

Exclusion and inclusion of women by corporate cultural processes: A case study in the IT and finance industries

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and Management**

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Abstract

This Master thesis investigates how cultural processes exclude, or might include, women from the corporate culture as well as how the cultural processes could impact the women's abilities to career advancement within an organization that operates in the financial and IT industries. Previous studies have provided knowledge about culture and gender relations within the financial (Rutherford, 2001; Renemark, 2007) and IT-sectors (Davies and Mathieu, 2005: 12-22) respectively, but there is a lack of studies of financial service organizations in Sweden that operates in both these industries. These industries are described in earlier studies as having an uneven female representation at managerial levels (Nordling and Samuelsson, 2014; Rutherford, 2001) and organizational cultures that marginalizes women (Renemark, 2007; Davies and Mathieu, 2005: 12-22; Rutherford, 2001). Thereof is the corporate culture's effect on women and female managers in particular, important to understand in an organizational constellation that strives to increase the number of female managers such as the case company in this study. This study utilizes a theoretical framework defined by Rutherford (2001) comprising nine cultural constituents that are interpreted as including several cultural processes. These cultural constituents are organizational background, Physical artefacts, Management style, the Long hours culture, Work ideology, Informal ways of socializing, Language and communication, Sexuality, and Gender awareness. The nine cultural constituents and the respective processes could have excluding effects, or possible including effects, on female managers position in the corporate culture and impact their further career advancement. In this study is the framework used to investigate the situation for female managers as well as the situation for the female employees as perceived at the managerial level. A case study methodology is used and the including data collection methods are; semi-structured interviews, secondary data, and a field study. Nine semi-structured interviews with managers that

directly report to the executive team members constitute the main data gathering method.

The findings show the existence of cultural processes related to all nine constituents at the case organization and how these processes impact women. These cultural processes exclude or include women from the corporate culture and impact female career advancement negatively or positively. The identified excluding cultural processes could constitute managerial implications for gender equality work. In addition, the findings provide knowledge of how the generic framework defined by Rutherford (2001) could be applied in the present corporate environment of an actor that operates in the Swedish IT and financial industries. Further, two adjustments of the framework are proposed. The constant connectivity provided by today's technology proposes a more interlinked relationship between the long hour culture and the work ideology than earlier defined. Further, an extension of the cultural constituent Informal ways of socializing is proposed to incorporate several hierarchical levels to be applicable for young and less hierarchical actors.

Key words: Gender, cultural constituents, cultural exclusion, cultural inclusion, female manager, finance industry, IT- industry, career advancement.

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1. Introduction

The introductory chapter contextualize the research, presents the problem background, the research questions, the purpose, and the delimitations of the case study.

1.1 Research contextualization

Sweden has one of the highest female representations in the executive teams in financial service firms, according to a recent survey (Oliver Wyman, 2014). It was found that slightly below 30 percent of the executive team members of Swedish financial firms were females while the average internationally was 13 percent (Oliver Wyman, 2014). If only Swedish banks are considered then 20 percent of the Swedish executive team members are women and 16 percent internationally (Nordling & Samuelsson, 2014). Although Sweden often is ranked among the top countries in the world for gender equality, it still has a gender-segregated labor market with little change for the past 15 years (European Commission's Expert Group on Gender and Employment, 2009). It has been observed that the majority of the male working force is employed within the private sector, and among the thirty most common professions in Sweden only three have close to equal gender distribution (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2012: 58, 62). Within the financial sector, the majority of the women are appointed to the supporting functions such as administration, Human Relation and economics, where they are separated from the core activities (Renemark, 2007:9). Further, 53 percent of the junior staff is women within the Swedish financial service companies (Nordling & Samuelsson, 2014) and when compared to women at leading position an opportunity of improvement is seized. Another industrial sector that is not gender equal considering its low female representation and separations of women's and men's work tasks, in the IT-sector (Davies and Mathieu, 2005). The female representation within the Swedish IT industry is on an average of 20 percent and the leading positions in this business sector are only held by 7.6 percent of women (SCB, 2009; Ingenjören, 2013).

