



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

School of Global Studies

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A gender analysis of excluding organizational cultures in a production environment



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~

*Setareh Shahbazian
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Abstract

In international human rights law, the boundaries between legal discrimination and its more subtle forms, exclusion, are very vague and difficult to frame. This thesis examines the subtle intangible mechanisms leading to exclusion. The objective is to study different mechanisms of the exclusion of women in the organizational cultures in a production environment. The theoretical framework of this thesis deals with the concepts of gender and organizational culture and the methodology is a case study of a male dominated production plant in Sweden.

The principal analytical framework is the theory by Dr. Rutherford where the constituents of the organization's culture were studied in order to identify the mechanisms that contribute to exclusion. The empirical material consists of an observation, seven semi-structured explorative background interviews with key female and male employees working in the field of diversity, and eight semi-structured in-depth interviews with female and male operators and production leaders.

The results show that organizational structure and culture have exclusionary implications for the employees. Although the informants did not experience exclusion based on gender on a personal level, a number of exclusionary mechanisms were revealed. The most prominent factors were identified in the sexualized language and overtly heterosexual culture which was accepted and normalized by both genders. The working environment was described as masculine, tough and naturally more suited to men, and the sexual jokes and banters proved to fulfill the function of preventing boredom and releasing tension. However, these same jargons and banters resulted in a subtle form of offensive behavior, ultimately affecting both genders. The female employees were also faced with the pressure to prove and justify their competence and skills.

Furthermore, the study suggests that the gender composition has a direct and positive effect on the experiences of the employees where the existence of only one female in the working teams improved the group dynamics and softened the jargons. The conclusion of the study is that exclusionary mechanisms are embedded in the different areas of the organizational culture, and that real change should therefore include all the different organizational levels and the various aspects of the organizational culture.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The very idea of the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights (UDHR) is that the rights enshrined in the declaration are inherent to every human being without any distinction, such as race, gender or religion.

Due to the continuous negation of women's rights, the UDHR document has been supplemented by a separate convention which focuses specifically on the rights of women. Also known as the "international bill of rights for women", the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) provides legal obligations for states to ensure that discrimination against women does not occur in the public or the private sectors.

Although these non-discriminatory principles have resulted in a variety of equal opportunity policies in the political, social and economic spheres, reports from all parts of the world confirm the fact that discriminatory acts and practices against women are still occurring globally and in all sectors of society.

As global actors, transnational corporations have legal obligations to promote equal opportunities and to combat discrimination. However, in the absence of a clear and universal definition of discrimination and equality, the right to equality, specifically gender equality, is consistently violated. This background has created a variety of methods for corporations to use in their anti-discriminatory and equality work.

The most common way for organizations to combat discrimination based on gender is through equal opportunities and diversity programs. Diversity and equal opportunities is today an accepted part of many corporate agendas and equality and anti-discrimination acts are mandatory for all of EU's member states. Despite this, the commitments rarely result in a sustained increase in women at senior levels and in male dominated sectors.

Even Sweden, one of the signatories to CEDAW, and a country with long political commitment to developing pro-active social and family policy, continues to have an ever so gender-segregated labour market. Women dominate the public sector, characterized with

lower average salaries and higher proportion of part-time employments, while men dominate the private sector. These facts lead the author to the question of why the progress in the field of equal opportunities has been so slow.

With the focus primarily on the formal aspects of discrimination, such as legislation and regulations, states and organizations have failed to capture the informal aspects of discrimination. In response, researchers from the disciplines of gender studies, organization studies and sociology have in the last two decades, entered the field of organizational theory with the aim of examining organizational culture and revealing the informal aspects of the phenomena.

Given that the aim of this study was defined to see the informal and intangible barriers of discrimination, the cultural approach was adapted to this purpose. The author believes that this approach is important to emphasize in the field of human rights where the phenomena of discrimination and equal opportunities much too often are discussed from a legal perspective. The boundaries between legal discrimination and its milder and more subtle forms, exclusion, are very vague and difficult to frame. Even though the law has roughly outlined what can be regarded as discrimination, the subtle intangible mechanisms leading to exclusion have not been fully identified. The cultural approach was chosen in order to catch these informal mechanisms, and to broaden the concept of discrimination to include also exclusion. The understanding of the author is thereby, that exclusion is a breach of human rights.

In this thesis, the author aims to study the exclusionary mechanisms embedded in an organizational culture from a gender perspective. The principal theoretical framework used is the organizational culture and gender approach from Dr Sarah Rutherford. Rutherford has defined the ways in which aspects of culture are acted to close off areas of work to women managers. By breaking down culture into different constituents her model seeks to reveal the ways in which cultures may marginalise and exclude women. The empirical base consists of a case-study of a male dominated global manufacturing enterprise. The production environment for the case study is recognized as a global frontrunner in providing equal opportunities for its employees regardless of gender, while at the same time showing patterns of under-representation of women. It is because of this paradox that it was chosen as the focus for this thesis.

1.1 Purpose and research questions

This thesis aims to study different mechanisms of the exclusion of women in the organizational cultures in a production environment. The point of departure of this thesis is the model developed by Sarah Rutherford on exclusion of female managers, which will be applied to a production environment.

The following principal research question has been supplemented with two specified sub-questions in order to capture a wider understanding of the phenomenon of exclusion:

Do the employees in the chosen production environment experience exclusion based on gender, and if so, in what ways are they manifested?

a. If exclusion is experienced, does it concern both genders?

b. Does the gender composition affect the employee's experiences of exclusion?

1.2 Delimitation

This thesis touches upon several wide concepts, such as human rights, discrimination, exclusion and gender equality. These interrelated concepts affect many different aspects of organizational and everyday life of individuals. The limited scope of this thesis makes it impossible to touch upon all the aspects of these themes that deserve to be mentioned. The focus of this study is to, from the empirical base, identify exclusionary mechanisms based on gender. The legal aspects of discrimination and human rights will therefore only be touched briefly and interwoven into the different sections of the thesis in order to mark the intersections between the concepts.

Regarding the case-study, it is important to note that the chosen enterprise operates on a global level and is as such, part of a system, affected by global issues. Due to time limitations however, I was not able to analyze the global aspects. A Eurocentric criticism will therefore be partly valid for this thesis. On the other hand, the intention is not to draw globally valid conclusions about the prevalence of various forms of exclusion at Indust¹. It is rather to obtain a qualitative understanding of how exclusion is manifested in the chosen context, and

¹ Indust is the pseudonym I have used for the corporation I have studied

to capture different descriptions of the exclusionary processes at the production department of Indust.

As a last point, since the thesis focuses on exclusion, the inclusive illustrations from the empirical material fall somewhat in the shadow of this study. It could be argued that the thesis projects a skewed picture of the prevailing conditions for the female workers at Indust. Therefore, it is important to emphasize that the empirical results contained both inclusive and exclusive mechanisms but that this thesis will focus on the exclusionary factors only.

2. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND MATERIAL

This section provides a description of the process of gathering and analysing the material, and the writing of this thesis. The methodology is discussed briefly, followed by accounts of the chosen literature and case study.

2.1 Choice of method

The central element in fulfilling the aim of the study was the illustrations and experiences of the informants of the chosen case study. Attitudes and behaviours were therefore important to analyse in order to understand the phenomena of how exclusion is manifested. Thus, the qualitative approach explained by Bryman (2008:366) as “*a research strategy that is inductivist, constructionist, and interpretivist*”, suited the purpose of this thesis best. In addition, according to some feminist scholars, qualitative research is more compatible with the central tenets of feminism since in this approach, women are less likely to be treated as objects to be controlled by the researcher’s technical procedures and submerged into a torrent of facts and statistics (Mies 1993).

The main methods for collecting the material for this study consisted of three distinct parts and methods: interviews, observation, and literature studies. The first two methods were mainly collected through a case-study.

2.2 Case study

Case study research is concerned with studying phenomena under real circumstances and exploring the complexity and particular nature of the case in question (Bryman 2008:53). There is a delicate difference between case study and cross sectional study which needs to be discussed. Cross-sectional studies involve observation of a whole population, or a

representative division, at one specific point in time and in more than one case (Ibid:44). The application of case study on the other hand, is valid in those instances where the fieldwork has been undertaken in a single location and where the case itself is the focus of the interest.

This thesis is concerned with the particular ways in which exclusion manifests itself in production environments but the empirical material will be collected from one single case. The aim is not to draw generalized conclusions on the prevalence of various forms of exclusion, but rather to obtain a more qualitative understanding of how exclusion is manifested in the particular context, and therefore, the method of case-study was chosen. The case study is a production plant attached to a global manufacturing enterprise. For the sake of protecting the brand name of the corporation and the informants, I anonymized the name of the corporation and used the pseudonym Indust.

The idea for this thesis came partly from a Human Resource representative who had requested a guideline policy to work with diversity and inclusion in Indust's different production and manufacturing facilities. Much of Indust's initiatives in this area had traditionally focused on managers, therefore, the necessity to take a more comprehensive approach to production environments had been identified.

A three-step-project with the aim to develop a common guideline was therefore launched by Indust. The author is involved in the first step of the project, which is to study and analyze the exclusionary mechanisms of one of the enterprises production plants. The analysis of this thesis will serve as base for the second and third steps, which is to develop, test and launch a guideline directed towards the production and manufacturing plants. These second and third steps, naturally fall outside of the scope of this thesis and they will therefore not be mentioned. They will be led by the diversity director of Indust.

The first proposal by Indust was to conduct the case-study at a French production plant where the necessity for equal opportunities was identified and different reports of inequalities had been noted. Due to language difficulties however, I was advised to conduct the study at a Swedish site instead. The second choice proposed was a production plant situated in a medium-sized city in northern Sweden. This production plant had relatively low proportion of females, at the same time as they had a management team dedicated to equal opportunities.

The gender homogeneous production facility with 87% of the employees being male, made the case interesting from a gender perspective.

During the course of this study, I was offered the possibility to conduct complementary interviews in another one of Indust's production plants situated in one of Sweden's largest cities. This production plant was considered to be in the forefront of dealing with gender equality among its industrial workers. Therefore, the experiences from the staff in the field of gender equality were valuable input. These explorative interviews were used only as background information. In order to prevent mixing up the two production plants, I have called this one Indust 2.

The case study includes a variety of methods; interviews, observations, literature study and analysis of recorded material. One advantage of using several methods is that the reliability of the results increase if the different chosen methods converge (May 2006:172-173). These methods chosen to collect the empirical material will be outlined under the next section.

2.3 Interview types, survey and observation

In order to design the interview questions and the observation guide, I have used the analytical model of gendered organizational cultures by Dr Rutherford. This model has been chosen because it offers a manageable and relatively practical and concrete tool to operationalize culture. In order to identify the exclusionary mechanisms, this model breaks down the organizational culture into nine constituents. This analytical model will be presented thoroughly under the theoretical chapter.

To start with, two types of interviews were conducted: seven explorative background interviews and eight in-depth interviews. The purpose of conducting the explorative background interviews was to capture the necessary background information of the chosen case-study. The interviews were carried out in a qualitative, semi-structured form, with a relatively low level of standardization in order to allow for the informants to speak freely. I also used the results from a diversity survey conducted 2010 by Indust. Through the explorative background interviews and the results from the diversity survey, I was able to highlight the relevant areas necessary to focus on in the in-depth interviews. As a last step, questions were designed and categorized according to the nine constituents of Rutherford.

The in-depth interviews were conducted to capture the experiences and illustrations of the employees in the production plant. The objective was to understand how the informants experience exclusion, in whatever form they may appear and be expressed. The interviews took approximately 45-60 minutes each and were semi-structured. Two of the *explorative* interviews were conducted over the phone and in English, while the rest were live and in Swedish. All of the interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Observations can be conducted in an objective manner in order to supplement the subjective interviews (Bryman 2008). Therefore, the interviews were supplemented with an observation in the production plant which was conducted during a two hours long guided tour through the production department. The aim of the observation was, for the author herself, to get familiarised with the physical environment.

2.3.1 Selection of informants

As indicated in table 1 15 interviews were conducted, seven explorative interviews and nine in-depth interviews.

Table 1. Informants

<i>Explorative interviews</i>		<i>In-depth interviews</i>	
<i>HR managers/directors</i>	<i>4 female</i>	<i>Industrial workers</i>	<i>3 female 2 male</i>
<i>Plant manager</i>	<i>1 female</i>	<i>Production leaders</i>	<i>2 female</i>
<i>Production leader (Indust 2)</i>	<i>1 male</i>	<i>Part-time union representative and industrial worker</i>	<i>1 male</i>
<i>Chairman of the union</i>	<i>1 male</i>		
	<i>7 informants (5 female 2 male)</i>		<i>8 informants (5 female 3 male)</i>
<i>Total number of interviews</i>		<i>Total number of interviews</i>	

As previously explained, the purpose of conducting explorative interviews was to create an understanding of the nature of the problem in the specific case. Therefore, it was important to select key-employees that worked in the topical field and who could share different perspectives of the work of equal opportunities and the problems associated with exclusion.

The informants consisted of one human resource manager responsible globally for manufacturing, one local human resource manager working at Indust 2, one production leader

working at Indust 2, the plant manager, two local human resource managers and the chairman for one of the unions. The first five informants were specifically chosen in order to provide the perspective of the management team on the issue of gender equality and exclusion, while the chairman of the union was selected to provide the employee perspective. The snowball effect was used in the selection process where the first informant was advised by the diversity director of Indust and the others were selected based on further recommendations.

Regarding the informants for the in-depth interviews, six operators and two production leaders were interviewed. One of the operators worked part time representing the union. The requirement of the author towards the human resource representatives in charge of helping in the selection process was that the informants would represent a diversified heterogeneous group with equal proportion of women and men and, diversified age, ethnicity and industrial positions. Another requirement was that the informants would participate voluntarily.

A request from the author was sent out to the human resource managers who forwarded it to the production leaders. Thereby, human resource managers and the production leaders were involved in the selection process. The weaknesses associated with not being able to fully affect the selection process as a researcher will be discussed under *Methodological weaknesses and problems*.

The diversity in terms of age and ethnicity were not fulfilled since all informants were Swedish in the age span of 31-46 years. Gender-wise there was an over-representation of women which the author believes is justified since the focus of the thesis is on gender and the underrepresented group is women. Catching women's experiences of exclusion was therefore in line with the purpose of the thesis.

The informants had various years of experience, ranging from 7 months to 15 years, working at Indust and they worked in different divisions of the production department. The informants were also asked to share their past experiences from other division at Indust, if applicable, in order to catch as multifaceted descriptions as possible.

2.4 Literature study

The field of gender and organizational studies has produced a comprehensive amount of research. The research field is conducted in several distinct disciplines, ranging from

psychology and sociology to management and economics. However, the majority of the research on gender in the workplace often reflects either a more traditional management perspective or a feminist perspective. Since the intention was to gain a broad perspective in the field of human rights and gender equality, a diversified field of sources, ranging from governmental policies to international conventions, academic journals, books and published articles was studied. Organization-specific information was also collected through Indust's website.

After reviewing the theoretical base, the conceptual and theoretical premises from Sarah Rutherford's research on gender and organizations was chosen as the principal theory. However, this principal theory has been supplemented with other significant theories in the field.

2.5 Data analysis

According to the method of analytic induction, I have built the patterns, categories and themes from the bottom up (Bryman 2008). This process involved working back and forth between theory and empirics until a comprehensive set of themes were established. This way, the empirical material was used interactively.

In the qualitative method, even a limited amount of interviews produces a vast base of material. Analysing the material is therefore time-consuming and requires a great amount of effort (Patel and Davidsson 2003:119). The large number of interviews in this thesis has produced a comprehensive text material to analyse. In accordance with Patel and Davidsson (2003), I have reviewed the transcripts several times in order to identify patterns, recurring themes and categories. Also Burnard (1991) emphasizes the necessity to identify the differences and similarities in the transcripts (Burnard 1991:461-466).

By reviewing the transcripts, a number of recurring themes were identified. The second step was to match these themes with the nine constituents of Rutherford. As a third step, the material was coded according to three variables: gender (male, female), occupation (industrial worker, production leader, union representative, human resource manager and plant manager), and how long they had worked in Indust (>1 yr, 1-5, 5-10, 10-15 yrs). The aim was to identify possible coherence between the variables and the results. The fourth step was to code the

material in order to grasp the quantitative aspects and identify how many times the different themes reoccurred under the different variables.

2.6 Research ethics

Since the topic of this study, exclusion, is a sensitive issue, the author has consciously attempted to be extra transparent with the purpose of the thesis and to protect the informants' integrity. In order to protect the corporate name and all of the informants that participated in the study, the name of the corporation and the names of all of the informants were anonymized. This also eliminates the challenges associated with the confidentiality agreement signed with the corporation.

According to the advice of the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet), information about the purpose of the research and how the material would be used, together with the writer's contact details in case of questions, were sent to all informants prior to the interviews. At the interview, the same information was repeated with emphasis on how the information was going to be used and that the interviews were purely voluntarily and could be interrupted any time. Other practical information, such as permission to record the interviews was also shared.

