Mentoroinnin avulla lasikatkon läpi? Tutkimus mentoroinnin merkityksistä naisten urakehitykselle, johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Jyväskylän yliopisto, taloustieteiden tiedekunta.

Nojonen, Anni (2009): Nuorten kauppatieteilijöiden käsitykset urista ja uraesteistä – Fenomenografinen tarkastelu, johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Jyväskylän yliopisto, taloustieteiden tiedekunta.

Paldanius, Jenni (2008): Naisten johtamisuria edistävät tekijät. Suurten yritysten keski-johdossa ja ylemmässä keskijohdossa työskentelevien naisten kokemuksia heidän uriaan edistävästä tekijöistä, johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Jyväskylän yliopisto, taloustieteiden tiedekunta.

Peräneva Tuija (2006): Käsitykset palkitsemisesta naisjohtajien näkökulmasta - Naisjohtajien käsitykset oman työn ei-rahallisesta palkitsemisesta, johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Jyväskylän yliopisto, taloustieteiden tiedekunta.

Piilola, Arja (2008): ”Mikä meitä sen paremmin kouluttaa kuin meidän omat mukulat?” Äitiyden merkitykset naisjohtajan urakehitykselle, johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Jyväskylän yliopisto, taloustieteiden tiedekunta.

Puttonen, Tuomas (2006): Työhyvinvointi, stressi ja johtajuus: Työhyvinvointimittarin validointi ja tutkimus johtajan sukupuolen ja johtajuuden vaikutuksesta alaisen kokemaan stressiin, johtamisen pro gradu -tutkielma, Jyväskylän yliopisto, taloustieteiden tiedekunta.

Välimäki, Suvi (2008): Puolison merkitys naisjohtajan uralla, johtamisen pro gradu –tutkielma, Jyväskylän yliopisto, taloustieteiden tiedekunta.

### **Licentiate theses - Lisensiaattitutkimukset**

Ekonen, Marianne (2007): Moninaiset urat – Narratiivinen tutkimus naisjohtajien urakehityksestä, Jyväskylän yliopisto, taloustieteiden tiedekunta.

Martelius-Louniala, Tiina (2007): Naisjohtajien kokemuksia tunteista johtajuudessa, Jyväskylän yliopisto, taloustieteiden tiedekunta.

### **Doctoral theses – väitöskirjat**

Omar, Katlin (2011): ‘Women’s managerial careers in the context of the United Arab Emirates’, *University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä Studies on Business and Economics* 106.



**International Conference  
LEADERSHIP THROUGH  
THE GENDER LENS:  
WOMEN, MEN AND GENDER  
EQUALITY IN ORGANISATIONS  
October 22 and 23, 2009,  
Helsinki, Hanken School of Economics**

**Venue: Hanken School of Economics, Arkadiankatu 22, Helsinki**

**THURSDAY, OCTOBER 22**

8:30 – 10:00	Registration and coffee FOYER ASSEMBLY HALL
10:00 – 10:30	<b>Opening and Welcome Addresses</b> Project Manager Liisa Husu, NASTA, Hanken
10:30 – 11:30	<b>Vice Rector of Hanken, Professor VERONICA LILJANDER</b>  <b>Plenary session 1</b> Chair: Anna-Maija Lämsä Professor ANNA WAHL, Royal Institute of Technology, Sweden: The Impact of Gender Equality on Management and Leadership – Reflections on Change and Resistance
11:45 – 13:00	<b>Parallel Sessions 1 - 5:</b> See separate programme
13:00 – 14:00	Lunch in the Foyer ASSEMBLY HALL
14:00 – 15:30	<b>Plenary session 2</b> Chair: Sinikka Vanhala Professors JEFF HEARN, SINIKKA VANHALA, ANNA-MAIJA LÄMSÄ, and Dr LIISA HUSU: Highlights of the NASTA project
14:30 – 15:30	Professor ALBERT J. MILLS, St. Mary's University, Canada: Ten Things You Should Know About Gender, Leadership, and Organizational Culture: Reflections on Twenty Years of Research
15:30 – 15:45	Coffee in the Foyer
15:45 – 17:45	<b>Parallel Sessions 6 - 10:</b> see separate programme
19:00 – 20:00	<b>Reception of the City of Helsinki</b> Old Court House, Aleksanterinkatu 20