Professional segregation and affiliation to minority groups in working life have negative effects on women (Kanter, 1977 referred to by Fairhurst and Snavely, 1983; Wahl, 2011:87-90). The segregation of women both hierarchical and vertical within organizations is related to both power relations among the genders and to the corporate culture (Wahl, Holgersson, Höök and Linghag, 2011:257). Thereof could the corporate culture be stated as a contributing factor to the gender distribution, discrimination and exclusion of women (Wahl et al, 2011:129, Findler, Wind and Mor Barak, 2007; Rutherford, 2001). The corporate culture holds both what is noticeable, such as physical artefacts and expressed values and beliefs, as well as the more latent underlying assumptions among corporate members about their reality (Schein, 2004:26). Even if shared beliefs within a corporate culture are often emphasized; the culture comprises both beliefs and behavior (Rutherford, 2001). Further, the corporate culture could be perceived as a male-dominated culture (Hearn, 1989) and exclude women from reaching higher positions (Rutherford, 2001). The corporate culture's impact on women is closely related to structural practices such as organizational initiatives for nurturing women in their careers (Rutherford, 2001). Some corporations have acknowledged the cultural gender issues and actions for change have been taken (Meyerson and Ely, 2000a). However, different corporate visions and strategies towards gender equality have different impact on the culture, in some case even negative effect (Meyerson and Ely, 2000a), and are often applied ineffectively (Findler et al. 2007).

In contrast to the existing gender issues in organizations, several studies (Carter, Simkins and Simpson, 2003; Pathan S & Faff R., 2012; Mateos de Cabo, Gimeno and Nieto, 2009)

have showed a positive correlation between high level of women in leading positions and the wealth of companies. The particular benefits of observed higher female participation and inclusion are found to have positive effects on corporate efficiency and monitoring (Mateos de Cabo et al; 2009). Other benefits from inclusion are the increase of well-being, job satisfaction, and job commitment among employees, which also contributes to organizational performance (Findler et al. 2007).

1.2 Problem background

In Sweden, a large organizational part, in this report called the Focal Unit, of an International Group would like to increase its female representation at leading positions. As the Focal Unit operates in both the financial service industry and in the IT industry, it is likely to embed characteristics from those industries. On the other hand, the Focal Unit is geographically located in Sweden and would therefore have better prerequisites compared to international competitors in the same industries, rooted in regions where the gender diversity is reported as low (European Commission's Expert Group on Gender and Employment, 2009). The Focal Unit employs almost 300 employees with an overall gender distribution of 62% male and 38 % female. However, there are variations of the gender proportions the staff categories in between. For instance, administrative functions present higher proportions of females while the male proportion is higher in other staff categories like IT. For leading positions, both the executive team and the Board of Directors of the International Group have a female representation of 25 percent. The executive team has internally as well as externally announced an interest about gender equality and set an ultimate goal of having an equal gender distribution at leading positions throughout the International Group where the Focal Unit is included. The International Group has implemented gender equality scorecard with current state measurements at the Focal Unit (Annual report The International Group, 2013; Meeting 2014).

The corporate culture could be used to understand the gender distribution (Wahl et al., 2011:257) as well as be studied from its impact on the gender distribution through cultural closure of women (Rutherford, 2001). A cultural closure has negative impacts on women's well-being and could exclude women from areas of work (Rutherford, 2001). Further, cultural exclusion of managers could occur in several ways (Rutherford, 2001). A cultural closure could be created by the time management practiced by managers. It could put pressure on managers to be visible at the office certain hours, which often has the most significant negative impact on female managers due to their greater responsibility for household and childcare (Rutherford, 2001). A cultural closure could also exist through the corporate accepted and practiced management style that could constitute masculine norms that keep women from being considered suitable for having a managerial role (Hearn, 1989). When women are marginalized by corporate culture there is less possibility for them to reach senior positions within organization (Rutherford, 2001), which is as phenomenon called glass ceiling (Baxter and Wright, 2000; Holgersson 2003; Reinhold 2005). Thereof is the corporate culture's effect on women, and particularly on female managers, important to understand in an organizational constellation that strives to increase the number of female managers such as the Focal Unit.