An aspect of research ethics that is easily forgotten is the responsibility of giving feedback and information about the results to the participants. They have shared personal stories and experiences with a total stranger outside of their work environment. A few of the informants had volunteered hoping that the results would lead to improvements, concrete improvements which the researcher would be unable to deliver because it falls outside of the framework of the research. Therefore it was thoroughly explained that feedback of the results would not be shared by the author herself but that the corporation would make the ultimate decisions on how to use the findings. They were however offered copies of the thesis, if they wished.

2.7 Methodological weaknesses and reflections

I am aware of the different factors that may have affected the results and the weaknesses of the chosen method. The topic of exclusion can be perceived as sensitive and difficult to speak openly about. Since my interviews were going to be the main source of analysis, it was important to build trust and confidence between the informant and interviewer. In this attempt,

I have tried to maintain a reflexive approach to my role as interviewer and to the possible power structures between the informants and the researcher that may have arisen.

Nevertheless, I experienced a certain level of distance between me as an academic, and the industrial workers. In an attempt to decrease this distance, I tried to be responsive to the language used. I did not want to inhibit their stories and illustrations by projecting a picture of being expert in the field of gender studies. The language used was a daily language and many of the key concepts were defined by me before the questions were asked. In the process of translating selected quotes from Swedish to English, I was also aware of the importance of translating in a manner so that the significance would not be changed. Therefore, I have included all original quotes in the results.

Furthermore, I am aware of the fact that my role as a female researching gender, which too often is associated with woman's studies, can have had an effect on both the interview- and analysis-process. It can be argued that focus-group interviews would have been a more suitable method than in-depth interviews, in order to prevent the tensions and distance explained. I believe however that the method of in-depth interview best suited my purpose while focus-group interviews, where the informants may affect each other's answers, would have produced more misleading results.

Also, as I was unable to choose my informants for the in-depth interviews, my request, that the informants should represent a diversified heterogeneous group with an equal proportion of women and men, different ages, ethnicity and positions, was not fully fulfilled. Thus, my results may not reflect diversity. It can be argued that with a different interview group, the results would have differed. This may be true to a certain degree. If I had researched the production plant "Indust 2", which is situated in one of Sweden's largest cities, ethnicity would surely have been an important factor since the proportion of employees with a non-Swedish background is higher there. However, considering that the aim of the thesis is to study the exclusionary gender mechanisms of the chosen case-study, I strongly believe that the *rough* results and the *main* exclusionary mechanisms, would not have differed much in terms of gender with a different interview group.

As a last note, yet another important factor to take into account is the lack of an intersectional approach due to time limitations. This approach includes a multidimensional analysis of power structures where exclusion can occur based on more than one discriminatory strand at a time. However, although a full intersectional approach has not been used, I have applied a limited level of awareness to other discriminatory strands such as LGBTQ², age and ethnicity in the interviews.

With these reflections, I hope to have overcome the problems of validity and reliability.

3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

This section aims to place the chosen theories in a context by introducing the research field.

3.1 Gender and organizational studies

A fundamental approach within the research about gender is that it is socially and culturally constructed (Rutherford 2011:5-6). Organization and gender is a multidisciplinary field of research consisting of disciplines from sociology, political science, business studies, medicine and educational science, amongst many more. It aims to break the myth that society as a whole and organizations in particular, are gender-neutral, and to reveal discriminatory processes. (Wahl et al. 2011:25). Much of the research has been motivated by feminist criticism of the unequal division of power and privilege that characterizes gender relations. Therefore, the central theme in many of the studies about gender and organizations is the analysis of structures and the discriminatory effects that gender blindness has on women in organizations and in societies.

Despite scholar's attempts to break the gender-neutral myth, it wasn't until 1990 that the article "*Hierarchies, jobs and bodies*" by Joan Acker broke new grounds in the debate. Acker described organizations as imbued with masculinity (Acker 1990:139-158). Today, academics and professionals active in diversity and change, largely accept that organizations are gendered. The research now is therefore more focused on the different ways in which the male dominance in organizations can shut out women.

The concept of culture was explained as one reason for the sustained inequality and what mechanisms in organizational cultures that operate as formal and informal barriers to women

² Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer

is now under focus (Rutherford 2011:15). Billing and Alvesson's (1994) suggested that discrimination is incorporated into organizational cultures. They used a symbolic approach and revealed the gender symbolisms of different departments, positions and functions (Billing and Alvesson 1994).

In her book *Managing like a man*, Wajcman explored the material conditions of inequality and discussed how culture is conceptualized. She questioned the high concentration of research, which was focused on the analysis of cultural processes rather than the structural conditions in which cultures operate. With material conditions, Wajcman means institutions, bodies and buildings, rules, roles, responsibilities etc. Equally important is how the people within these institutions relate and communicate with one another (Wajcman 1998:53). By limiting the analysis to the discourse of gender inequality at work only, the actual conditions of equality might go unnoticed, Wajcman warned.

Much of the studies around human behavior in organizations however, have been focused around top-down and managerial approach. The expansion of the culture concept has by the same token been concentrating on the management-led phenomenon. How gender identity and gender relations interact with other group identities and intergroup relations, such as class, race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, age, and sexual identity, to influence people's behaviors and experiences in organizations has been an under-explored area. On-going research in the topical field is therefore increasingly focusing on the intersectional perspective, which explores how other kinds of social relations and identities in organizations and in the society as a whole create and sustain power asymmetries and how these influence people's behaviors.

3.2 Intersectionality

The concept of intersectionality suggests that gendered processes do not stand alone, but intersect with race and class processes, as well as other forms of inequality and exclusion (Acker 2012:219). This feminist sociological theory was first coined by legal researcher Kimberlé Crenshaw who examined the experiences of black women. She used the picture of an intersection of streets:

Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow into one direction and it may flow into another. If an accident happens at an intersection, it can be caused by cars travelling from any number of directions, and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a black woman is harmed because she is in the intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination. (Crenshaw 1989, 145)

The importance of multidimensional analysis of power structures is central in the understanding of intersectionality. Acker, examining the role of intersectionality in organizations explains the importance of intersectionality in the discourse of gender inequality: *“racial definitions, exclusions and inclusions, are created in the same organizing processes that also create and recreate gender inclusions and exclusions, resulting in a much more complicated picture of differences and inequities”*. (Acker 2012:219)

Intersectionality can be used in organizations to understand continuities, shifts and transformations of power in organizations (Eriksson-Zetterquist 2007). As previously explained, a limited intersectional approach has been applied to this thesis since I share the understanding that gendered processes do not stand alone, but intersect with other forms of inequality and exclusion. Due to time limitations and the wide analytical framework chosen, intersectional theories have not been included in the theoretical base of this thesis.

4. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Since organizations are part of a wider social system, discussing the roles and positions of women in organizations without looking at their place in society would result in an incomplete analysis. This section aims therefore to serve the background necessary to understand this thesis.

4.1 Diversity, gender equality and equal opportunities, what's the difference?

The terminologies for working with gender related issues are many and sometimes confusing. The UN Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women defines gender equality as *“the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys... It implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration, recognizing the diversity of different groups of women and men”*. (The UN Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women 2012)

Simply, *equal opportunities* is driven by legislation and focuses on barriers to equality, whereas *diversity* focuses on differences (Ibid). Diversity does not have the same political overtone and it is not focused specifically on women or inequality, but it is supposed to capture all forms of differences, such as age, disability, ethnicity, religions and so on (Wahl et. al. 2011:198). Since the terminology does not have a universal definition, the discourse of

diversity can change within and between organizations. The main driving force of diversity in private enterprises is often the business case and the concept does not necessarily have social justice as a key objective (Rutherford 2011:39). However, organizations can choose to integrate anti-discrimination acts in their diversity policies, in order to emphasize the legal aspects.

4.2 How is gender equality a human right?

“All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights” (UDHR, article 1)

The very idea of the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights (UDHR) is that the rights enshrined in the declaration are inherent to every human being without any additional requirements. Equality is therefore concerned with ensuring equal enjoyment of all of the rights and freedoms included in the Bill of Human Rights. The principles of equality and non-discrimination on the grounds of gender are emphasized in Article 2 of UDHR:

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

International human rights law has repeatedly stated the right to non-discrimination on the basis of sex, a principle which applies to all aspects of gender equality. These instruments include the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (articles 2(2) and 3), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Right (ICCPR) (articles 2(1), 3 and 26), as well as in regional human rights treaties such as the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR) (article 14), the American Convention on Human Rights (ACHR) (article 1), and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) (article 2).

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), however, constitutes the most recognized legal tool that *explicitly* addresses gender inequality and the protection of women's rights (Leeuwen 2010). CEDAW addresses the different aspects of discrimination faced by women as well as providing measures aimed at safeguarding equality of women and men. Important in the context of this thesis are articles 2 (e) that states that the State undertakes to *“...take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise”* and article 5 (a) that urges states to:

...modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women

Furthermore, article 11 deals explicitly with employment and ensures the rights on a basis of equality of men and women³. Sweden is one of 187 member states that has signed and ratified this convention. The principle of gender equality and non-discrimination are incorporated into Swedish law and are reflected in the gender equality policy mentioned under the sections Gender equality and Anti-discrimination act.

4.3 Gender differences in world's most gender equal country

Sweden has a long political commitment to developing pro-active social and family policy. From an international perspective, it is often presented as a leading country in gender equality (Hausmann et al. 2010). Comparisons of gender equality between countries are generally based on a combination of several factors that have an impact on gender equality. Some of these factors include: economic participation, political empowerment, education and health. Despite the fact that Sweden often is ranked among the top four gender equal countries in the world, it continues to have a gender segregated labour market with little change for the past 15 years (European Commission's Expert Group on Gender and Employment, 2009). Women in Sweden work mainly in the public service occupations while men dominate the private sector (Jämställdhetspolitikens inriktning 2011-2014). Not only are the wages in the public sector, in general, lower than in the private sector, but part-time employment in the public sector is also more common than in the private sector (Ibid:3). In 2009, 66% of all gainfully employed women aged 20–64 were employed full-time, while 34% worked part-time. The corresponding figures for men were 89 and 11% respectively (Statistics Sweden 2010).

³ (a) The right to work as an inalienable right of all human beings;
(b) The right to the same employment opportunities, including the application of the same criteria for selection in matters of employment;
(c) The right to free choice of profession and employment, the right to promotion, job security and all benefits and conditions of service and the right to receive vocational training and retraining, including apprenticeships, advanced vocational training and recurrent training;
(d) The right to equal remuneration, including benefits, and to equal treatment in respect of work of equal value, as well as equality of treatment in the evaluation of the quality of work;
(e) The right to social security, particularly in cases of retirement, unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age and other incapacity to work, as well as the right to paid leave;
(f) The right to protection of health and to safety in working conditions, including the safeguarding of the function of reproduction.

The gender segregation of the Swedish labour market has far-reaching economic consequences. Wages are not only the main sources of income for both women and men, but they are also the basis for reimbursement from the medical- and parental insurance as well as the unemployment insurance system and future pensions (Jämställdhetspolitikens inriktning 2011-2014:3-4). This means that the development on the labour market is of vital importance when analysing gender equality.

Other examples of unequal gender conditions in Sweden can be found in the public health sector. Although the average life expectancy is higher for women than men (83,5 years for women and 79,5 years for men in 2010), women in Sweden do in general have poorer health and higher absence from work due to illness than men (Ibid:5). This is partly explained by the fact that women are more likely to have chronic and non-fatal diseases, and they are also thought to be exposed to a higher amount of stress, both at and outside of work. While women and men spend the same time at work, which is about 8 hours per day, women however, spend more than 28 hours and men 20 hours per week on unpaid work (Statistics Sweden 2010:34).

Another major area of concern is domestic violence against women and girls, where two groups have been identified as especially vulnerable. These are single mothers who are primarily exposed to violence by family members and women who are exposed to violence in their workplace. The perpetrators at work are primarily colleagues, classmates, teachers and patients (Ibid:83).

These are only a few examples of the inequalities that have been taken into account in the Swedish gender equality policy which will be discussed under the next section.

4.4 Gender equality in Sweden

The overall objective of the Swedish gender equality policy is to ensure that women and men have the same power to shape the society and their own lives. In order to fulfil this objective, four sub-targets have been identified by the Swedish government (Jämställdhetspolitikens inriktning 2011-2014:3-4).

1. Equal distribution of power and influence. This means that women and men should have the same rights and opportunities to be active citizens and to shape the conditions for

decision-making. The target concerns the division of power within politics as well as in the private sector, such as power represented by companies and the media, and the Swedish society in general.

2. Economic equality between women and men. This target strives to create the same opportunities and conditions for women and men in terms of education and paid work. The objective is to provide equal opportunities to achieve lifelong economic independence.

3. Equal distribution of unpaid care and household work. This target indicates that women and men must take the same responsibility for household work and have the same opportunities to give and receive care on equal terms. Possibilities to combine paid work with family-life and the care of close relations should be central in the political agenda of gender equality.

4. Eliminating violence towards women. Women and men, girls and boys, must have equal rights and opportunities in terms of physical integrity. This encapsulates the right and possibility to decide and be in control of one's own body, sexuality and reproduction.

To fulfil the objective of achieving gender equality, it has been concluded that the gender equality perspective must be integrated in all areas of society. The chosen strategy to achieve the objective and targets is *gender mainstreaming*. This UN developed concept means that all planned policy action, including legislation and programmes must be analysed from a gender perspective in order to identify all possible consequences for women and men at national, regional and local levels (UN General Assembly 1997).

The majority of the special efforts to achieve gender equality are directed towards the public and municipal sectors and very little efforts have been targeted to the private sector. The guiding principles for businesses to achieve gender equality can be found in the discrimination act which is discussed next.

4.5 Anti-discrimination act

The provision for gender equality at work is regulated through the Swedish Anti-discrimination Act which came into force in 2009. Equal Opportunities Act was one of seven anti-discrimination laws that were all replaced by the new Anti-discrimination Act. The Swedish Government believes that protection against discrimination, in principle, should be "*as harmonised as possible regardless of the protected group*" (The Swedish Government's

website on Human Rights 2012). Current discrimination legislation is therefore a patchwork of laws and statutes, developed over the years.

The new act covers sex, ethnicity, religion and other belief, sexual orientation, functional disability, and gender identity and age. The purpose of this act is to combat discrimination and promote equal opportunities and rights. The Office of the Ombudsman against Discrimination, is responsible for the observance and conformity of the act. The act covers most areas of society, such as working life, education, goods, services, housing, labour market policy activities and employment services not under public contract and social services (The Equality Ombudsman 2009:2). All of the discrimination acts are however not treated in the same way. Universities are required to work with all seven acts, while employees are required to work with only five of the acts. In the area of working life, the act covers the employee, the job-seeker, the trainee or the school pupil in a work experience position (Ibid).

The discrimination act also encompasses proactive measures which means that the employer must implement effective measures to achieve equal rights and opportunities at work. The proactive elements comprises of the discrimination grounds sex, ethnicity and religion and other belief. Furthermore, employers with more than 25 employees are obligated to draw up action-plans for equal pay and gender equality plans, every three years.

4.6 Gender quotas in the EU – to be or not to be?

An area where progress in achieving gender equality has been slow is private enterprises. Women account for 60% of new graduates in the EU, and they enter many occupations in roughly equal numbers with men. However, the higher up the career ladder, the fewer women. Today, only 13.7% of board members of large firms in the EU are women, which is a small increase from 8.5% in 2003 (The economist 2012b). The representation in top management groups does not look any better. In 2010 just under 3% of the CEOs in Europe's largest businesses were woman (Edenhall 2012). The measures taken to increase the proportion of women on European boards have varied from soft measures such as codes of corporate governance, as in the Swedish case, to legal actions, such as enforcement of gender quotas (Swedish Institute 2011).

With this slow progress as background, new waves of debates have boomed across Europe and within the European Parliament where some governments in Europe have pointed out that

radical action is required to increase the number of women in the executive group and quota systems have been proposed as one solution to the problem (The economist 2012b). At the same time, the popularity of diversity and equal opportunity programmes in large privately owned enterprises have increased for the past two decades. A study conducted by McKinsey, a consultancy which has been promoting the business case for more women in senior management jobs, shows that 90% of the 235 large European companies taking part in the study, have at least one diversity programme in place. The problem however, seems not to be the existence or non-existence of the programmes, but how these are implemented, some scholars argue (Ibid, The economist 2011, Rutherford 2011:36). The term glass ceiling,⁴ has been used by professionals and scholars, to highlight the necessity for other more radical actions, such as legal, rather than voluntary measures (Ibid).

On July 2011 the European Parliament passed a resolution proposing for an EU-wide legislation. The target was that at least 40% of seats on listed companies' supervisory boards will be reserved for women by 2020 (The Economist 2012b). Sweden and Finland are mentioned by the EU Commission as examples of countries where the Corporate Governance Code has been effective and where the proportion of female directors have increased at the same time as many proponents for quotas refer to Norway as the success story. Norway enforced gender quotas for women on boards already a decade ago, and has since then increased shares from 9% in 2003 to the required 40% in 2012 (Ibid). Several EU countries, such as France and Italy, have recently followed the trend and enforced gender quotas.

On March 5th Viviane Reding launched a three-month public consultation to ask what kind of measures the EU should take to get more women into boardrooms (Küchler 2012). *"Is gender quota to be law, or recommendation? What percentage of board members should be women? Which companies public or private, to focus on? What punishment, if any, may be relevant?"* are some of the questions being investigated (Ibid). The responses will thereafter be analyzed and a decision on imposed quotas or not will be taken after the summer.