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 23

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9:00 – 12:00	<b>Parallel Sessions 11 - 15:</b> see separate programme
12:00 – 13:00	Lunch in the Foyer ASSEMBLY HALL
13:00 – 14:00	<b>Plenary Session 3</b> Chair: Jeff Hearn Professor SUSAN VINNICOMBE and Dr. RUTH SEALY, Cranfield University, UK: Women on Top Corporate Boards: The Slow Progress and Initiatives that Promote Positive Change
14:15 – 15:45	ASSEMBLY HALL <b>Panel discussion:</b> Gender Lens on Leadership: Finland in Focus Moderator: BETTINA SÅGBOM Panelists: Author/Lecturer LENITA AIRISTO, Deputy Mayor TUULA HAATAINEN, Research Director PAULI JUUTI, and HRM Manager JOHANNA SAARINEN
Ca. 16:00	<b>Concluding session</b> Chair: Liisa Husu ASSEMBLY HALL  <b>Address of the Ministry of Education, Director ANITA LEHIKONEN</b> Closing remarks, Professors Jeff Hearn, Anna-Maija Lämsä and Sinikka Vanhala
- 18:00	<b>Farewell drinks</b> in the Foyer

## SESSION PROGRAMME

### CAREER stream

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#### SESSION 1 EXPATRIATES

Thursday, October 22, 11:45 – 13:00

Chair: Anna-Maija Lämsä

Mäkelä, Liisa., Mayerhofer, H. and Suutari, V., Finland:  
Female expatriates discursively reproducing their gender

Niemistö, Charlotta, Gripenberg, Pernilla and Alapeteri, Carla, Finland:  
Male and female attitudes towards international assignments

## SESSION 6 CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Thursday, October 22, 15:45 – 17:45

Chair: Charlotta Niemistö

Ekonen, Marianne, Finland: Diversity of women's career development in leadership

LaPointe, Kirsi, Finland: Gendered identity work in narratives of career change

Lämsä, Anna-Maija, Finland: A women-only management development programme: meaning for women's careers

Aalto-Nevalainen, Päivi, Finland: Developing a Theoretical Framework for Studying Managers' Career Success in Sport Organisations from a Gender Viewpoint

## SESSION 11 HOME AND WORK

Friday, October 23, 9:00 – 12:00

Chair: Kirsi LaPointe

Ihsen, Susanne, Jeanrenaud, Yves M.A. and Hantschel Victoria, Germany: Work-life reconciliation on the way to the top

Välimäki, Suvi, Lämsä, Anna-Maija and Hiillos, Minna, Finland: Spousal support for a woman manager's career

Känsälä, Marja, Finland: Dual-career Couples Reconciling Two Careers

Charlotta Niemistö Niemistö, Charlotta, Finland: HR-manager profiles: Gendered contextualisation, perceptions and expectations on reconciliation of work and care responsibilities of children

Mäkelä, Liisa, Finland: Stories of Pregnancy-Related Discrimination and Returning to Work After Maternity Leave

## HIGHER EDUCATION & CULTURE stream

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## SESSION 2 INTERVENTIONS

Chair: Suvi Välimäki

Thursday, October 22, 11:45 – 13:00

Blom, Agneta, Sweden: IDAS. A program to increase the number of women leaders in Swedish higher education.

Wroblewski, Angela, Austria: Measures to increase the share of women in leading positions in academia in Austria: When do they work? Why do they fail?

## SESSION 7 LEADERSHIP IN ACADEMIA

Chair: Agneta Blom

Thursday, October 22, 15:45 – 17:45

Schäfer, Sabine, Austria: What about Gender Justice in Higher Education? The Case of Universities in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany

Novelskaite, Aurelija, Lithuania: Leadership in Lithuanian Academia: (en)gendered stories and (en)gendered images

Vasijevienė, Nijolė and Pučėtaitė, Raminta, Lithuania: Organizational integrity as provision for equal opportunity: some reflections about the causes for women's discrimination in Lithuanian academic institutions

Husu, Liisa, Finland: Triple Minority At The Top: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Top Women in Technological Research

## SESSION 12 CULTURE

Chair: Sinikka Vanhala

Friday, October 23, 9:00 – 12:00

Korhonen, Pirkko, Finland: Is the Influx of Female Conductors Probable?