The corporate culture's impact on female managers through cultural closure could be defined through nine cultural constituents (Rutherford, 2001). These constituents could be interpreted as cultural generic themes constituting of non-predefined cultural processes or characteristics that will be individual for the studied organization. The constituents are defined from how corporate cultures negatively impact women through the cultural closure (Rutherford, 2001), which indicates that the constituents could be more exhaustive

in finding cultural closure than inclusion. By studying the constituents and the corresponding processes, it could be possible to understand how a corporate cultural process exclude or if not, instead include female managers in a way that impact their career advancement. Further, the constituents are not mutually exclusive in their definitions. The nine constituents are; the company background, the physical layout and artefacts, the management style, the informal socializing, the sexuality, the time management, the work ideology, the language and communication, and the level of gender awareness among the corporate members (Rutherford, 2001). These nine comprises a rather wide definition of the corporate culture, even including organizational policies, which results in a rather comprehensive view of an organization (Rutherford, 2001).

There is yet no research of how the nine constituents (Rutherford, 2001) comprise excluding or including cultural processes for an organization, such as the Focal Unit, that operates in the borderland between the IT-sector and the financial sector in Sweden. By analyzing how the cultural constituents relate to women at the Focal Unit, excluding or including cultural processes and how these processes impact female career advancement, can be found. Further, analyzing the cultural constituents from a managerial perspective below the so-called glass ceiling will provide knowledge of how the cultural impact is experienced at managerial level but also at employee level from the perspective of their responsible managers. Then the Focal Unit could receive knowledge of where their cultural processes need to change to not exclude women from the corporate culture as well as not to marginalize the women in their career advancement. If such changes are made, then the possibility to reach a more balanced gender distribution at leading position will increase and the working climate will be better for women (Rutherford, 2001). Further, this study will contribute to new knowledge about how cultural processes impact women at two organizational levels in an organization that operates in both the IT and financial sectors in Sweden.

1.3 Research questions

In order to understand how the cultural constituents impact women, the cultural processes related to the constituents need to be understood from what ways they create exclusion or possible inclusion and how they impact women's career possibilities. Therefore the following two research questions are proposed:

RQ1: How do the cultural processes related to the constituents create cultural exclusion or possible inclusion for women?

RQ2: How do the cultural processes affect women's possibilities to advance?

1.4 Purpose

The purpose of this study is to investigate how the cultural constituents through cultural processes excludes or might include women as well as how the cultural constituents through cultural processes could impact the women's abilities for career advancement within at an organization that operates within both the Financial and IT-industry.

1.5 Delimitations of the case study

This study is conducted at one unit with less than 300 employees and which is a part of an International group. Within this unit, the Focal Unit, is the common organizational culture's impact on women studied by methods gathering data from the whole focal unit through a field study and by secondary data as well as data from four large functions through semi-structured interviews with a sample of immediately reporting managers. The Focal Unit

comprises of eight organizational functions and the chosen four for the interview participant frame holds 88 percent of the Focal Unit's employees.

2. Literature review

In this chapter, previous studies on the research topic are presented. The knowledge areas that are deemed relate to this study are explored and presented in the following order; the concept of gender, three aspects of gender in organizations, organizational culture, and the impact of organizational culture on women. The chapter starts with an introduction and concludes with a summary.

2.1 Introduction of literature chapter

The literature chapter aims to provide an understanding for the research topic and present the theoretical model used in the study. The concept of gender, the perspectives of gender in organizations and perspectives on the organizational culture provides the necessary theoretical background and contextualization for understanding how the corporate culture could marginalize women (chapter 2-4). Since the study is about cultural exclusion and the possible inclusion of females, a framework for the cultural exclusion of women is presented. The theoretical framework constitutes nine cultural themes where previous research is presented in respective chapters (chapter 2.5.1-2.5.9). Eight of the themes are generic and one is specifically explained from the context of the Focal Unit, the case company, in this study. Therefore do the Organizational Background chapter (chapter 2.5.9) present earlier studies on gender distribution and women's' work-life situation in the Swedish financial and IT industries. Two additional cultural concepts Homosociality and Gender Marking that are not included in the theoretical model of the corporate culture's impact on female managers, but essential to understand some of the findings, are also presented (chapter 2.5.10-2.5.11).