⁴ The term glass ceiling refers to the barrier that prevent minorities and women from climbing the corporate ladder, regardless of their qualifications or achievements.

5. THEORY

Linked to the purpose and research question, the theoretical framework guiding this thesis is one developed by Dr Sarah Rutherford which will be presented, discussed and questioned. Where it has been relevant, applicable theories by other scholars and from other sources than Rutherford's research have been interwoven into the principal theory, in order to supplement, question and confirm Rutherford's hypothesis.

5.1 **Inclusionary and exclusionary organizational cultures**

Organizational cultures can have both exclusionary and inclusionary effects. What is perceived as inclusionary culture for one person may have exclusionary effects on another person (Wahl et al. 2011:129). Keith Grint sees culture as a boundary device to mark off insiders from outsiders and writes that "...culture is...mainly about distinguishing one group from another on the basis of where the boundary lies, culture is an exclusionary mechanism as well as an inclusive one." (Grint 1995:166)

In organizations, the processes of exclusion and inclusion happen constantly and are built in the organizational culture. Rutherford has used Grint's definition of culture and Weber's idea of social closure⁵ and included more subtle informal exclusionary practices. She defines organizational culture as:

...the symbols, beliefs and patterns of behaviour of organizational members. It is expressed in the management style, work philosophies, language and communication, dress, physical artifacts, informal socializing and temporal structuring of work, and in the gender awareness and expression of sexuality (Ibid. page 373)

She sees culture as boundary making practices and systems of meanings that are dynamic and changing.

Rutherford emphasises the importance of interrelating culture to the structure and material conditions in which it operates in. She has developed a model where the exclusionary mechanisms in organizational cultures can be identified, but she stresses the importance to address the inclusionary effects of the same mechanisms and claims that what minorities and women are being excluded from is *power and privilege*. (Rutherford 2011:21-23) Many of the

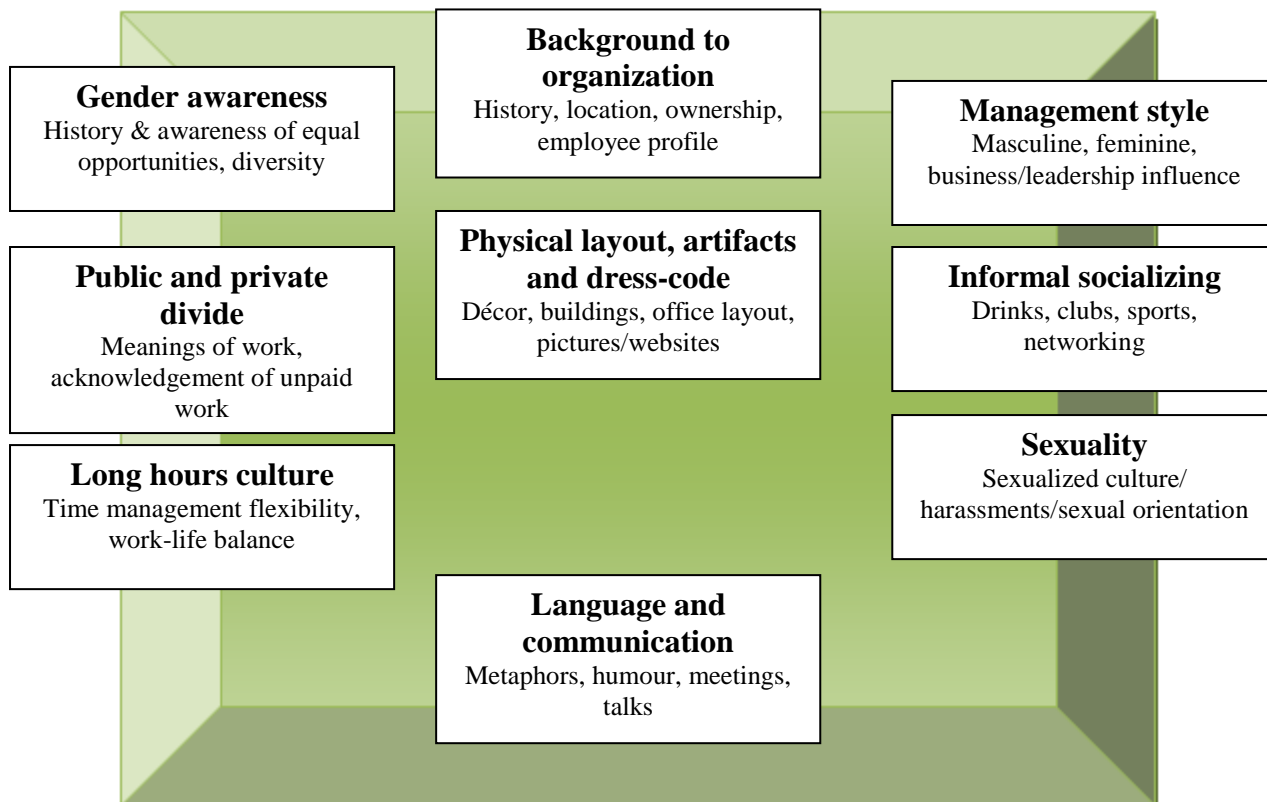
⁵ With closure, Weber refers to "*the mechanisms and processes of domination where one group monopolizes advantages by closing off opportunities to another group of outsiders beneath it, which it defines as inferior and ineligible*" (Swedberg, R. Agevall, O., 2005:183-184)

cultural practices discussed in this thesis, therefore amounts to men's resistance to change and this resistance needs accordingly to be questioned.

5.2 A model of gendered organizational cultures

Rutherford's guiding hypothesis is that organizational cultures may act as means of patriarchal closure to women managers in organizations. In her theory (Rutherford 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2011), she seeks to define and operationalize the concept of organizational culture by breaking down the concept into nine different constituents, as demonstrated in figure 1. These constituents function as a guide to identifying the ways in which aspects of culture act to close off areas of work to women managers. A contextualized approach which encapsulates an analysis of women in the wider society is also integrated in the analysis since cultural meanings attached to gender follow the employees into the organization according to Rutherford (Rutherford 2001c:371-372). She points out that her model provides a blueprint and that the constituents are not exhaustive. The interest of the researcher and the environment will determine focus-areas.

Figure1. A model of gendered organisational cultures (Rutherford 2011)



My choice of theory is based on three main arguments. Firstly, the theory's framework with the nine constituents, offers a manageable and relatively practical and concrete tool to operationalize culture. Secondly, Rutherford's contextualized approach corresponds well with the purpose of the thesis since some of the nine constituents require an analysis of the prevailing gender inequalities in the wider society. I believe that this contextualized approach is especially necessary in organizations that operate on a global basis with varying cultural and social contexts, in order to avoid "one size fits all" solutions. Third, focusing on the exclusionary mechanisms at the chosen production environment, a central part of the study has been to capture the personal experiences of the employees. Rutherford's exhaustive theory therefore worked well as a supplement to the personal experiences. The model was applied to understand exclusion, which includes personal, structural and organizational exclusionary mechanisms.

As a central element to the study, it was imperative to critically analyze the different elements of Rutherford's theory. A critic is that Rutherford attempts to catch every element and be universal. However, it is difficult to imagine a theory which is so wide that it embraces every possible aspect of a certain phenomenon such as exclusion. Even though Rutherford claims this theory to be universal, it has its weaknesses that are revealed when it is applied to a male dominated sector, such as heavy industry. The problem in this sector is somewhat different due to the lack of females with special technical skills. Although the employer may be in favor of increasing the proportion of females, the problem of finding skilled females in certain categories remains. A part of the work with equal opportunities therefore should be initiated earlier and include the challenge of attracting females to these male-dominated sectors. Rutherford fails to discuss this problem.

Next, the nine constituents of Rutherford will be presented. It is my understanding that not all constituents will be equally important for my case study. Therefore, some are presented in detail and others, which are of less importance for my empirical material, are mentioned subtly. Fragments of the theory which I found totally irrelevant have been filtered out.

5.2.1 Background

Rutherford argues that organizations are shaped by their past and the specific environment which they operate in (Rutherford 2011:29). An organization's history and location, ownership and industry can influence the culture even several years later.

Many organizations have developed cultures which are distinct for their specific industries and they need to be allocated within that in the analysis of exclusionary mechanisms. Examples of other factors to take into account in the analysis are the age of the organization, the level of unionization, gender ratios in the past and in present, the nature of the business, and future prospects (Rutherford 2011, 2001c). Which factors to study, depends on the environment of the organization.

5.2.2 Physical layout and artifacts, and dress-code

Physical factors, such as buildings and the layout of offices can express an organization's culture and values and effect women and men differently (Rutherford 2011:31). Not only does it influence how employees experience the availability and accessibility of work, but the distribution of facilities and amenities can also have profound exclusionary effects, Rutherford explains (Rutherford 2011:31). Ultimately, the physical features impact how comfortable different employee groups feel at work. Websites, how the offices are formed, decorations, where dressing-rooms are situated, numbers of toilets for men and women, and the availability of tools and equipment for employees with different abilities, size and physicality, can all have a profound influence on the organizational culture.

These two first constituents express the organizational culture in a material oriented way while the next six constituents reveal the organization's attitude to women.

5.2.3 Gender awareness

This constituent deals with the attitudes and prevailing norms of an organization. The existence of equal opportunity and/or diversity discourse is mentioned as important since they raise reflection. An active equality and diversity agenda raises awareness and stimulates people to complain of perceived injustice (Rutherford 2011:57). Without policies, employees will not have an organizational discourse to draw on and the issues therefore, are more likely to become individualized. The risk then is that the inequalities remain unchallenged, as many women, working in male dominated environments are often forced to, as minority, accept the culture as it were part of the job (Ibid).

Although the existence of policies may act as an indicator of gender awareness, it is no guarantee for success, Rutherford holds. What is important is the effort of creating a culture of

equality which needs to be accepted, initiated and encouraged by senior management (Rutherford 2001c:376). The success will be determined by the intent and integration within the business.

Rutherford also discusses the concepts of equal opportunities and diversity and claims that diversity has come to contest equality programs because these were thought by critics to favor only one group (women) over another (men) while diversity benefited the organization. She explains that while equal opportunity initiatives had legal and political anchoring, the new concept of diversity is about acknowledging and valuing differences and it has no real political reference to increasing representation (Rutherford 2011:34-35). A danger with diversity is that the word has no universal definition and often no clear objective either. Therefore, the discourse of diversity can change within and between organizations, and since language and power interact, it is important to pay attention to what the word diversity actually resembles (Rutherford 2011:53).

The role of gender stereotypes is also raised as important since stereotyping women in organizations often focus on exaggerated differences between the two genders⁶ (Rutherford 2011:59). Stereotyping can harm different groups if they carry negative notions (Ibid.).

5.2.4 Management style

Management style refers to the manner in which the business is managed and can be identified in the decision making processes, hierarchy and by analyzing which attributes and skills are valued (Rutherford 2001a:327).

In the debate of different management styles, the most referenced styles in gender and management literature are *masculine* and *feminine* management. In Rutherford's study, the definitions of masculinity and femininity are extracted from Keerfoot and Knights and refer to the "*socially generated consensus of what it means to be a man and a woman*" (Keerfoot and Knights 1996:77-99). Management and masculinity are in fact one concept, Keerfoot and Knights suggest. They mean that the management discourse is imbued with masculinity. Rutherford acknowledges this but claims that categorizations and generalizations of styles can

⁶ Stereotyping is explained as "an efficient way to mentally organize large blocks of information. There is a human tendency to avoid processing new and unexpected information about each individual" (Rutherford 2011:59)

be misleading as attributes of styles essentially are skills. By using the two terms compatibly when describing women's styles, the skills of women are often devalued (Ibid.). She means that a style comprises of both skills and behaviors.

She also emphasizes that the terms masculinity and femininity need to be separated from the biological categories since both women and men can possess masculine and feminine characteristics. Furthermore, she claims that the terms are neither fixed nor innate, but that management skills are socially constructed and therefore change and vary according to time, society and culture (Rutherford 2011:69). Rutherford asserts that the business function is more influential over the gender of the manager on management style (Rutherford 2001a:327).

5.2.5 Public private divide

The purpose of including this constituent is to "*make visible what is frequently invisible – i.e. assumptions about the meaning of work*" (Rutherford 2001c:377). While work has seeped into the private life thanks to technological advancements making it possible to bring work home, the amount of private life one is permitted to bring into work is often limited. The sharp divide between public and private life can effect and hinder women in organizations (Rutherford 2011:96). The traditional belief that work is separated from home is according to Rutherford a male-defined idea. The extent to which this is contested in organizations, and by whom (by all employees or only on behalf of women), will reveal much about an organization's culture (Ibid.). Insisting on the divide private/public increases women's burdens as they are generally the main responsible for the domestic life, which includes both the material and emotional caretaking of children and household chores (Rutherford 2001c: 377.).

One implication of this dual burden is that organizations use women's reproductive ability as an excuse to discriminate, restrict and question women's organizational skills. Motherhood is often seen as a deviation to work and an obstacle to seniority (Rutherford 2011:110). Parenting as we see it today in the West encompasses both the physical needs of children and the overall emotional wellbeing as well as the enrichment of social life and building networks. The fulfillment of these duties requires skills that often go unnoticed within organizations (Rutherford 2011:102-103). Organizations therefore need to acknowledge the dual responsibilities that many women carry and value the skills acquired by parents. The solution

to the problem is a shift in the mainstream culture to integrate private life into work and accepting *parenthood* and not only *motherhood* as a natural cycle (Rutherford 2011:108).

5.2.6 Long hours culture

In many organizations, the concept of long hours work has become an accepted part of the culture and while it often goes unchallenged, its gender neutral notions affect women and men differently, Rutherford explains (Rutherford 2001c:376-377). She argues that while organizations have succeeded to prevent the spillover of private matters into work, work is today seeping into the private life (Rutherford, 2011:96-97). Technological advancements have made it possible for employees to be available for work every day all year around and work has invaded not only the home but also leisure. The implications for women who carry dual responsibilities have been that they are often either forced to sacrifice their leisure in order to catch up on both paid work and the domestic work or to give in on their ambitions (Rutherford 2001c:377).

The requirement of working long hours for certain elite jobs in senior management have been accepted and often justified on the grounds of high salaries and client demand (Rutherford 2011:120). Since men are more likely to be able to work the long hours required, she sees time as a resource providing men with a competitive advantage over women and the long hours culture used as means of closure to exclude women. (Rutherford, 2011;117-118) She means that women's productivity and efficiency often go unnoticed in cultures where time symbolizes productivity, commitment and personal value. Often there is an unspoken expectation rather than a formal requirement, which, due to workload pressure, company expectations and peer group pressure leads to a self-imposed overtime and a glorification of long hours: "*like any expression of culture, leadership influences it. If the boss works very long hours, the message is clear*" (Rutherford 2011:124).

She also problematizes the terminology of flexible working and means that "truly flexible organizations" do not need to enforce legal regulations (Rutherford 2011:134). The solution is that flexibility and trust are built into the organizational work design and that the long hours culture is addressed (Rutherford 2011:128).

5.2.7 Informal codes of behavior and socializing

This constituent is about examining how managers may use informal channels to boost their careers, how important this form of networking is and what exclusionary effects it may have. Rutherford has broken down this constituent into four categories; networking, mentoring, socializing after hours (including forms of sexual entertainment) and sports. She means that failure to be included in these channels means exclusion from a wealth of potential business information which in turn can severely damage career advancements as well as causing isolation. She points out however that the effects of informal life are severest on the top level of organizations and in the senior positions (Rutherford 2001c:379).

The exclusionary power of informal networks is explained as being intangible, making it very difficult for women to complain about and often, they are not even aware of their exclusionary effects. Informal networking is valued differently in organizations. In large bureaucratic organizations with low employee turnover, informal networking is the key to career development. In organizations with low turnover on the other hand, networking and building relationships externally is more common than internally, she claims (Rutherford 2011:147).

Women's networks evolved as a response to the exclusion of women from the informal networks of men. They are forums in which women can form relationships, channel criticism and concerns, and they are most importantly formal and often supported by key male leaderships that give them legitimacy. Rutherford criticizes these networks explaining that the price of running them are high for women who often run them on voluntary basis and on top of their normal jobs. The benefits for organizations, on the other hand, are high since they can support gender equality with small initiatives without challenging the status quo and questioning the work culture (Rutherford 2011:149). She means that since the real power lies in the executive boards and senior positions, the only mechanism for real change is legislative initiatives, such as quotas. More women on top will mean a positive influence on boardroom cultures as well as on strategic decisions (Rutherford 2011:164).

Time spent outside of the office helps to create close working relationships and friendships. Therefore, afterhours socializing and corporate entertainment is an important area of organizational life. Pubs, wine bars, coffee shops, gentlemen's clubs and restaurants are

frequently used as points for bonding and information sharing (Rutherford 211:154-155). She argues that invitations to many of these meetings are often exclusive to men and even in cases where women are invited, time (as mentioned in long hours culture) to join these sessions is a scarcity for many women with dual responsibilities.