Torkkola, Sinikka and Ruoho Iris, Finland: Subscribing to a woman editor-in-chief? Female and male editors' views on the impact of gender on careers

Rousi, Rebekah, Finland: Xena and Homer's heroes versus Kalevala – observing Finnish gendered leadership archetypes in the media texts of Marimekko

Myrden, Susan, Mills, Albert and Helms Mills, Jean, Canada: The Gendering of Air Canada: A Critical Hermeneutic Approach

## LEADERSHIP stream

### SESSION 3 LEADING WOMEN

Chair: Marianne Ekonen

Thursday, October 22, 11:45 – 13:00

Santora, Joseph C. and Santos, James C., USA and Australia: Leadership Challenges for a Newly Appointed Woman Executive Director: Standing in the Shadow of the Founder and Other Succession Issues

Lahav, Pnina, USA: Golda Meir and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the Suez Crisis, 1956

## SESSION 8 TOP WOMEN

Chair: TBA

Thursday, October 22, 15:45 – 17:45

Ahlers, Susanne and Buehrmann, Andrea Dorothea, Germany: All Roads Lead To the Top, Or Do They? How Women Get Leading Positions

Collins, James, UK: Visibility and Self-Promotion: A Dilemma for Women Leaders

Kooskora, Mari and Lemsalu, Piret, Estonia: Female Executives on their Way to Top

Salojärvi, Sari, Finland: Leadership and Management development – gender variation in the results of 360° – evaluations in three decades

## SESSION 13 LEADERSHIP DYNAMICS

Chair: Susan Harwood

Friday, October 23, 9:00 – 12:00

Narain, Uma, India: Second McCarthyism: “Have you no decency, Sir?”

Hardies, Kris, Breesch, Diane and Branson, Joël, Belgium: Leading Your Audit Team: On the Importance of Team Gender

Solankallio, Tytti and Kauko-Valli, Sofia, Finland: Subjective power among self-employed women – construct of experience

Henttonen, Elina, Finland: Interpretations of technology: an ethnographic study on small ICT-companies with women owner-managers

## PUBLIC SECTOR

### AND NGOs stream

## SESSION 4 NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

Chair: Marjut Jyrkinen

Thursday, October 22, 11:45 – 13:00

Barry, Jim, Berg, Elisabeth and Chandler, John, UK and Sweden: Changing Leadership and Movement in Public Sector Organizations

Findlay, Tammy, Canada: Femocratic Administration and Organisational Transformation: Gender Regimes and Public Management in Ontario, Canada

## SESSION 9 NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

Chair: Jean Helms Mills

Thursday, October 22, 15:45 – 17:45

Dunn, Michael D., UK: UK Armed Forces – Authority and Gender

Gemandze, Bobuin John, Cameroon: The Ministry of Territorial Administration: ‘no woman’s territory’ in public management in Cameroon?

Jurėnienė, Virginija, Lithuania: Stereotypical character of the society of the 2nd Republic of Lithuania: women’s attempts to be equal partners in the state

Tatham, Peter & Kovacs, Gyöngyi, UK and Finland: Logistics Skills through the Gender Lens

## SESSION 14 NATIONAL AND LOCAL

Chair: Hertta Niemi

Friday, October 23, 9:00 – 12:00

Agboro, Omam Pat, Nigeria: Women Issues and Equality in the Public Sphere: The Nigerian experience

Palma Beltran, Mary Ruby, Philippines: Leadership and gender- responsive local governance: the story of multi-stakeholders’ success in Quezon city, Philippines

Georgescu – Păun, Laura, Romania: Gender and Leadership in Non-Governmental Organizations

Gillian Maxwell, Scotland: The Career Experiences of Expatriate Female Professionals Working in Abu Dhabi

## POWER AND CHANGE stream

### SESSION 5 CHANGE

Chair: Jeff Hearn

Thursday, October 22, 11:45 – 13:00

Sanderson, Karen, Mills, Albert J. and Helms Mills, Jean, Canada: Making Sense of Gender and Change

Harwood, Susan, Australia: Leadership through the gender lens: a call for less modesty, more bravado

## SESSION 10    BOARDS

Chair: Janne Tienari

Thursday, October 22, 15:45 – 17:45

Sealy, Ruth, UK: Women's Progress Towards the Boardroom in Economically Turbulent Times

Jyrkinen, Marjut, McKie, Linda and Rosvall, Petra, Finland and Scotland: Lean Times: Gender, Corporate Boards and Quotas

Pesonen, Sinikka, Vanhala, Sinikka and Nokkonen, Maria, Finland: Rhetorics in Gender-quota Discourse: An analysis of opinion texts

## SESSION 15    MEN

Chair: Jeff Hearn

Friday, October 23, 9:00 – 12:00

Hearn, Jeff, Finland: "Men, Masculinities and Leadership", 20 Years On: Gender/Intersectionalities, Local/Transnational, Embodied/Virtual, Theory/Practice

Erfurt, Philine and Geppert, Jochen, Germany: Strategic management, power and masculinity

Jansson, Ulrika and Åberg, Magnus, Sweden: Access as process – on the recession within the engineering industry and its effects on gender research and gender equality work

Tienari, Janne and Styhre, Alexander, Finland and Sweden: On the Challenges of Reflexivity: Writing About 'Otherness' as Pro-Feminist White Men

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