2.2 The concept of gender

The word gender could be defined as socially constructed roles, status, expectations and relationships of women and men (Rao, Stuart, and Kelleher, 1999: xi). The gender regime describes the power balance between the genders in society (Linghag 2009:33) and the most common gender regime of today's' societies is patriarchal (Wahl et al., 2011:27). In a patriarchal society, men are the dominating group at powerful positions and have greater influence in society compared to women (ibid). The same power relations between the sexes are observable within organizations (Ressner, 1985 referred to by Wahl et al. 2011: 81-83). The historic development of bureaucracy have been explained as the reason for the different distribution of men and women at positions and hierarchical levels in organizations as well as for having significance on how power and privileges have been concentrated to and kept by men (Wahl et al. 2011:72-74). Historical creation of power differences between the sexes in organizations can explain observable differences among men's and women's behavior, that in turn explains e.g. why men often is preferred for management positions (Wahl et al., 2011: 237). Hence, the concept of gender in organizations is related to power, organizational structure and to organizational culture (Wahl et al. 2011:255), and has significance for behavioral preferences that are related to sex differences.

2.3 Three aspects of gender in organizations

The concept of gender in organizations has three interrelated perspectives: organizational structure, organizational culture and power relations (Wahl et al., 2011:61-62, 106-108, 257; Itzin and Newman, 1995 reviewed to by Fournier 1997).

The organizational structure (Wahl et al, 2011:61) represents the division of work tasks and the coordination to achieve corporate goals. Through the structural division of work assignments, the behavior of employees are affected even if employee behavior is not included in the common definition of the organizational structure (ibid). From a gender perspective, researchers have defined characteristics of the organizational structure with impact on the gender relations within the organizations. The gender structure is one characteristic of the organizational structure. The gender structure (Wahl et al., 2011:87-90) constitutes of three aspects; the numerical proportion between males and females, the level of segregation between the genders considering professions, positions and tasks, and the power distribution between the genders. Baxter (2012) explains that a common type of segregation between the genders in organizations is that the work in operations, sales, finance and marketing are performed largely by men while the 'support work' such as human resources, public relations, customer support, more frequently conducted by women – and lower status men. Acker's (1994, referred to by Linghag 2009) studies of the gender structure of Swedish banks show the importance of task segregation. Despite a more balanced gender distribution in the professions, gender segregation was present through the different work tasks that were assigned to men and women (Linghag, 2009). The consequences and implications of the gender structure of the organization has empirically been described as; direct and indirect discrimination of women, creation of female strategies, gender creation, and the creation of career gaps (Wahl, 1992: 249).

The second aspect, the organizational culture, has been studied from a gender perspective by researchers (Rutherford, 2001; Findler et al., 2007; Hearn, 1989) as well. The importance of norms and values, as well as the interpretation of symbols and processes from a gender perspective, is in focus for the cultural aspect (Wahl et al. 2011:105). Further, affiliation to minority groups, organizational culture and employee outcomes are related in a complex way (Findler et al., 2007). In particular, the relationship between cultural processes and the marginalization and exclusion of women have been presented by several researchers (Acker, 2012; Rutherford, 2001; Wahl et al. 2011, Rao et al. 1999; Findler et al. 2007). Hearn (1989) argues that organisational cultures can themselves be understood as examples of male-dominated cultures and such cultures have a male dominated deep structure (Rao et al., 1999) that incorporates processes which impact women. The cultural concepts such as gender marking (Wahl et. al., 2011:114) and homosociality (Lindgren, 1999 referred to by Wahl et al., 2011: 120) have influence on the consequences of being a woman in an organization. Further, organizational subunits may have different cultures of inequality (Acker, 2012; Rutherford, 2001).