5.2.8 Language and communication

The language and communication of organizations carry with them social meanings (Rutherford 2001c: 378). Rutherford has identified three different languages prevalent in organizations: *military language*, *sports language* and *sexual language*. She claims that none of them reflect the everyday language of women (Rutherford 2001c: 378). Colleagues can exclude one another from personal and informal communication networks through the language used (Rutherford 2001c:378). Sports, being an integral part of business life through watching, playing, sponsoring or talking, can be used as bonding mechanisms between employees, as an icebreaker over strains of class, age and ethnicity. This however, requires a sound knowledge of certain sports and while men learn to form their relationships around the love for sports, the sports common among women have no value in business life, Rutherford argues (Rutherford 2011:156-157).

Sexual overtones in certain businesses are common and can be both offensive and have strong excluding effects on women. In some areas, such as the stock market, there are no other alternatives to the sexualized language and women are forced to accepting and using it (Rutherford 2001c:378). Humour is often integrated in the sexualized language and women are forced into passive participation where they are invited to laugh at sexist jokes but not allowed to talk in the similar way since it can be regarded as distasteful. Rutherford argues that leadership plays a vital role in establishing the norms and tones of the organizational language (Rutherford 2011:176). This is especially true for sexual talk since the line between having fun and offensive behaviour can be very thin. It requires analysing the conscious and unconscious excluding effects of languages and to also take an active stand and action where necessary. The effects that sexualized cultures can have on organizations will be further discussed under constituent "Sexuality".

Rutherford fails to present examples of different bullying and suppressing techniques that are an indirect effect of communication and socializing. Master suppression techniques, common in board rooms, are such an example.

5.2.9 Sexuality

Rutherford uses the term *sexualized culture* and claims that sexuality is embedded in an organization's culture just like gender (Rutherford 2001c:379). Her theory is based on the feminist patriarchal approach that sexuality is controlled and defined by heterosexual men and that sexual harassment represents means by which men claim power over women (Rutherford 2012:166, 2001c:379). What she means is that the dominance of heterosexuality has a direct influence on gender relations and working style and that overtly and aggressively male-defined cultures have exclusionary effects on women (Rutherford 2001c:380).

Women's professionalism and organizational status can be overridden through sexual comments, behavior and dress-codes. This behavior is so embedded that it often goes unnoticed and is accepted as normative behavior (Rutherford 2001c:379). It is therefore important to understand in which ways and by whom sexuality is expressed and whether these practices inhibit/benefit any groups' progress (Rutherford 2012:166).

An important area is sexual harassment where Rutherford explains the difficulties of identifying what constitutes sexual harassment: "*If we understand sexuality to be patriarchally structured, women themselves often find it hard to know what stands for a compliment and what might be read by others as being disrespectful*" (Rutherford 2011:168). There is a fine line between having fun and offensive behavior and it is often women who have to draw that line. Through her research findings Rutherford determines that much of the daily banter⁷ constitute sexual harassment but that women often ascribe the behavior to the job itself rather than to men (Rutherford 2001c:380).

Banter and sexual talk are a part of everyday language of many organizations and they often include the use of sexual humor as an accepted form of sexualized talk (Rutherford 2011:169). In order to fit in, women often in minority numbers, are caught up in this language and forced to accept it despite its repressive and minimizing tone. Furthermore, the fact that female employees participate in banter can be used by the perpetrators, as a defense against complaints and a way of legitimizing it. Therefore, the power of leadership, what tone they set,

⁷ Banter is defined by Rutherford as "office talk, characterized usually by humor and an undercurrent of teasing in a good-natured way" (Rutherford 2011:174)

how they mark what is acceptable and what is unacceptable has great influence on what the organization perceives as normative behavior (Rutherford 2011:175).

Rutherford suggests that banter, just like sports, are imbued with masculinity and therefore not as accessible for women (Rutherford 2011:175). She claims that in industries with high risk and danger, banter is frequently used as a means of releasing tension, preventing boredom and feelings of powerlessness. They are also used as means of male-bonding and boosting masculinity by emphasizing the difference between men and women. Thus, the risks of revealing the downsides of banter can be especially high in these male-dominated industries (Ibid).

5.3 Mechanisms & consequences of relative distribution of gender

In her work *Men and Women of the corporation* (1977), Kanter maps the informal life of organizations and explains her research with the concept of numeric (proportional) gender imbalance. The proportion of the two sexes in organizations can have implications for management regardless of which sex is in majority or minority (Kanter 1977). Women are excluded according to Kanter because they are in minority, scarce and rare and because they are outside of the dominant group.

The term *token* refers to the position in which a person of a certain underrepresented category is allocated in a group. The others in the group are accordingly allocated the role of dominants. She explains how the numeric distribution of gender activates different cultural expressions. Two thresholds are of importance:

- 0-15% threshold where the existence of tokens (women) activates the expressions of *visibility*, *boundary heightening* and *assimilation*
- 35-85% threshold with balanced groups (Kanter 1977:208-209).

Visibility means that by being in minority, the tokens receive extra attention and visibility which in turn aggravates pressures to perform well. In the second expression, *boundary heightening*, the token's differences from the majority is exaggerated at the same time as a threatening situation for the majority occurs, resulting in women being isolated from informal social and professional networks. The presence of a few women will make the majority (men) more aware of what they have in common, at the same time as this commonality will be

threatened. Lastly, being in minority means that impressions about a few tokens will be assimilated and generalized and valid for the minority as a group. The tokens (women) are therefore encapsulated into gender stereotyped roles, resulting in *assimilation* (Kanter 1977 in Anna et al. 2011:77). She also means that the negative effects would be reduced if the number of tokens increased and the tipping point of 35 % achieved.

Kanter's analysis rests on the importance of numbers where number balancing is the key component for organizational change. She means that if equal numbers of women and men work together, the negative characteristics described would disappear. This hypothesis proposes that men in minority would meet the same problems as women, a hypothesis which is contested by many scholars (Rutherford 2011, Yoder 1991, Simpson 2004). Her theory is questioned mainly for lacking a gender-power-analysis: "...*the dominant group is not necessarily the one that has the most numbers, its identity is bound up with wider issues of power*" (Rutherford 2011:145). Robertsson (2003) is another theorist who has criticized Kanter and means that there is reason to be sceptical to the opinion that men in a female-dominated organization would encounter similar problems as women do in male-dominated organization, given the great inequalities in the society.

The theory of Kanter was chosen because the gender distribution in my empirical material seems to have direct effects on the informants.

5.4 Analytical framework

The framework I used to collect and analyze my empirical body of work was the nine constituents of Rutherford. The intention was to apply this framework on a different setting, a production environment, and on a different professional occupation, operators and first level managers. The theory of Rutherford was thereby operationalized by breaking down the culture of Indust into these nine constituents, in order to investigate the particular ways in which the culture could marginalize and exclude women. In addition, the theory of Kanter has been used to analyze the importance of the gender composition in the work teams included in this study.

6. CASE STUDY

This chapter aims to briefly familiarize the reader with the chosen production plant. Information about the gender composition and gender structure and relevant policies will be presented.

6.1 Organization

“We strive to create a global and competitive corporate culture which in its diversity reflects the society we operate in” (extract from the corporate homepage of Indust)

Indust, the pseudonym I have used for the enterprise that employs approximately 100,000 employees worldwide, has production facilities in 19 countries and sales activities in approximately 180 markets. For the past two decades, Indust has acquired several foreign brand names and formed joint ventures with both European and non-European corporations. These acquisitions and joint ventures have put Indust on a global map and impregnated its corporate culture.

Since the establishment more than 80 years ago, the founders as well as all the presidents of Indust have been men. The existing board of directors consists of 14 members, of which two are women (14%). The Group Executive Team who report directly to the CEO comprises 16 members including the CEO, with three women in total (19%).

6.2 Gender composition at the production plant

As demonstrated in table 2, the production plant studied employs 1965 employees. The gender composition is homogeneous with 87% of all of the employees being male and 13% women. The majority of the employees (74%) are industrial workers working directly on the production lines. 12% are office workers, officials who perform managerial or administrative work. The gender structure is similar on the managerial posts. There are 58 production leaders (first-line managers), whereby 84% are men and 16% female, and 84 managers in total, whereby 86% are men and 14% are women. The management team of the chosen production plant consists of nine members whereby two are women.

Table 2 Gender composition and average age

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Employees	1700	265	1965
Industrial workers	1463	216	1679
Office workers	237	49	286
Production leaders	49	9	58
Managers	72	12	84
Executive team	7	2	9
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Average age industrial workers	43 yrs	40 yrs	43 yrs
Median age industrial workers	43 yrs	38 yrs	42 yrs

6.3 Policies and equal opportunity plans

Indust has a long tradition of diversity and gender equality in the workplace especially due to the migration of labor in Sweden in the 1960s - and 1970's. In the media, the past two CEO's of Indust have been perceived as gender equality friendly leaders and they have passed several industrial reforms enabling women to enter the traditionally male dominated sector.

Gender equality at Indust is an integrated part of the wider concept of diversity and inclusion. An inclusive workplace is what Indust strive for in the field of diversity. It is defined as "a workplace which is free from discrimination and where we treat each other with respect" and inclusive culture is "where everyone can contribute to their fullest potential regardless of gender, nationality, ethnic origin, age or sexual orientation" (extract from the corporate homepage).

The comprehensive initiatives for equality and diversity management can be found in three global policy documents:

1. *The corporate Code of Conduct*- underscores the principles by which Indust conducts its relations with employees, business partners and other stakeholders. It applies to all members of the Board of Directors and all employees. Diversity is not mentioned explicitly in this policy document, but it is integrated in the principle of Human rights and workplace practices.
2. *Policy document for the corporate values and ethical standards*- describes what the organization stands for and aspires to be in the future. It expresses the vision, the culture, behaviors and values shared across the organization. Diversity is a

comprehensive part of this policy document and it is mentioned both explicitly and implicitly.

3. *Diversity and Inclusion Policy*- is linked to both of the above mentioned policy documents. This policy is framed to capture both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of diversity⁸. It has been influenced by international legislation, and it sets out the equality and anti-discriminatory framework for the organization. It also outlines the key performance indicators and measures of the policy.

Indust has also the tradition of promoting different types of employee network groups, which are based on specific elements of diversity. These networks provide career development and support opportunities for various groups within the company, as well as giving feedback on programs and policies.

Apart from the global policies mentioned, most divisions have separate local diversity- and equality plans. These plans outline specific activities for the local divisions and contain actions to conform to national legislations. The chosen production plant has a three-year plan that covers both diversity and equal opportunities. The plan for 2010-2012 consists of six targets and is thorough and well formulated and includes both quantitative and qualitative actions, with special focus on increasing gender awareness.

7 RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter aims to explicitly link the empirical results of the case study with the chosen theoretical framework, in order to fulfill the purpose of the thesis; to examine different possible mechanisms of exclusion of women in the organizational cultures of a production environment. The empirics will be interwoven with theory and the results of the case study will be presented and analyzed.

7.1 Gender-based exclusion?

The principal research question guiding this thesis is:

- *Do the employees in the chosen production environment experience exclusion based on gender, and if so, in what various ways are they manifested?*

⁸ With “quantitative and qualitative aspect of diversity”, Indust means to “*build a diverse workforce from top management and down, as well as to build a culture and leadership It practice where everyone is allowed to contribute to their fullest potential (inclusiveness).*” (extract from the diversity and inclusion policy of Indust)

The results from the interviews have indicated that the informants in this study did not express having experienced exclusion. However, they referred to stories and illustrations clearly indicating that exclusion did occur.

As previously explained, my rough guide to map the exclusionary mechanisms has been the nine constituents of Rutherford illustrated under figure 2. In the collection-process of the empirical material all nine constituents were examined separately, with the purpose of answering the research question.

However, the results have indicated that two constituents were prominent and therefore distinguished from the rest. The two constituents which occurred most often were: *sexualized culture* and *language and communication*. These two are merged and will be presented under the heading “*The prominent exclusionary mechanisms*”.

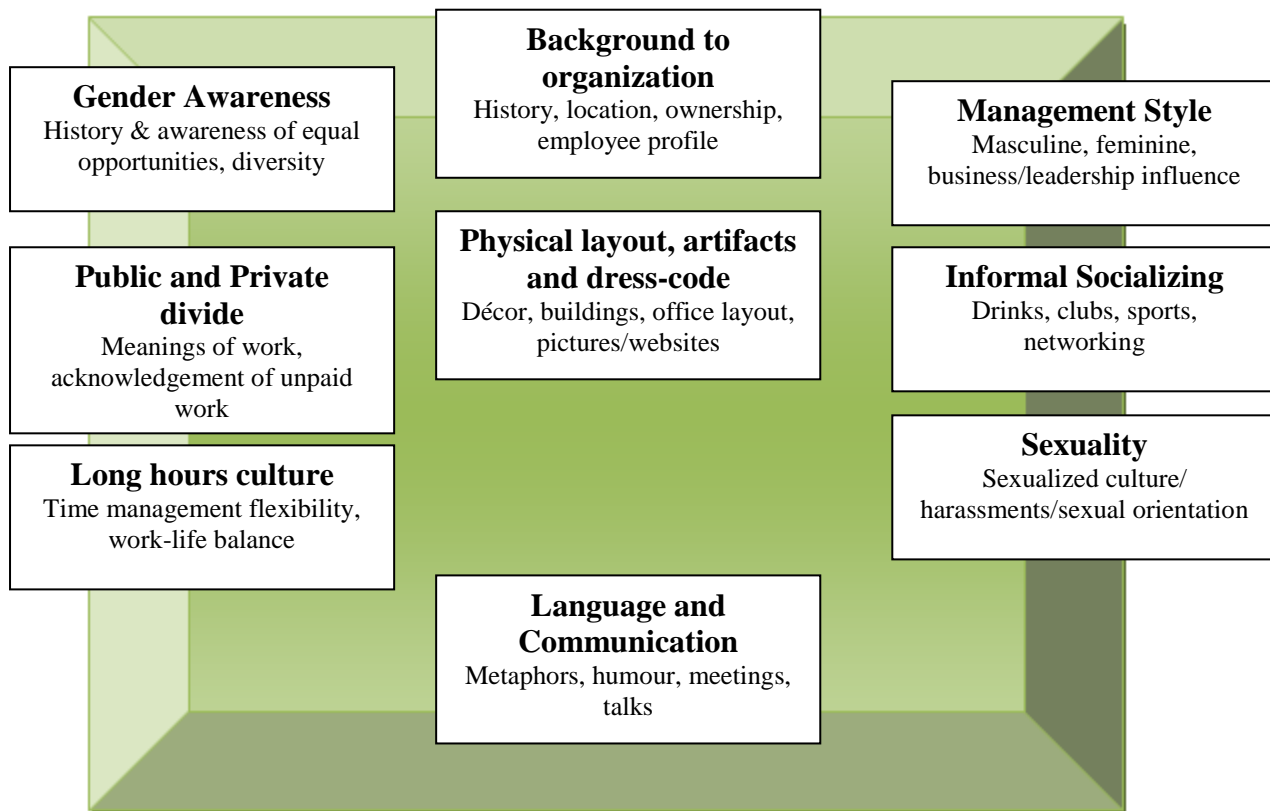
The research question was complemented with the following two sub-questions:

1. *If exclusion is experienced, does it concern both genders?*
2. *Does the gender composition affect the employee’s experiences of exclusion?*

The results to these sub-questions have been extracted from the prominent exclusionary mechanisms, and will therefore be presented under the same section.

The chapter starts with a presentation of the remaining exclusionary mechanisms identified with help from the analytical model, as in figure 2. This will be done in order to provide the contextual information necessary to understand the results from the most prominent exclusionary mechanisms. Each constituent will be presented and discussed separately, with the exception of *public/private divide* and *long hours culture* which have been combined because the results have indicated that the topics are interrelated.

Figure 2. A model of gendered organisational cultures (Rutherford 2011)



7.2 Other exclusionary mechanisms

7.2.1 Background

In this section, I intend to present the history, location, ownership, employee profile and industry of Indust, in accordance with the analytical framework.

Indust is part of a historically male-dominated heavy industry. This production plant has grown from a small family owned company to one of the biggest employers in the city where it is situated. It has survived economic instability and global competition and developed one of world's most modern production systems in its field of products. The organizational culture is therefore clearly imbued with innovation and entrepreneurship and there is a feeling of pride over the historic accomplishments that resonates amongst the employees, making the company particularly popular.

This private ownership structure has influenced the organizational culture and recruitment procedures, where traditionally, several members from the same family could work in the

organization. One female human resource manager explains that “...it is the city’s largest employer .. it’s very common with family relationships here. There are cousins, and moms and dads and kids working here, it’s as if it has been passed on from generation to generation.”⁹ (Human resource manager, female).

Another female operator that has been working at Indust for the past 15 years explains that:

It was really nepotism before. When I started, you had to know someone to get in. I had a friend who introduced me to the supervisor. I sent the application to the office but he knew that I was applying so therefore he could tell the recruiters that he wanted me, since we had talked to each other. That was many years ago. Today you cannot take shortcuts like that.”¹⁰ (female operator)

These results indicate that there has been a history of discrimination in the recruitment process of Indust. In 2006, the human resource function of Indust was reorganized with the target to improve the quality of recruitments. Today, all vacancies must be posted on Indust’s intranet before they are appointed and the majority of external recruitments are done through external recruitment agencies, as a means of preventing nepotism. Ambitious targets have been formulated to increase the number of female employees, both for female leaders and operators.