The third aspect is the power relations between men and women within the organization. The power relations concern; decision-making processes, division of resources, how voice is heard, interpretation rights, and formulation of working terms among other (Wahl et al., 2011: 257).

Interrelations between the three dimensions power, structure, and culture have been studied by researchers (Hearn, 2001; Acker, 2012; Billing & Alvesson, 1989; Champoux, 2011). Hearn (2002, referred to by Wahl et al., 2011:107) argues that from a power perspective it is possible to understand culture as a result of ongoing power relations and negotiations of the legitimization of certain concepts. Wahl et al. (2011:106) describes how the divide of men and women at different positions and task assignments, events of the organizational structure, are founded and normalized by cultural arguments. Likewise, Champoux (2011:78) argues that organizational cultures define the types of reward and sanctions that managers can use. Billing and Alvesson (2009, referred to by Keyton,

2011:110) contribute by viewing the relation from the somewhat the opposite way by emphasizing that there is an influence of organizational structure in the creation process of organizational culture. However the relationships between the three aspects of organizations are defined, these three aspects could be used to understand how an organization is being gendered. The concept of gendered organizations (Acker, 1990; 2012) is related to the organizational structure, organizational culture and to the power relations and will provide explanations to the problems and meaning related to be of a certain gender within that organization (Wahl et al. 2011: 255).

2.4 Organizational culture

The purpose of studying organizations from a cultural perspective is to create a deeper understanding for current organizational structures (Wahl et al., 2011:105). Somewhat contrary, the symbolic organizational theory declares the formal structure as a facade, made by management, which masks the actual operating patterns (Jermier, Slocum, Fry & Gaines, 1991). However, the concept of organizational culture has become a basic concern in the study of organization and management, at the same level as strategy, structure and control (Hofstede, 1998). Organizational cultures vary among the size of the organization, industry belongings, type of organization, organizational structure, and executive philosophy (Billing and Alvesson, 1989 referred to by Wahl et al. 2011: 108). Further, employees form great attachment to their cultures and therefore are corporate cultures hard to change (Rutherford, 2001).

Schein (2004) has presented one definition of organizational culture as a three-dimensional phenomenon. The dimensions are; artefacts, espoused beliefs and values, and underlying assumptions (Schein, 2004:26). The artefacts consist of visible organizational structures and processes (ibid). Espoused beliefs and values represent the strategies, goals and philosophies while the underlying assumptions are the unconscious, taken-for-granted beliefs, perceptions, thoughts, and feelings (ibid). Further, Champoux (2011:81) explains how the artefacts of the organizational culture could be observed through; physical characteristics, behavior, and public documents (ibid). Physical characteristics are constituted of architecture, office layout, decor, sounds, and smells and attire (Champoux, 2011:75, 81). The behavior is noticed by studying the interpersonal orientation, use of titles, rituals, rites, ceremonies, language, stories, anecdotes, heroines, and heroes (Champoux, 2011:81). Public documents revealing the cultural artefacts consist of annual reports, press accounts, Web sites, internal newspapers and newsletters (ibid). Champoux (2011:75,78) explains that by studying these features of the culture it is possible to infer some values, norms and required behavior that defines group boundaries and criterias for inclusion in the group. The corporate culture affects perceptions and behavior of how one should act to fit into the organizational culture (Wahl et al., 2011: 105-106).

The origin of the organizational culture has been taken by researchers (Jermier et al., 1991) as the set of symbols and structures of meaning arranged according to top management preferences. More specifically, the concept of the official organizational culture refers to formal statements of the organization's mission and standards of conduct, as well as the corresponding formal structure and related physical objects (ibid). There could also exist sub-cultures within the organizations, representing somewhat different norms (Wahl et al. 2011: 106). According to Jermier et al. (1991), an organizational subculture refers to shared understandings about the organization's mission and standards of conduct, as well as the corresponding organized practices that emerge in a group of employees.