Equally important is the geographical location which has permeated the organizational culture of Indust with a sense of isolation from the rest of the company. The city where this production plant is situated in, is mapped on the northern part of Sweden, 1100 km away from the headquarters of Indust: “We talk about Indust’s policies, about belonging to the group and so on, but for the small operator on the line, I think that most people experience a distance to the headquarters and the remaining sites.”¹¹ (Human resource manager, female)

Sweden is a country with strong union-movements within the industrial sector. Historically, the employees of Indust have been heavily unionized. There are undertones of past power

⁹ “...det är stans största arbetsgivare..det är otroligt vanligt med familjerelationer här. Det är kusiner och mammor och pappor och barn som springer här, det har liksom gått i arv” (human resource manager, female)

¹⁰ “Förut var det ju verkligen svågerpolitik. Det gällde att känna någon för att komma in, så var det när jag började. Jag hade en kompis som presenterade mig för sin arbetsledare och så lämnade jag in papper på kontoret och sökte men han visste att jag sökte så därför kunde han tala om på personal att han ville ha mig i och med att vi hade pratat med varann. Det var ju då, många många år sen. Nu går inte att ta några genvägar sådär.” (female operator)

¹¹ “Vi pratar om Indust’s policyn, om att vi tillhör koncernen och så, men för den lilla människan längst ut i monteringen så tror jag att dom allra flesta upplever en väldigt distans till huvudkontoret och dom andra siterna” (human resource manager, female)

struggles between the biggest union representing the majority voice of its members (in this case the represented majority is obviously men considering that 87% of the employees are male) and the employer being part of a much bigger global organization. The big confidence in the union amongst the industrial workers has also affected the *employer and employee relations*. Since the confidence in the union is so wide-spread, it is common that the staff direct some of their human resource concerns to the union representatives rather than the managers. As an example, four out of six informants would turn to a union representative rather than to the manager in case of sexual harassment.

From a gender perspective, the reliance on the union can become problematic since one of the union's primary tasks is to represent its members and in this case, the members of the union have been mostly men. Furthermore they operate according to "*last in, first out*" principles stated in the Swedish employment act LAS (1982:80). The consequence of this principle is that since the majority of women in the production were employed during the last 20 years, it has been mainly women whose contracts have been terminated first at the periods of economic crises. Lastly, the union represents the "*seniority principle*"¹². Again, this principle may not favor the group of women since they have been historically excluded from the industry. Important to add however, is that the chairman of the union showed a high gender awareness and the exclusionary problems associated with the aforementioned principles, and pointed out several areas where the union is collaborating with Indust in terms of diversity.

7.2.2 Physical layout and artifacts, and dress-code

Next, the physicality of the working environment, together with working tools, working clothes and websites will be presented.

The factory of Indust is situated less than three kilometers outside of the city center and is easily accessible with public transport. The building is surrounded by houses and apartment that were once built by the municipality for the families that worked in the factory. This setting helps to uphold the feeling of the small family-owned company that Indust once was. Offices, workshops and the production department are all located in the same building, *unmarking* a division between industrial workers and office workers, although the division

¹² According to this principle, promotion and compensation of employees should be primarily determined by length of employment instead of individual performance. (explanation by the chairman of one of the unions at Indust)

between the office workers and the industrial workers can be visible in many other areas, such as the difference in the interior design of the production floor and the offices.

The different divisions within the production department can vary considerably in terms of working environment, noise and the level of automatization. While some divisions are highly automatized with few operators working, others are more labor-intensive and require a great deal of manual work with heavy machines and tools. My experience was that the divisions with high amount of manual work with heavy machinery were also the noisiest. Loud radio music competed with even louder industrial noise from the tools and machines. Also the decoration and interior design varied, with some divisions resembling the traditional heavy and dark smokestack industry-setting and other divisions resembling a more modern, highly technological and innovative environment. The interview results showed that the departments with heavy industrial physicality were the departments with lower proportion of females, indicating gender segregation within the production department. Two operators expressed that the manual work in these departments were too heavy for females, and therefore the departments were not suitable for women to work in.

Working clothes was identified as an exclusionary area by the informants. Both women and men pointed out that uniforms and shoes were not available in all sizes. A female operator explained that she and her female colleagues constantly suffer from burns on their upper bodies since the fire-resistant clothes are too big. This is confirmed by a female human resource manager who adds the difficulties of purchasing clothes for pregnant women as another exclusionary factor for women.

Rutherford acknowledges that the physicality of the working environment can hinder women in different ways. In this study, the physical attributes of the working clothes can hinder women in two ways. Firstly, the clothes do not fulfill their purpose, to protect the employees from industrial injury. Female employees are therefore exposed to a danger which the male employees are protected from. This can be considered as an indirect discrimination. Secondly, by not fitting into the clothes necessary for the working environment, it can be argued that female employees do not fit in the working place and are therefore treated as an exception. The physicality of the clothes thereby becomes yet another barrier for women to overcome.

Regarding the physical working environment, it signals a constant reminder of work and the production goals of the company. This is evident in the canteen rooms that are used both for leisure and rest and for work related meetings, the stations boards scattered all around the production floor channeling information about production output and efficiency, the uniforms worn by the industrial workers, marking a division between the industrial and office workers, and the many corporate posters hanging on the windows. As opposed to the offices, there is very little room for personalization for the industrial workers. In retrospect, the overall physical features of the manufacturing department projected masculine overtones and in the interviews, several informants themselves, referred to the physical environment as “masculine”.

The home page of Indust, on the other hand, projects an inclusive image, with pictures of both working women and men, in different ages and nationalities. There are scores of easily accessed information about the work on diversity, the corporate values and the code of conduct of the company. The dedication to both diversity and gender equality is clearly emphasized, which according to Rutherford is an important signal about management’s commitment to the topic. However, as it will be explained under next section, having gender equality policies and the goodwill of management is not enough since other elements, such as implementation of the policies, are equally important.

7.2.3 Gender awareness

The analytical framework suggests that gender awareness and a culture of equal opportunities is dependent on whether there are policies in place, if they are backed up by top executives and lastly if they have been accepted and implemented. These areas will be reviewed next.

Indust has a comprehensive diversity and inclusive policy, clearly anchored in the international human rights instruments, covering the scope inclusion, harassment and discrimination. Gender equality is embedded in the discourse of diversity and inclusiveness. A human resource manager explains about the progress and how the definition of gender equality has expanded:

15 years ago we had no policies, targets, and there was no focus from a strategic perspective. Today, it’s in our business plan and on all the agendas. We have tried to broaden the definition, first from gender equality to diversity, and now even a further step towards inclusiveness and inclusive leadership. The focus is there, it is definitely on the strategic agenda. (Manager in the field of human resource at corporate level)

This informant demonstrates how the perspective has expanded over time, both in terms of the concept and the integration in the business.

As explained under the chapter case study, the whole industry has historically been intensively dominated by men and the design of the industrial workplace has naturally been more suited to the male physique. Compared to other industries, Indust was early to undergo major industrial modernization aiming to improve the ergonomics and create a working environment that allowed for female operators and men in different sizes and capacities to enter the production plants. Architectural designs of the factories were developed on gender neutral principles. The major attempts however started in the 90's and continue still today. While discussing gender equality, several of the operators referred to the male dominated history of Indust in their stories:

...going back 20 years, there were more or less only men working here. Then we began to work actively to attract women into our factories, but it wasn't until a few of the senior male managers went on long paternity leave back in 2002-2003 when something actually happened. Suddenly a lot happened mentally ... it went from being women's or men's issue to a social issue and there was suddenly a very different understanding. I'm not sure if I would get a job in this factory 15 years ago ... unfortunately! But today it is self-evident.¹³(Human resource manager Indust 2, female)

This suggests that although Indust has been working with diversity and gender equality for several decades, the discourse within the factories has not existed for as long. Rutherford explains that an active equality/diversity agenda and discourse raises awareness and stimulates people to complain of perceived injustice (Rutherford 2011:57). The results suggest that there is a discourse of diversity but that it is not widespread and that the production leaders and human resource managers use it to a greater extent than the operators.

One possible explanation is that the level of gender awareness among the office workers and managers is higher than the industrial workers. The managers interviewed were asked to rate the gender awareness among the industrial workers on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 indicated

¹³ " ...går vi 20 år tillbaka var vi i stort sett bara män här. Sen började vi jobba aktivt med att få in kvinnor i våra fabriker men när det verkligen hände någonting, det var när några av dom lite högre manliga cheferna gick hem på lång pappaledighet under 2002-2003. Då hände det väldigt mycket mentalt...då blev det plötsligt inte en man och kvinnofråga utan en samhällsfråga och det blev plötsligt en helt annan förståelse! Jag är inte säker på om jag hade fått jobb på fabriken för 15 år sen...tyvärr! Men idag är det en självklarhet.(Human Resource manager "Indust 2", female)

very low awareness. The scores varied from 2-6. The fact that neither 1 nor 10 was mentioned indicates that there is a limited level of awareness.

Another indicator of the level of gender awareness was the undertones of confusion between the concepts of gender equality, diversity and inclusion amongst many of the operators. Some informants could switch between the concepts without understanding the difference. One male production leader explains that the initiatives had focused on increasing diversity but adds that what he's lacking is an understanding of "*how to handle diversity and what to do with it*".¹⁴

The results also suggest that there is a problem of merging diversity with equality, because gender equality loses weight and focus for the discourse of diversity which is focused on difference. This can be confirmed by the chairman of the union explaining: "*What happens is that the question may be subordinated and lose power and importance. Diversity now becomes some sort of .. it contains so much that it becomes empty, unfocused or not concrete. It's a benign ambition that is difficult to concretize.*"¹⁵ As mentioned in the theoretical chapter, Rutherford has explained that one problem with the work of diversity is that the concept itself has no universal definition and clear objectives (Rutherford 2011:35). This confusion and lack of consensus is confirmed with the demonstrated quote.

The analytical framework emphasizes the role of management and the results demonstrate a strong back-up of gender equality and diversity initiatives by both the executive teams on corporate level and the top management. Interviews with the plant manager and the human resource managers indicate a high awareness of the policies and strong commitments in this area.

However, the results have suggested a gap between this management group and the industrial workers. An explanation to this gap is that the policies and commitments have not been fully communicated and implemented in the organization. This is confirmed when studying the

¹⁴ "vad ska man göra och hur ska man hantera mångfalden då?" (male production leader, Indust 2)

¹⁵ *Det som händer nu är att den frågan, kanske underordnas, men den tappar kraft och betydelse. Nu blir mångfald någon form av.....att i och med att den rymmer så mycket så blir det ingenting fokuserat eller konkret. Det blir en välvillig inställning som samtidigt är svårt att konkretisera.*(chairman of the union, male)

problems associated with working with gender equality. Two areas were identified as problematic:

1. The initiatives are dependent on economic cycles

The industry which Indust operates in is very sensitive to economic cycles and the amount of resources for diversity activities can therefore vary considerably from year to year. Furthermore, the target of increasing the proportion of females is subject to constant backlashes due to the “last in first out” principles. One human resource manager explains:

We've had periods with many female leaders and the possibilities to work with promotional measures, such as mentorship, counseling etc. have also been more. But in difficult times, such as 2008-2009 (when 1350 out of 2600 employees were fired), these programs were removed. The difficulties now are to start a new leadership program after we've fired so many women without the possibility to re-recruit them. The applications we receive are almost only from men. And we can't do magic!" (human resource manager, female)¹⁶

On the one hand, Indust promotes diversity through the business case and claims that diversity helps to achieve innovation and economic advantages. On the other hand, initiatives are cut out at times of recession, and once the recessions are passed, new initiatives are launched. There is a lack of continuity leading to great amount of lost resources, both economic, in terms of know-how (since people that undergo special programs such as leadership programs are either re-allocated in new positions or fired) and in terms of motivation and credibility amongst the employees. Another possible indication could be that equal opportunities is not integrated in the core business.

2. Production vs. gender equality

The informants reveal that they never discussed gender equality and/or diversity in their groups. One human resource manager identified the lack of communication channels as a constraining factor working with gender equality. She explained:

We are 1800 employees and the majority has no email accounts and they can't leave their stations...in this information society, we are so used to just send an email to everybody and book two hours to discuss the issue...but no, that's not possible here! We have a production where we produce 100 products per day and

¹⁶ *Vi har perioder vi har haft många kvinnliga ledare och då har man också haft mer utrymme att jobba med mentorer, vägledning etc. Men inte i svåra tider som 2008-2009. Svårigheten blir när vi sagt upp många tjejer och vi inte haft möjligheten att rekrytera tillbaks dom, så ska vi köra (ledaraspirant) programmet, så får vi nästan bara killar som söker, vi kan inte trolla! (human resource manager, female)*

that is our focus. To find other ways and create room to discuss diversity is a challenge.¹⁷ (human resource manager, female)

This quote indicates that the main formal communication channel between the management team and the subordinates, and between the team members themselves, is group meetings. These are however often cancelled due to production-related prioritizations. All of the eight informants working in production disliked that group meetings were cancelled and all of them explicitly expressed the need to have regular meetings. When this formal communication channel is removed, the informal channels become of even greater importance. One informant explains:

We hear a lot of rumors but we don't know if they are true or not. It's pretty bad that we aren't permitted this time to ventilate all the problems and potential improvements that we would like to do. We are so scattered throughout the day. That's why we need these meetings¹⁸ (female operator)

Removing the main channel for equal opportunities initiatives can be regarded as an exclusionary factor since it limits the possibilities to raise awareness and to work with gender equality. It can also be understood as if the work on equal opportunities is contested by the productivity and efficiency targets, where the production is considered to be at the core of the business while gender equality is not.

7.2.4 Management style

Given that the focus of this thesis is the industrial workers rather than managers, this constituent has not been investigated in detail. Nevertheless, since management is one factor affecting this target-group, a brief analysis has been conducted.

What can be disclosed from the interview results is that informants have predefined ideas of masculine and feminine management characteristics and behaviors. A common theme in their illustrations was that women and the feminine behavior were subordinated to men and masculinity, and thereby, masculine management traits appeared as the norm, while the feminine traits were devalued. Consequently, femininity appears as inadequate in relation to

¹⁷ "Vi är 1800 anställda i fabriken och många av dom har ingen egen email, många är bundna till sin balans, dom kan inte gå ifrån. ...I dagens informationssamhälle är vi så vana vid att man bara skickar ett mail till alla och vi kan lägga två timmars möte till att diskutera detta...nej, det går inte! Vi har en produktion där vi producerar 100 produkter per dag och vi måste fokusera på det. Att försöka hitta andra vägar och skapa utrymme för att diskutera mångfaldsfrågor är en utmaning." (human resource manager, female)

¹⁸ "Vi får höra mycket rykten men vi vet inte om det exakt är så eller inte . Det är rätt dåligt att vi inte får den här tiden för det är då vi ventilerar alla problem, eventuella förbättringar vi vill göra.. Vi är så utspridda hela dagarna. Därför skulle vi behöva dom här mötena tycker jag." (female operator)

leadership. These attitudes can be explained by Rutherford's theory which suggests that since management has traditionally been reserved for men, and this might be particularly true for Indust which is male dominated, the characteristics and skills valued have also been traits that have been associated with masculinity.

However, informants believed that female managers could be good managers, given that they practice masculine leader style, thus indicating that the influence on management style is as Rutherford suggests the business function itself and not the gender of the manager.

7.2.5 Public/private divide and Long hours culture

The results from the interviews suggest that the conditions of long hours and public and private divide differ between the managerial posts and the industrial work and that Rutherford's model best suits the managerial positions. This is mainly due to the organization of work which will be discussed next.

Approximately 50% of the industrial workers and all of the informants (operators) work two-shifts Monday-Friday, changing between morning shift (6.12-14.30) and evening shift (14.30-24.00) every other week. A system of "plus-time" was implemented as means of increasing flexibility and adapting the production to the shifting demands. This means that employees are free on Fridays unless the production demand is on peak. In addition, there is the option of over-time.

Rutherford has identified the unspoken pressure to work over-time hours as a possible exclusionary factor for women. However, the results show that none of the industrial workers interviewed felt pressure from colleagues or managers to work over-time. Thus the problematic area for this group of employees was not the issue of over-time and spillover of work into the private life. It was rather the structure of the two-shift system which meant challenges in three areas: *leisure activities, health and parenting*.

A female operator explained about the problems of combining work with evening classes: "*I can participate every other week so I miss out on a lot... that's if I work overtime and take*

time off instead".¹⁹ She means that she needs to take time off to be able to maintain her leisure activities.

The health consequences mentioned was the difficulty for the informants to adapt to a diurnal rhythm when constantly shifting between early mornings and late evenings. Informants mention effete and sleep disorders as side effects.