The identification of organizational subcultures could be done by grouping the visible practices and values among the members (Hofstede, 1998). This could result in an identification of different subcultures that vary among national subsidiaries, product or market divisions, functional departments, geographic locations, hierarchical level, professions, and work groups among other (ibid). Jermier et al (1991) do also argue for similar origins of organizational subcultures such as: employees' personal characteristics (e.g., age, gender, ethnic identity) or social histories (e.g., family background, education, and social class membership), occupational specialty, departmental assignment, and time of day worked.

One of the consequences of the many opportunities for the formulation of organizational subcultures is that different characteristics of the culture could be studied at different levels (Hofstede 1998, Sackmann 1992). Some aspects of a culture can apply corporation-wide while others will be specific to smaller units (ibid). Culture gaps within organizations can by themselves represent essential cultural information (Saffold, 1988 referred to by Hofstede, 1998). In practice, many studies of organizational cultures use predefined subcultures or study the organization as a whole (Sackmann, 1992). Further, Jermier et al. (1991) argues that it is impossible to model organizational culture completely in any single study. Accordingly, researchers chose what they find meaningful aspects of the culture to be studied and portrayed (Jermier et al., 1991).

However, the concept of organizational subcultures is not generally accepted among researchers (Martin, 1995). Some researchers (Jermier et al., 1991; Sackmann, 1992; Hofstede 1998) accepts the occurrence of subcultures. The organizational culture could also be explained as either one culture that creates consensus among organizational values and beliefs (Martin, 1995; Champoux, 2011:76-77) or as one fleeting culture of ambiguity arisen from external and internal changes (Champoux, 2011:76-77). Further, Martin (1995) explains that these perspectives within corporate culture research are conflicting and is the reasons behind the lack of consensus of the definition of corporate culture.

2.5 The impact of organizational culture on women

Researchers (Acker, 2012; Rutherford, 2001; Wahl et al., 2014; Rao et al. 1999; Findler et al. 2007) have presented ways to describe and identify how cultural processes indicate how the organizational culture is being gendered and how this marginalizes and excludes women. An exclusionary workplace is based on the perception that all employees need to conform to pre-established organizational norms and values (Findler et al. 2007). This could reduce the well-being and close of corporate areas, such at senior positions, for women (Rutherford, 2001). Exclusion of women from decision-making processes could impact the sense of fairness for the organizational practices and job commitment while inclusion in information flows contributes to well-being and job satisfaction (Findler et al., 2007). The well-known phenomenon called the glass ceiling has been described as result of the excluding effect that the corporate culture can have on female managers, creating barriers for them to reach higher positions (Baxter and Wright, 2000).

The corporate culture's impact on female managers have been studied and understood through nine cultural constituents (Rutherford, 2001). These cultural constituents could be interpreted as generic themes comprising different cultural processes, such as sexuality (Hearn and Parkin, 1987 referred to by Konrad, 1988) and physical artefacts (Tyler and Cohen, 2010), that has been found to have impact on female managers in organizations. The existence and characteristics of the cultural processes could therefore be individual for the organizations and organizational constellations such as divisions, where the latter

could provide explanations to why there are often fewer women in the most prestigious divisions of a company (Rutherford, 2001). Identifying divisionalized differences could be facilitated by analyzing organizational divisions separately. Further, the constituents are defined from how corporate cultures negatively impact women through the closure (Rutherford, 2001), which indicates that the constituents could be more exhaustive in explaining cultural closure than inclusion.