The results also reveal challenges associated with parenting. The problems with working morning shift is that no daycare centers are open so early in the morning and the evening shift means that the informant's children are either in school/daycare or at sleep when the informants are free from work. One female production leader who used to work two shifts in the past explained: "*I didn't meet my son that goes to school at all when I was working afternoon shift and it was really hard to get up early to leave the youngest in kindergarten when I had not slept*".²⁰

Contrary to the group of operators, the two production leaders who had been working in both the office and the shift system, share stories confirming a widely accepted long hours culture at *some* divisions of the production department and the office. They explain about peer group pressure and expectations from managers to work overtime: "*.../ It all depends on which manager you have. Today it works just fine but in my last working group, I was constantly questioned why I could not work overtime*".²¹ Another production leader confirms this long hours culture and explains that she experienced the biggest pressure from colleagues while working in the human resource department. Both informants mean that requirements of omnipresence were not necessary to fulfill the job and that they could handle their tasks in the normal working hours. Due to pressure from the manager and colleagues however, over-time was imposed, thus suggesting that visibility and availability were valued and encouraged. These results confirm Rutherford's theory where she claims that leadership influence the culture and set the standards for the prevailing norm.

¹⁹ "...det är varannan vecka jag kan vara med så jag missar jätte mycket..det är om jag jobbar övertid och tar ledigt istället". (Female industrial worker)

²⁰ Min son som går i skolan träffade jag överhuvudtaget inte när jag jobbade eftermiddagsvecka och jätte jobbigt att stiga upp tidigt för att lämna den yngsta på dagis när man inte sovit. (female production leader)

²¹ ".../ Det beror helt och hållet på vilken chef du har. Nu fungerar det bra men i min förra arbetsgrupp blev jag ständigt ifrågasatt varför jag inte kunde jobba övertid." (female production leader)

Regarding the division between public/private life, the illustrations suggest that the nature of the industrial work provides a bigger flexibility to the private life compared to managerial positions. One of the female production leaders that worked two-shift in the past exemplifies the sharp difference between the working groups:

We managers aren't treated the same way as we are expected to treat our employees. If one of my employees would say they want to work less hours due to children, I would have to say of course we'll solve it. But I wasn't received this way when I, as parent with young children, needed to adjust my working hours. I think it's interesting because Indust's Policy states that it should be possible to combine parenting of young children with this work and I don't think we really fulfill that.²²

This production leader means that the expectations on the employees differ between the managerial posts and industrial work and the results from the interviews with the operators confirm this. The operators did not find it problematic to take child-care days and parental leave which means that parenthood is not perceived as a deviation to work for this peer group. They also explained that speaking about their private lives with their colleagues, such as family matters, was the norm rather than the exception. The implication for the production leaders on the other hand, is more in line with Rutherford's statement, that women's reproductive ability is used to discriminate, restrict and question women's organizational skills. The quote by the female production leader clearly demonstrates how the expectations on the two working positions differ. While the group of operators can demand their parental rights, she, occupying a managerial post, with over-time expectations and pressure of omnipresence, cannot.

7.2.6 Informal codes of behaviour and Socialising

Rutherford breaks down the informal side of work into networking, mentoring, after hours socializing and sports and claims that the exclusionary effects of informal side of work becomes particularly important in senior positions. The informants in this study did not correspond to this group and my interview results did therefore not indicate that informal after hour socializing, sports and mentoring have exclusionary effects. The hidden exclusionary mechanisms were identified in the area of networks, by studying the questions about career development. The informants were asked about their views about the possibilities to career

²² *Vi som chefer blir inte behandlade på samma sätt som vi förväntas behandla våra medarbetare. Hade någon av mina medarbetare sagt att dom vill gå ner i tid för barn hade jag varit tvungen att säga att självklart ska vi lösa det. Men det bemötandet har jag inte fått när jag har haft behov av att anpassa min arbetstid utifrån att jag är småbarnsförälder. Det tycker jag är intressant för det står i Indust policy att det ska vara möjligt att kombinera småbarn med detta arbete och det tycker jag inte att vi riktigt lever upp till. (female production leader)*

development, if the provisions were equal for both genders and what traits they considered important for career development.

Due to the large size of the company, the perception was that the prospects were good. Employees move around frequently, both industrial workers inside the production facility, and office workers. Job rotations and international expatriate contracts are also common.

A contradiction was revealed when I ask whether the opportunities for career development were equal for women and men. The question did not include quota systems or affirmative action but the results show that several informants associated equal opportunities with quota system and affirmative action. Quota systems are applied at Indust, as means of changing the skewed gender composition but they are channelled openly and formally, rather than informally.

Female operator:

...I think that sort of thinking is really unfair and I have no understanding for quotas. Of course a woman should have the same rights. If I am qualified to do the job then I should also have the same right to get it but I don't think I should be given preference just because of my gender.²³

Male operator:

...I understand the idea behind it (quota systems) but it's hard to pick someone based on that. I think competence should be the only determinant.... For example, I can imagine that most electricians are men. Then you need skilled female electricians and therefore, you have to start earlier to train them in high school. You can't hire female electricians if they aren't skilled electricians.²⁴ (male operator)

The results clearly indicate a negative tone and association with quotas among both male and female operators and production leaders. The second informant suggests that recruiting competent employees through quota schemes is not possible and a conceivable interpretation is therefore that competence and quota systems are an impossible match. The male operator continues to explain about the unequal provisions:

²³ "...sånt där tycker jag är jätte orättvist. Det har jag ingen förståelse för, kvoteringsstänket. Det är klart att en kvinna ska ha samma rättigheter, är jag kvalificerad att göra jobbet så ska jag ha samma rätt att få det som någon men jag ska inte pga. mitt kön gå före, tycker jag." (female operator)

²⁴ "...jag förstår tanken med det (kvoteringar) men det är svårt att välja in någon. Där ska det bara vara kompetens man går på tycker jag.... Jag kan ex tänka mig att dom allra flesta elektriker är män, då måste det ju finnas kvinnor som är utbildade elektriker och då måste man börja innan, få dom på gymnasiet att plugga. Det går ju inte anställa kvinnor som elektriker om dom inte är det. (male operator)

I think it's easier for women since all the postings state that because it is male dominated here, they search for female applicants. That doesn't automatically mean that it is a female applicant that they want, but they are perhaps encouraged more. As a male you can feel like ok, so there is no point for me to apply.²⁵

This informant suggests that there are unequal provisions for women and men and that it is easier for women to advance since they are encouraged by the organization to apply for the jobs. Another male operator that also shared his feelings of discouragement gave an example from one leadership program where the target of the company was to accept 50% men and 50% women. Since there are fewer females in the organization, the chance women had to attend the program were higher, he argued.

The human resource team seems to be aware of this perception amongst the male employees. One human resource manager explains:

Also the results from our yearly (diversity) survey prove this by the comments we received about affirmative action, "women have priority, no point to apply" ... but my god, we have such a small percentage of women working in this factory, so talk about having priority...²⁶

The results suggest that the management team (plant manager and human resource managers) are, in contrast to the operators and production leaders, positive to quotas.

Applying Rutherford's theory, an explanation to the operators' and production leaders' resistance may be that while the informal networks are hidden and difficult for employees to complain about, the formal initiatives, aimed to adjust the unequal division of power, are more visual and therefore easier to question. This resistance can, in accordance with the theory, be exemplified as resistance to change of power structures.

In summary, the male informants experience a form of exclusion as a result of the quota systems. However, the experiences of exclusion as a result of quota systems were different for the female employees. One production leader explained:

²⁵ Jag tror det är lättare för kvinnor i och med att i alla annonser så står det ofta att i och med att det är mansdominerat så söker dom kvinnliga sökanden. Det betyder inte att det automatisk är en kvinna som dom söker jobbet men dom uppmuntras kanske mer och man kan ju som kille känna att "ja, då är det kanske inte lönt att man söker. (male operator)

²⁶ Det visar ju också enkäten genom kommentarerna som vi fått om positiv särbehandling, "kvinnor har förtur ingen ide att söka" ..., men herre gud, vi har sån liten andel kvinnor här som jobbar på fabriken så snacka om att ha förtur....(human resource manager, female)

...I've changed (jobs) quite a lot during my short time at Indust, so of course I've heard some comments although they've been jokes: "it's because you're female and must fill the quota". But I don't care about that stuff. I just shrug my shoulders and hope that it's my skills and competence....²⁷ (female production leader)

A female operator recruited to an internal training program for females explained about her feelings of guilt when her contract was extended while many of her male colleagues were fired. Due to the lack of skilled female industrial workers, the target of the program was to attract females and it included two weeks of training.

But then guys who had more seniority and were more skilled than me had to leave. So I can feel like ...was it because I was a female or what? But on the other hand, Indust has spent money on us. So I never really knew if that was why. I never got it clarified. So that wasn't exactly very popular on the floor. We were bluntly told "so yes if you're female, you have all the possibilities". That's also a bit wrong, that we should be prioritized.²⁸ (female operator)

She uses the business case as her defense at the same time as she disapproves quotas. The quote also reveals the vulnerable position which she ends up in, where she feels the pressure to prove her skills and competence. The same operator had explained about the difficulties to fit into the group earlier in the interview: "... it wasn't exactly open arms as soon as I was coming. People were like 'let's see what she can do. She's attended training for two weeks and now she's going to ..'. Yes, they were a bit afraid that I wouldn't handle it".²⁹

A consequence of the general resistance and negative attitudes to quota systems is that the group of women is once again disadvantaged from the initiatives that were initially aimed to favor them.

The following table demonstrates a summary of the perceptions of career development.

²⁷ ...jag har bytt ganska mycket på min korta tid på Volvo, så det är klart att även om det har varit på skämt så har jag fått höra vissa kommentarer: "det är för att du är kvinna och ska fylla ut den delen". Men sånt bryr jag mig inte om och rycker på axlarna och hoppas det är min kompetens. (female production leader)

²⁸ "Men då var killar som hade längre anställningstid än mig och som kunde mer än mig som fick gå. Så jag kan ju känna att..var det för att jag var tjej eller? Men å andra sidan så har ju Indust lagt ut pengar på oss. Så man vet ju inte riktigt om det var därför. Jag har inte riktigt fått någon klarhet. Men det var väl inte helt populärt kanske från alla håll på golvet. "Ja men är man tjej, då har man alla möjligheter", det fick vi höra, rent ut. Det är ju också lite fel kan man tycka, att vi ska ha lite förtur."(female operator)

²⁹ "...det var väl inte kanske öppna armar direkt när jag skulle komma, utan folk var lite "nu ska vi se vad hon går för. Hon har gått på svetsutbildningen i två veckor och så ska hon gå in nu..". Ja, dom var väl lite rädd för att jag inte skulle fixa det" (female operator)

Table 3 Exclusionary mechanisms in the area of career development

	WOMEN	MEN
<i>Attitudes to career development</i>	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Positive</i>
<i>Equal opportunities in career development</i>	<i>Negative associations with affirmative action/quotas</i>	
<i>Experiences of exclusion due to quota systems</i>	<i>Forced to prove their competence</i>	<i>Discouragement to apply</i>
<i>Important traits for career development</i>	<i>Social, easy to get to know your managers, outgoing</i>	

While both genders think negatively of quota schemes, men feel that they are discouraged to apply and subsequently that it is more difficult for them to advance in their careers. Women on the other hand feel that they are disfavored due to this positive discrimination and as a consequence, they are forced to justify and prove their competence. This experience is further confirmed when discussing what traits are important to advance in the career. A female production leader mentions:

...(we) have very good conditions for both women and men in most places, not all. And even on all different levels, such as on leader-positions. But as a woman, you must perhaps elbow your way through and be hard-nosed. It's not self-evident that one directs a question to me, perhaps they turn to my male colleague instead. So you have to stick out your neck and help yourself, especially as a leader....you have to show off more as a girl...³⁰

The informant confirms the unequal provisions and claims that women need to be more aggressive than men in order to succeed. Other examples shared about the traits necessary for career development were: *social, easy to get to know your managers* and *outgoing*. The traits mentioned indicate that networking is important for career development and that Rutherford's hypothesis, that in large organizations with low employee turnover, informal networking is the key to career development, is partly true at Indust. This can also be read as an exclusionary factor for women, since the results indicate that women must be more aggressive than men if they want to advance in their careers.

Regarding formal networks, the plant manager herself has initiated several network programs for women. When discussing this with a female production leader she comments:

I was asked by HR (human resource department) if I was interested in a women's network ... I replied that I'm probably not if it's a women's network for female

³⁰ ..(vi) har väldigt bra förutsättningar för både kvinnor och män på dom allra flesta ställen, inte alla. Och även inom alla nivåer, som exempel ledare. Men som kvinna kanske man får armbåga sig fram och ha lite skinn på näsan. Det är inte självklart att man vänder sig till mig i en fråga, man kanske vänder sig till min manliga kollega så man får sträcka fram hakan och ta för sig, framför allt som ledare. ...man får visa framfötterna mer som tjej...(female production leader)

leaders at Indust, here locally. If it would have been a network in the city, for female leaders in the industry, so that you can share experiences... perhaps.... But here, my feeling is that you'd just continue building on this...it will only result in a dirty word . It will turn into "oh yes, but why do women need a network then, are they worse than the guys or..."³¹

This result corresponds well with Rutherford's theory where she claims that women's networks permit organizations to "support a gender initiative without too much challenge to the status quo" (Rutherford 2011:149). It also suggests that what excludes these women is the general unequal provisions forcing them to adjust to a masculine working environment where their competence is constantly questioned, and not the lack of support from networks.

7.3 The prominent exclusionary mechanisms

As explained earlier, this section contains a presentation and analysis of the most prominent exclusionary mechanisms identified in this research. These mechanisms have been crystalized from the results concerning the constituents *Language and communication* and *Sexuality* and will be presented next, followed by an analysis of the two sub-questions.

7.3.1 Sexualized Culture

Sexualized cultures can be recognized by the presence and repetition of many stereotypes and jargons (Rutherford 2001c, 2011, Kanter 1977, Gherardi 1995). Therefore, I wanted to investigate if the informants had any notions about the stereotype operator. My question about stereotyping was framed to give information about the characteristics necessary in order to domesticate in the environment. Recurring characteristics mentioned were *open-minded/positive* (1 male, 2 female), *not sensitive/not take things personally* (4 male, 4 female), *hard-nosed*³² (2 male, 3 female) *receptive/open-minded* (2 female), *put her/his feet down*³³ (3 female, 1 male). The words *macho* and *masculine* were also used several times in the stories. My understanding of these descriptions is that the informants experience the environment as masculine and the characteristics they mention are characteristics which they associate with masculinity. A female production leader explained:

It's more about personality, not woman/man/age. You don't need to be aggressive but you should be self-confident in a workplace with a rough macho culture. Not

³¹ *Det kom en fråga från HR om jag var intresserad av ett kvinnligt nätverk...jag sa att jag är nog inte intresserad om det är ett kvinnligt nätverk för kvinnliga ledare på Indust, lokalt. Skulle det ha varit ett nätverk inom staden för kvinnliga ledare inom industrin så man kan utbyta erfarenheter så.... Men här, min känsla är att man bara bygger på det, det kommer bara bli ett skällsord. Då blir det bara "jaha men varför behöver kvinnorna ett nätverk då, är dom sämre än killarna eller.." (female production leader)*

³² Ha skinn på näsan

³³ Våga säga ifrån

be too sensitive because it might get a bit tough, you have to be able to speak up. You can't deny that it's a quite rough jargon and you need to be able to handle things (and I don't mean harassments) and be frank and honest towards each other. You have a duty yourself to be clear and direct.³⁴

This informant rejects the relevance of gender and means that it is up to the individual to handle the rough macho jargons. Like in the theory of Rutherford, the informant attributes the behavior and language to the job rather than the masculine environment.

These findings suggest that the production environment is masculine, tough and naturally more suited to men. The prevailing view is that you need to hold certain characteristics to fit in. An important characteristic in this "masculine" environment is jargons. Therefore, Rutherford's theory that jargons are embedded with masculinity is confirmed and will be presented here next.

7.3.2 Sexual Language, jargons and banter

In the analysis, the words jokes and banter are used interchangeably. The results from the explorative interviews had indicated a wide-spread sexual jargon. A big part of the in-depth interviews were therefore dedicated to discuss jargons and banter in order to understand more about the nature and possible exclusionary effects.

Rutherford writes about different languages such as sexual language, war metaphors and sports, which can develop in the workplace. In the findings, the dominant language identified is sexual language. The results also show that some jokes about ethnicity occur occasionally and as with the sexual talk, they are disguised as acceptable banter. The jargons are practiced and justified verbally and through social practices. As an example, a female operator described that sketches of genitals could occasionally be found in the toilets and on the products that they worked on.

Regarding the role and function of banter, Rutherford has suggested that they fulfill the function of preventing boredom, releasing tension and feelings of powerlessness. The interviews confirm this statement and can be illustrated through following quote from a

³⁴ "I så fall handlar det om personlighet, inte kvinna/man/äldre. Man behöver inte vara framåt men man ska vara rätt trygg i sig själv, kunna i en arbetsplats som kan ha rätt hård macho jargong, inte vara för känslig för då kan det bli lite jobbigt, man måste kunna säga ifrån. Man kommer ändå inte ifrån att det är ganska tuff jargong och man måste kunna ta saker (och jag menar inte kränkande saker) utan vara ganska rak mot varandra. Man har en skyldighet att själv att bidra med att va tydlig och rak." (Female production leader)

female operator: “...*there’s a lot of jokes and laughter. You tease around and do cranks. / .. / But everyone jokes around a lot so that it gets more fun to work. But yes, it can sometimes feel boring to do the same thing and then start all over again.*”³⁵ What this informant is referring to is the monotonous work at the assembly line³⁶ where the operators repeat the same steps several times during a working shift. She implies clearly that banter is used as a way to prevent boredom at work.

Although these banter fulfill a function, the informants showed a certain level of awareness about the ambiguous experiences of these jargons and banter. To illustrate this, a male operator expressed himself with the following quote:

I’m sure not everybody appreciates it. Yes, but sometimes it just lightens up the atmosphere with something as stupid as sex. / ... / Perhaps not everyone likes it but then no one has said they don’t tolerate it either. Perhaps there are those who don’t like it and say nothing but I haven’t heard anyone who’s complained that it’s too harsh and low, absolutely not! But it can end up on an inappropriate level, yes it can.³⁷ (male operator)

As these quotes indicate, although banter and sexual jokes occur in order to help time go faster and lighten up the atmosphere, this teasing and jesting can result in a subtle form of offensive behavior. The second informant also indicates that sexual talk is used as a way of bonding and socializing and while he is aware that banter can be offensive, he justifies it for continual use by claiming that no one has complained despite the fact that the jokes can come out as inappropriate.

These results are in line with Rutherford’s statement that women in minority are caught up in the jargons and banter and forced to accept it in order to fit in. Also Kanter acknowledges the mechanisms that arise when one group, in this case women, end up in a minority position. These mechanisms will be thoroughly discussed under the section “Does the gender composition affect the employee’s experiences of exclusion?”.

³⁵ “...*det är mycket skämt och mycket skratt. Man busar lite sådär, hittar på lite cranks. /.. / Men alla skämtar mycket så att det ska bli roligare att jobba. Men visst kan det bli tradigt att göra samma sak ibland, och så början man om från början.*” (female operator)

³⁶ Löpande band

³⁷ “*Det är säkert inte alla som tycker att det är bra. Ja men ibland lättar det bara upp stämningen med bara en sån här dum grej som sex./... / Det kanske inte är alla som tycker om det men det är då ingen som har sagt att dom inte tolererar det. Det kanske finns dom som inte tycker om det och som inte säger det men jag har inte hört någon som sagt att det är för hårt och låg nivå, absolut inte! Men det kan bli låg nivå, det kan det!*” (male operator)

7.3.3 Sexual jokes or sexual harassment?

Although several stories revealed that sexual harassment had taken place at Indust, the management team of Indust and the union representatives all agreed that it was unacceptable and could not be tolerated. Therefore, these issues were handled forcefully. Even though the procedures of how to handle sexual harassments were outlined, the problematic area was rather to define the line between what constitutes sexual jokes/jargons and harassments.

Drawing the line between a joke and sexual harassment can be a difficult task since individuals have their own personal boundaries, Rutherford argues (Rutherford 2011:179). In the production department of Indust, where sexual language was so widely used, it was difficult for women to be clear about what they found offensive. There was also an implicit understanding that problems should be dealt with on a *man to man* basis. Therefore, as the following quote illustrates, the responsibility to draw the lines of what is acceptable and not, was assigned to the individual:

I am a jargon loving person myself! Jargon is not always a negative thing. You respect and joke with each other, it's a balancing act. But then you have people who don't have this balancing act. They choose to become grumpy or hurt, even though it is jargon, and that's where it gets difficult...to know how far you can go and how people react, before you know a person.³⁸ (female operator)

The informant demonstrates a level of awareness of the problems associated with the prevailing sexist jargons. Although she ascribes a part of the responsibility to the person executing the jokes, at the same time, she addresses the greatest responsibility to the person receiving the joke. She describes the culture of jargons as a balancing act where the offended colleagues lack this skill, and intentionally choose to become offended. This is further confirmed by a female production leader who was mentioned earlier under sexualized culture: “*You can't deny that it's a quite rough jargon and you need to be able to handle things (and I don't mean harassments) and be frank and honest towards each other. You have a duty yourself to be clear and direct*”³⁹. Also this production leader assigns the greatest part of the responsibility, to handle the jargons, to the individual. Furthermore, she detaches rough jargons from insulting and offensive

³⁸ ”*Jag en jargongälskande människa. Jargong är inte alltid en negativ grej. Man har respekt och skojar med varandra. Men sen har du dom som inte har den här balansgången, utan väljer att bli sur eller sårad, fastän det är jargong och det är där det blir svårt..hur långt man kan gå och hur människor reagerar, innan man har lärt känna en människa .*” (female operator).

³⁹ ”*Man kommer ändå inte ifrån att det är ganska tuff jargong och man måste kunna ta saker (och jag menar inte kränkande saker) utan vara ganska rak mot varandra. Man har en skyldighet att själv att bidra med att va tydlig och rak.*” (Female production leader)

behavior, and thereby marks implicitly that rough jargons are accepted and normalized, while harassments are not.

Rutherford explains the role of management and claims that those in managerial positions play a vital role in establishing the norms and tones, and marking what is acceptable and not (Rutherford 2001c, 2011). In this study, Indust's management team (human resource managers and production leaders) were aware of the jargons used and their problematic nature. However, they did not take an active stand in setting the norms.

At the organizational level, the top executives of Indust have made a stand through the different internal policies. As demonstrated in the background information, Indust has several policies covering the span of jargons, harassment and discrimination, as well as documents describing the desirable culture, behaviors and values. The illustrations suggest however that they have not been communicated and implemented all the way down to the production floor. A female operator explained that they received the policy document for the corporate values two years ago: */.../ some book with happy pictures of people who were working and embracing each other. I don't know if it matters that the book exists or not.... the working environment is built inside the group, I think.*⁴⁰ This suggests that the corporate values and behaviors have not been correctly communicated and understood.

Consequently, the results show that managers at Indust are aware of the problems associated with the prevailing jargons but they do not work *proactively* to change the culture which is exclusionary. The management do not use this sexualized language themselves, but they indirectly accept it and thus miss out on the fact that the jargons can be experienced as a form of bullying and harassment. They take an active stand mainly when they witness behaviors which they regard as being *out of line*, such as sexual harassment which is an area clearly marked as a non-tolerable behavior.

This can be contrasted with the proactive approach in the production plant "Indust 2" where they have established jargons as the focus of the year in the field of diversity. The human

⁴⁰*/.../ någon himla bok som man bläddrade i, med glada bilder på människor som stod och jobbade och håller om varandra och såg glada ut. Inte vet jag om det spelar någon roll om den boken fanns eller inte men alltså..miljön på en arbetsplats bygger man ju inom gruppen tycker jag." (female operator)*

resource manager there explained that they work actively with raising awareness about the prevailing jargons and engaging the employees in group discussions.

7.3.4 Sexual orientation

My analytical framework suggests that sexuality is controlled and defined by heterosexual men and that some of the sexual talk in organizations constitute sexual harassment (Rutherford 2001c, 2011). The production environment of Indust confirms this statement.

Two questions addressed sexual orientation: *are there homosexual jokes* and *is it easy to come out as homosexual?* All of the operators and production leaders held that jokes about homosexuals, and gay jokes in particular, occurred. A female informant explained that “*it is a part of the jargon*” and that she had “*not heard anyone saying faggot in an offensive way*”⁴¹. The word faggot, is a loaded and extremely offensive word, which she disarms by using the terminology jargons. Three informants mentioned that they knew one or some homosexual colleagues and one case of bullying of a gay man was mentioned. The majority also believed that coming out as gay would be problematic. One female operator added that she believes it would be easier for a woman to come out as lesbian than a gay man in the production department.

These results indicate that the freedom to express sexual orientation other than heterosexuality is clearly limited. There is an overtly heterosexual culture which can have exclusionary effects on employees to freely define and express their sexuality.

7.3.5 If exclusion is experienced, does it concern both genders?

As it has been discussed within the theoretical framework, organizational cultures can have both exclusionary and inclusionary effects (Wahl et al. 2011, Rutherford 2001c, 2011). Keith Grint sees culture as a boundary device to mark off insiders from outsiders and writes that “*...culture is...mainly about distinguishing one group from another on the basis of where the boundary lies, culture is an exclusionary mechanism as well as an inclusive one.*” (Grint 1995:166) Although Indust strives for an inclusive culture, as demonstrated both on their

⁴¹ ”...det hör väl jargongen till /.../ Jag har inte hört någon som säger böjvävel på ett nedsättande sätt” (female operator)

websites and the diversity and inclusive policy⁴², the interview results revealed that the sexual jargons, banter and language occur and create exclusionary as well as inclusionary mechanisms.

The exclusionary mechanisms are further confirmed by studying the illustrations from two questions addressing inclusiveness. First question was whether the informants feel included or not in their working groups. All informants replied that they felt included. The next question was whether they know any colleagues that are presently or have been excluded in the past. Several separate stories about exclusion of both women and men were shared:

A female operator talked about a male colleague:

.. they have been joking at his expense, and in his presence. I don't know if he's 100% aware that they pull his leg or if he understands it and does not speak out. I've talked to a guy about this and he said it's sad what they're doing, some people because it's not everybody...⁴³

Another story told by an informant, concerning her colleague, reveals that the exclusion went so far that the person in question changed jobs due to this issue. The colleague had been alienated from her working group ever since the start of her employment, until she changed jobs, and she never understood why she was alienated by the group members.

A last story was shared by an informant who is engaged in the trade union affairs and thereby well read in the issues of harassment.

Other forms of harassment have also occurred. It involves people (women and men) who have been a little different. It starts with one person's jokes and more members fill in, as a form of group bullying. I think it's more common in the larger groups. It's typically two or three people from the large groups that are bullied, someone who's a little different and lonely.⁴⁴ (male operator and trade-union representative)

⁴² An inclusive workplace is defined as "a workplace which is free from discrimination and where we treat each other with respect" and inclusive culture is "where everyone can contribute to their fullest potential regardless of gender, nationality, ethnic origin, age or sexual orientation" (extract from the corporate homepage).

⁴³ "...dom har skämtat på hans bekostnad och skämtat om honom i hans närvaro. Jag vet inte om han till 100% förstått att dom småjävlas med honom eller om han förstår och inte säger ifrån. Jag har pratat med en kille om det där och han sa att det är jävligt vad dom håller på, vissa personer för det är inte all..." (female operator)

⁴⁴ "Det har varit andra former av trakasserier som också förekommit. Det är personer (kvinnor och män) som varit lite annorlunda, en som börjar skämta och fler fyller på som gruppmobbning. I stora grupper tror jag det är vanligare.../.. Oftast två eller tre i stora grupper som far illa, en som är lite annorlunda och går för sig själv." (male operator and trade-union representative)

The surprising result is that both the female and male employees at Indust can be victims of exclusion. Consequently, the side effects of a macho sexist jargon are neither a woman's issue nor an individual's issue. The area where my results differ from Rutherford's theory is that Rutherford discusses the exclusionary effects on women while my results indicate exclusion of both women and men.

7.3.6 Does the gender composition affect the employee's experiences of exclusion?

Next, I will use Kanter's research on the relative distribution of gender to understand how the gender composition affects the working groups. One of the questions asked was how the informants experience working in a male dominated industry. A recurring theme in the answers was that the respondents positioned male dominated environments against female dominated, in a hierarchical order where the attributes of a male dominated environment were charged with positive meaning while the female attributes were charged with negative meaning. Another reoccurring response was a defense of the male dominated environment where all the informants replied that they preferred working in a male dominated, rather than a female-dominated environment. This is demonstrated with the following illustrative example:

Interviewer: How do you feel about working in a male dominated industry?

Female informant: I enjoy it. I imagine it's easier to work with more men than women, I don't know why but that's what I think.

Interviewer: What makes it easier?

Female informant: I think there's more behind-the-back talk with only girls in large group. It's more difficult than with only boys and a few girls. In female groups, it's more common with groupings for some reason, I don't know /... / I imagine that girls are more likely to bite the bullet and get a bit grumpy and not say what upsets them and so on, a little more sensitive so to say. A guy who gets grumpy, he talks about it more openly.

Interviewer: Do you see any disadvantages working in a male dominated industry?

Female informant: I actually see no disadvantages at all.⁴⁵ (female operator)

My results show that the numerical distribution of gender is of importance in three areas:

1. How well female newcomers are received

⁴⁵ Intervjuare: Hur tycker du det är att arbeta som kvinna i en mansdominerad verksamhet?

Kvinnlig informant: Jag trivs ju med det. Jag tror att det är enklare att jobba med fler karlar än fler kvinnor, har jag för mig. Jag vet inte varför men jag tror det.

Intervjuare: Vad är det som gör det enklare?

Kvinnlig informant: Jag tror att det blir mera bakom ryggen snack om du är med bara tjejer i stor grupp, det är svårare än bara killar och några tjejer. Det har lättare att bli grupperingar i kvinnogrupper av någon anledning, jag vet inte ././ Jag får för mig att tjejer har lättare att bita ihop och bli lite sura och inte säga vad dom är sura för och sådär, lite känsligare så. En kille som blir sur, han talar oftast om det rakare på något vis.

Intervjuare: Finns det några nackdelar med att jobba inom en mansdominerad verksamhet?

Kvinnlig informant: Jag ser inga nackdelar alls faktiskt."(female operator)

2. To what extent the jargon is macho-sexist
3. The experienced comfort level and team-spirit

Put in simple words, the results indicate that, in work groups containing one or more females, female newcomers experienced a warmer reception by the receiving group members, the macho-sexist jargon was perceived as milder and the experienced comfort level and team-spirit amongst both male and female employees was improved. These results both confirm and contradict the theory of Kanter.

Kanter has pointed out two important thresholds, 0-15%, and 35-85%. As explained under theory, the gender distribution of the working groups activate the cultural expressions of *visibility*, *boundary heightening* and *assimilation* if the tokens (minorities) are below the 15% threshold. Like Kanter has stated, the females in this study, being in minority and in token-position, received extra attention and visibility from the dominants, which in turn provoked pressure to perform well. Furthermore, the token's differences were exaggerated from the dominants and created stereotypes.

However, the threshold of 15% was not in line with the results of this study since the existence of even one female resulted in improvements. This was revealed through the stories of two newly recruited operators. The gender composition for these two working groups was the following: in the first group, there was 1 female and 24 males, resulting in 4% females, and in the second group, there were 3 females and 20 males, resulting in Kanter's threshold value of 15% females.

In the first group, the female operator described the difficulties to domesticate in her working group the first few months:

I was thinking, this is a group that I must command. I have to earn this group's respect in a way. /.../ It wasn't exactly open arms as soon as I was coming. People were like 'let's see what she can do. She's attended training for two weeks and now she's going to ..?' . Yes, they were a bit afraid that I wouldn't handle it. /.../ Today it works just fine so I think I did the right thing. But perhaps not everyone would have made it.⁴⁶

⁴⁶” Det här är en grupp som jag måste förtjäna. Jag måste förtjäna deras respekt lite gran, tänkte jag. Nu funkar det hur bra som helst, så jag tror att jag gjorde rätt. Men kanske inte vem som helst hade klarat det.”
(female operator)

The interesting finding here is that, the existence of only one female in the working group, resulted in improvements which were experienced both by herself and her colleagues. These improvements were concerning the jargons, the team-spirit and wellbeing⁴⁷. She recalls a conversation with a male colleague where he was explaining that:” *...it’s been a completely different atmosphere since you started. It’s become a little tender, tough guys have softened up a bit, they have a softer way ...* “. ⁴⁸ The positive impact of the existence of one female is confirmed also in several other stories. As an example, one operator explains that he has noted a clear difference in the group atmosphere in the canteen ever since a female cleaner started eating breakfast with the team.

In the second group with the gender composition of 15% females, the experiences were slightly different regarding the reception of a new female member. A newly recruited female explained: “*In my group there were girls who had already proved that girls are capable even though we are smaller and have less muscles. We can still do the job well. I actually think I got a pretty good reception*”. ⁴⁹ These results show that this newly recruited female was received differently because there were two females in the past that had proved their capability.

The results reveal that the group-dynamics were changed in both groups studied. Although the reception of the female operator was harsher in the first group, the organizational culture here, as well as in the second group, was changed to a more permissive culture after the proportion of females had increased. The experiences among both male and female employees were that the sexist jargons had become milder and that the comfort level and team-spirit had increased.

The fact that the working climate was improved over time even in group one, with a gender composition of 4% females, contradicts the 15% threshold of Kanter. One possible explanation could be that her research was conducted during the 70’s when females had just started to enter the traditionally male dominated occupations. These women were faced with double deviance since they worked not only in male dominated working groups, but also in

⁴⁷ Trivselnivå

⁴⁸ ”...det har blivit en helt annan atmosfär sen du började. Det har blivit lite mjukare, dom hårda killarna har mjuknat lite, att dom har ett lenare sätt...” (female operator in conversation with a male colleague)

⁴⁹ ”I min grupp fanns det redan tjejer som hade visat att tjejer kan även fast vi är mindre och inte har lika mycket muskler så kan vi ändå göra jobbet bra. Jag tycker ändå att jag fick ett ganska bra mottagande.” (female operator)

occupations that, at the time, were regarded as inappropriate for women (Yoder 1991:181). This double deviance is not valid for the working females in Sweden in 2012.

Another possible explanation is that the gender awareness amongst the informants at Indust is most likely higher than the informants in Kanter's research. As it has already been presented, Indust has worked with gender equality and diversity for the last four decades.

Finally, an important aspect that was revealed in the study, was the correlation between age and the group dynamics, where the gender composition was not the only affecting factor. The informants, both male and female, believed that older men were less *flexible* (male operator) than younger. An operator explains: " *It feels like they (older men) have different understanding of what girls can do, while the younger guys, they're like... 'girls are actually capable'*".⁵⁰

8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis has been to study different mechanisms of the exclusion of women in the organizational cultures in the production environment of Indust. Aiming to catch these exclusionary mechanisms, the point of departure of this thesis has been the personal experiences of the employees. In order to complement these personal experiences, the model of Rutherford was applied to capture a broader understanding of exclusion, an understanding which encompasses personal, structural and organizational exclusionary mechanisms.

The principal research question of this thesis has been whether the employees in the chosen production environment experience exclusion based on gender, and in what various ways this exclusion is manifested. As the results have shown, the informants did not experience exclusion based on gender, on a personal level. The majority even claimed to feel included in their working groups. However, applying Rutherford's model, a variety of different exclusionary mechanisms were revealed.

These mechanisms were recognized in the prevailing sexualized language and culture at Indust. The working environment was described by the informants as masculine, tough and naturally more suited to men. An important characteristic in this "masculine" environment

⁵⁰ "Det känns som att dom (äldre män) har annat synsätt på vad tjejer kan, medans yngre killar dom bara "tjejer kan ju faktiskt". (female operator)

proved to be the sexual jargons and banter which are seemingly embraced and accepted by both the female and male employees.

These jokes and banter have fulfilled a function of preventing boredom and releasing tension. However, the findings have also suggested that the same teasing and jesting might result in a subtle form of offensive behavior. In the production department, where sexual language was so widely used, it was difficult for women to be clear about what they found offensive. Further to the fact, drawing the line between sexual jokes and sexual harassments proved to be difficult. There seems to be a fine line between normalized sexual jokes, offensive behavior and sexual harassment.

The findings have also indicated that the middle-management at Indust were aware of the problems associated with the prevailing jargons, but that they did not work proactively to change the organizational culture. This could be explained by the fact that the same jargons served the purpose of alleviating tension, powerlessness and boredom for the operators. It must however be pointed out that the nature of the operator's work, according to the operators themselves, was changing to become more and more monotonous, with few opportunities for team-bonding and ventilating tension. Therefore, the operators themselves defended the jargons. Perhaps the adequate action to change this exclusionary culture is not to ban the jargons, but rather to change the monotonous working conditions and to allow for more empowerment. Parallel with this, the management's responsibility to continuously establish and re-establish the norms and tones, marking what is acceptable and not, is equally important.

Another exclusionary mechanism identified was the overtly heterosexual culture characterized with "gay-jokes" and a presumed heterosexuality which limited the employees to freely define and express their sexuality.

The overall findings lead to the question of why the informants did not experience exclusion despite the many different exclusionary mechanisms that exist within the organization. The exclusionary mechanisms mentioned, have been so normalized that they are embedded in the common organizational culture at the production department. In the theoretical chapter, I have already discussed the possible explanations of why minorities (in this case women) embrace the majority culture, to the degree that they are assimilated.

In order to fit in, women in minority, are caught up in this language and forced to accept it despite its repressive and minimizing tone. Furthermore, the fact that female employees participate in banter could be used by the perpetrators, as a defense against complaints and a way of legitimizing it.

The principal research question was supplemented with two specified sub-questions where the first question concerned whether exclusion was experienced by both genders. Given that women are in minority and subordinated the dominating patriarchal culture, my initial expectation was that these experiences would mainly be limited to the female employees. However, the remarkable result was that both the female and male employees could be subjected to exclusion.

During the course of this study, several stories were revealed illustrating male employees being socially excluded due to the presumed heterosexuality embedded in the organizational culture. A conclusion is therefore that the presumed heterosexuality defines and limits the normative perception of how men should be. This culture creates a division between the “real men”, who correspond to the norm, and men who deviate from this norm. A number of quotes indicated the alienation of these men who did not fit in to the normative perception of a man.

There has been a lot of research on women (in minority) in male dominated professions, with the aim of understanding how they are affected from this minority position. However, these findings suggest that the prevailing patriarchal norms affect also the male employees, even though they are a part of the majority. The research on men and homosociality, explaining the relation between men and organizational culture, could be useful, in order to further develop this thesis research purpose.

For Indust, it could be worth while investigating the group dynamics that emerge amongst the male employees, and emphasizing that the issue of exclusion is no longer a woman's issue. Concerning future research, the specific experiences of men being marginalized within the same patriarchal structures can be of great interest in the field of human rights/gender equality. From a human rights perspective, these findings are of equal importance since they suggest

that the effects of exclusion concern both genders, and therefore becomes a universal issue, ultimately concerning the core of the rights entitled to all human beings.

Regarding the second sub-question, whether the gender composition affects the experiences of the employees, the results have suggested that the proportion of females indeed affects three main areas. In work groups containing one or more females, female newcomers experienced a warmer reception by the receiving group members, the macho-sexist jargon was perceived as milder and the experienced comfort level and team-spirit amongst both male and female employees was improved. The interesting finding is that with the existence of only one female in the working teams, the group dynamics could change and improve. Both the female and male employees shared this understanding, which indicates that also the male employees benefited from the positive changes associated with the increase of the proportion of females. The conclusion again, is that the work on gender equality at Indust, expands to a universal issue concerning and affecting both genders and ultimately also leading to benefits for both genders.

A number of other exclusionary mechanisms were identified in the remaining seven constituents, where the main findings concerned the constituents gender awareness and informal codes of behavior and socializing. The results have showed that Indust has a comprehensive diversity and inclusive policy, clearly anchored in the international human rights instruments, covering the span inclusion, harassment and discrimination.

The results have suggested that there is a discourse of diversity but that it is not widespread within the organization and that the production leaders and human resource managers use it to a greater extent than the operators. One explanation is that the level of gender awareness among the office workers and managers was higher than the industrial workers. As discussed in the theoretical chapter, the success of equal opportunity programs is dependent on its implementation on different organizational levels. Firstly, policies must be initiated, secondly, they must be backed up by top executives and lastly they must be accepted and implemented throughout the whole organization. At Indust, policies and equal opportunity programs were not communicated and implemented all the way down to the industrial workers.

Furthermore, the results have suggested that there is a problem of merging the concepts of diversity with gender equality, where gender equality loses weight and is overshadowed by the concept of diversity. Diversity becomes a much wider concept with the intention of catching as many differences as possible, which results in being unfocused and difficult to concretize. It becomes unfocused since the targeted group is not defined, and it is difficult to concretize because the objectives are not clear.

In order for Indust to raise the gender awareness among its industrial workers, they need to continue working with equal opportunities. However, the results have revealed that the main communication channels between the managers and the production leaders, was the group meetings and that these meetings were frequently cancelled due to production related prioritizations. To minimize these communication channels meant that the equal opportunity work was clearly limited.

The last research area to be outlined is whether the opportunities to career development were equal for both women and men. The question asked did not include quota systems or affirmative action plans but the results revealed that several informants associated equal opportunities with quota systems. While the attitudes to quota systems were clearly negative among both the male and female employees, the experiences of exclusion as a result of quota systems differed. The male employees felt that they were discouraged to apply and that it therefore was more difficult for them to advance in their careers, while the females, on the other hand, believed that due to this positive discrimination, they were forced to justify and prove their competence. An interesting reflection is how these quota systems, as a form of affirmative action, were initially designed to favor and ease the woman's entrance into male dominated areas, but in this study, the females did not feel favored instead.

Again, perhaps the adequate action to increase the proportion of females is not through quotas alone, where the female employees are singled out and the male employees discouraged, I believe it is equally important, to work proactively with the prevailing attitudes and values in order to change the organizational culture, which ultimately is the key to combat the exclusionary mechanisms hidden within the same organizational culture.

As indicated in the model of Rutherford and as confirmed in this study, the exclusionary mechanisms are embedded in the different areas of the organizational culture. Therefore, real change must include all the different organizational levels and the various aspects of the organizational culture. Having said that, I believe that the culture approach and the chosen analytical model, with its attempts to encompass the full complexity of the organizational culture, fulfilled the purpose of the study, which was to capture the subtle and intangible forms of discrimination, that exclusion ultimately is. The purpose of the thesis, to study different mechanisms of the exclusion of women in the organizational cultures in a production environment, has been achieved. In addition, it has produced results concerning men and their experiences of exclusion, which in turn has generated a new research question in the area of human rights. To approach the phenomenon of exclusion of both females and males, it is important to raise this issue to a universal level and to emphasize its anchoring in human rights.

However, the side-effects of choosing such a comprehensive model, is that it generated an unmanageable amount of results that needed to be analyzed and categorized. Many of these results were interrelated and occurred under more than one constituent, which led me to the problem of separating and drawing the lines between the constituents.

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10 APPENDIXES

10.1 Appendix 1: Interview guide – Explorative Interviews

INLEDANDE FRÅGOR

- *Vad är din position, arbetsuppgifter, ansvarsområde mm?*
- *Hur länge har du arbetat med jämställdhet och mångfalds frågor?*
- *Hur är det att arbeta som kvinna/man och chef/montör i en mansdominerad verksamhet? (Upplever du att könsfördelning har någon betydelse?)*
- *Hur är arbetsteamet uppdelade i produktion*

BACKGROUND/GENDER AWARENESS

- *Kan du beskriva hur Indust arbetar med jämställdhet och mångfald i din organisation?(Finns det några områden som behöver förbättras?)*
- *Vilka är dom största utmaningarna och vilka åtgärder har vidtagits för att möta dessa utmaningar?*
- *Vilka är dom viktigaste styrdokumenterna för jämställdhet och hur används dom?*
- ***Personalchefer:** Följer ni upp resultaten från mångfaldsundersökningen?(På vilka vis, hur ofta, inom vilka avdelningar osv?)*

INKLUDERING/EXKLUDERING

- *Indust har som avsikt att skapa en inkluderande arbetsmiljö för alla dess anställda. Med inkluderande arbetsmiljö menas "en arbetsplats som är fri från diskriminering, kränkning, nedsättande kommentarer och andra former av förminskanden och exkludering. I en inkluderande arbetsmiljö behandlar vi varandra med respekt och alla anställda kan känna gemenskap och delaktighet."*
 - *Tycker du att Indust har en inkluderande kultur? Förklara!*
- *Känner du till några individer/grupper i din organisation och / eller i en av de avdelningar som du arbetar med, som exkluderas/exkluderats?*

GENDER AWARENESS

- *På en skala 1-10, hur skulle du ranka medvetenheten om jämställdhetsfrågor bland industriarbetarna?*
- *Tycker du att det finns ett behov av att öka kunskapen om jämställdhet i din organisation?*
- *Om ja, tror du att ett mera aktivt manligt engagemang kan ge frågan en högre prioritet och status?*
- *Vilka former av åtgärder har montörerna och första linjens chefer fått ta del av? Ex, föredrag, kurser etc.*

PHYSICAL LAYOUT/ARTIFACTS

- *På vilka sätt arbetar ni för att anpassa arbetsredskap, maskiner, verktyg, kläder gemensamma personalutrymmen etc. för alla?. Kan du ge exempel på dom problem som dom anställda stött på?*

MANAGEMENT STYLE

- *Hur tror du att kvinnliga första linjens chefer upplever sin arbetssituation? Stöd?*
- *Hur arbetar ni med att öka antalet kvinnliga första linjens chefer? Finns det några särskilda insatser riktade mot kvinnor? Utbildning, mentorskap etc?*

PUBLIC/PRIVATE DIVIDE

- *Hur främjar Indust work/life balance? Vilka är initiativen?*
- *Är deltidсанställningar vanligt bland föräldrar? Föräldrarledighet?*

LONG HOURS CULTURE

- *Finns det några problem förknippat med skift-systemet?*
- *Hur löser ni personalfrågan vid upp och nergången av produktion?*

SEXUALITY/LANGUAGE & COMMUNICATION

- *Berätta om organiskulturen inom tillverkningsindustrin där du har arbetat. Ex. finns distinkta kulturer i olika divisioner / avdelningar o/el. mellan personalen/huvudkontoret osv?*
- *Tycker du att arbetsklimatet tillåter alla att vara öppna med sin sexuella läggning? (Förekommer det att folk "kommer ut" och hur bemöts dom i så fall?)*
- *Finns det någon distinkt jargon? Sexuell jargong, bögskämt etc? (Hur jobbar man i så fall med att motverka jargonger?)*
- *Om vi pratar om stereotyper, hur ser den typiske montören respektive teamledaren ut? (hur ska man vara för att trivas?)*

AVSLUT

Jag har ställt många frågor till dig – nu undrar jag om det finns någonting som jag inte frågat om och som du tycker är viktigt att tillägga?

10.2 Appendix 2: Interview guide – In-depth interviews

INLEDANDE FRÅGOR

- *Vad är din position, arbetsuppgifter, ansvarsområde mm?*
- **Första linjens chef:** *Hur många direkt underställda personer har Ni?*
- *Hur anställdes du? (Varför sökte du jobb på Indust? Hur länge har du arbetat som montör/första linjens chef?)*
- *Hur ser du på framtiden? (Utvecklings- och karriärmöjligheter, samma för båda könen?)*

GENDER AWARENESS

- *Hur är det att arbeta som kvinna/man och chef/montör i en mansdominerad verksamhet? (Upplever du att könsfördelning har någon betydelse?)*
- *Tycker du att din arbetsorganisation hanterar jämställdhet mellan kvinnor och män på ett bra sätt? (Exempel på brister/styrkor?)*
- *Upplever du att det finns skillnader i arbetsförhållanden mellan kvinnor och män på din arbetsplats? (Exempel på skillnader: arbetskläder i alla storlekar, svårare för kvinnor eller män att avancera inom vissa yrken, komma till tals, att kvinnor eller män behandlas olika av chefer osv. I vilka situationer uppstår dom ojämställda villkoren?)*
- *Känner du dig delaktig i dom beslut som tas på din arbetsplats? (Hur skulle du önska att det vore?)*
- *Vet du var du ska vända dig om du skulle känna dig kränkt, trakaserad eller exkluderad?*

INKLUDERING/EXKLUDERING

- *Indust koncernen har som avsikt att skapa en inkluderande arbetsmiljö. Med inkluderande arbetsmiljö menas "en arbetsplats som är fri från diskriminering, kränkning, nedsättande kommentarer och andra former av förminskanden och exkludering. I en inkluderande arbetsmiljö behandlar vi varandra med respekt och alla anställda kan känna gemenskap och delaktighet".*
 - *Känner du dig inkluderad och delaktig i din arbetsgrupp? (På vilka vis?)*
- *Med exkludering på arbetsplatsen menas att utstötta eller utesluta individer eller grupper från ett socialt deltagande. Har du någon gång upplevt utanförskap och exkludering i din arbetsgrupp? (På vilka vis?)*
- *Har du sett att någon i din arbetsmiljö medvetet eller omedvetet har blivit exkluderad och utstött? (På vilka vis?)*

AWARENESS/UTBILDNING

- *Tycker du att det finns ett behov av att öka kunskapen om jämställdhet och mångfald på din arbetsplats? (Ex genom föredrag, presentationer, kurser, utbildning, diskussioner under arbetsmöten, avdelningsmöten etc)*

PHYSICAL LAYOUT/ARTIFACTS

- *Tycker du att arbetsredskap, maskiner, verktyg, , omkådningsrum, kläder etc. är anpassade för alla?*
- **Första linjens chef:** *På vilka sätt arbetar ni för att anpassa arbetsredskap, maskiner, verktyg, kläder etc. för alla?*

SEXUALIZED CULTURE & COMMUNICATION

- *Tycker du att arbetsklimatet tillåter alla att vara öppna med sin sexuella läggning? (Förekommer det att folk "kommer ut" och hur bemöts dom i så fall?)*
- *Finns det någon distinkt jargon? Bögskämt, sexuell jargont etc?*
- *Om vi pratar om stereotyper, hur ser den typiske montören respektive teamledaren ut? (hur ska man vara för att trivas?)*

INFORMAL SOCIALIZING

- *Brukar du umgås med dina arbetskolligor utanför arbetstid och på vilka vis?*
- *Vid andra mer privata former av arrangemang, har individer eller grupper medvetet eller omedvetet uteslutits från dessa arrangemang?*
- *Hur är din relation med dina arbetskolligor, vad pratar ni om på jobbet, på rasterna? Samtalsämnen? Pratar ni om privat livet? Familjen?*

PUBLIC/PRIVATE DIVIDE

- *Tycker du att det fungerar väl med att kombinera arbete med andra åtaganden i livet, såsom vård av barn och andra närstående, föräldraledighet osv.? (Vilka problem har du stött på?)*
- *Tycker Du att Din arbetsgivare har underlättat för Dig att få livspusslet att gå ihop?*

LONG HOURS CULTURE

- *Hur är det att arbeta i skift, har du stött på några problem?*
- *Förväntas du jobba övertid, är det i så fall frivillig övertid?*

AVSLUT

Jag har ställt många frågor till dig – nu undrar jag om det finns någonting som jag inte frågat om och som du tycker är viktigt att tillägga?