By studying the constituents and the corresponding processes, it could be possible to understand how a corporate cultural process exclude or if not, instead include female managers in a way that impact their career advancement. The nine cultural constituents are; Organizational background, Physical artefacts, Gender awareness, Long hours culture, Management style, Language and communication, Work ideology, Informal socializing, and Sexuality (ibid). The constituents are not mutually exclusive in their definitions, eg. the corporate language could include sexuality and sexuality could include the corporate language (ibid). Therefore could the constituents with several cultural processes probably comprise a rather complex pattern of how an organizational culture impacts female managers' well-being and career advancement opportunities. Further, the cultural constituents are not described as promising an exhaustive capture of all possible cultural effects that could impact women in organizations (ibid). However, these nine constituents comprises a rather wide definition of the corporate culture, even including organizational policies, which results in a rather comprehensive view of how an organizational culture and its processes' impact women. The nine cultural constituents comprise the theoretical framework for this study and are presented in the following chapters 2.5.1-2.5.9.

2.5.1 Physical artefacts

Physical artefacts may be interpreted as a result of a process of acquisition (Tyler & Cohen, 2010). The identity work involved in the negotiation of space and power relations within the organization is far from gender neutral (ibid). Spatial embodiment and enactment of gendered norms is central to the materialization process of organizational space and could, therefore, the organizational space show how the power relations are materialized (ibid). Decoration of the office places could be done to create coherence between the employee and the cultural perception of the women in organizations (ibid). Such cultural perception of women impacting the decoration practices found in research is that women are welcoming, in control, and competent (ibid). It has been argued that women, in order to be perceived as feminine, feel the compulsion to occupy space more tentative than men (Butler, 2000 referred to by Tyler and Cohen, 2010). Further, gender relations within organizations could also be found through the linkage between room sizes and status within the organization and the linkage between car parking facilities and perceived importance of procedures for women safety (Rutherford, 2001). Exposing cultural relations within the organizations could also be done through identifying if the standard or quality of the office spaces is the same for all employees, how private and common parking places are divided among the employees, and on who or what is emphasized in public or internal documents (Champoux, 2011:80-82). Further, new buildings have the possibility to easily be aligned to a cultural change and new modern values (Rutherford, 2001).

2.5.2. Management style

The management style of an organization or a division could have effects on female managers (Rutherford, 2001). Leadership has traditionally implied maleness and maleness has often carried with it leadership qualities that women are assumed, by men, to lack (Hearn, 1989). Leadership traits and masculine traits have often shown to coincide in terms of qualities such as dominance, persistence, initiative, ambition, self- confidence, and emotional control (ibid). Contrary to the oftenly common perceptions it is declared that

researchers doubt that connections exist between sex role behavior and leadership style. Instead, gender differences in leadership that have been observed could be related to social context, which is congruent with the general theory of situational leadership (ibid). However, researchers (Hearn, 1989; Fletcher, 2004) describe two types of leadership styles that are associated with masculine and feminine traits respectively.

Hearn (1989) explains that these two types of leadership, instrumental leadership, and socio-emotional leadership, are understood as a contrast between masculinity and femininity and, hence the differences between men's leadership and women's leadership. Fletcher (2004) presents two similar styles of leadership by two stereotypes of masculine and feminine leadership styles; the heroic leadership style and the post-heroic leadership style. Men and women can apply either of these styles, but their existence among organizational cultures put pressure on men and women to take on those roles (ibid). Both men and women can display the traits associated with the traditional post-heroic style, such as individualism, control, assertiveness, and skills of advocacy and domination, but they are socially ascribed to men in the western culture and generally understood as masculine (ibid). The traits associated with post-heroic leadership, such as empathy, community, vulnerability, and skills of inquiry and collaboration, are socially ascribed to women in the western culture and understood as feminine (ibid). The discussion of the post-heroic leadership is also in coherence with the one of the new feminine management model presented by Billing (2011, referred to by Acker, 2012).

The post-heroic leadership style is described as a new type of leadership, stemmed from the needs of knowledge-intensive organizations of more focus on collaborative leadership distributed throughout the organization (Fletcher, 2004). It is a less individual, more relational concept of leadership (ibid). This is incoherent with the observations made by Baxter (2012). Baxter (2012) acknowledges that a more change-oriented, open leadership style is contemporary needed. However, the heroic and post-heroic leadership styles are argued to be valued differently, constructed as socially separated and linked to the sexes in practice (Fletcher, 2004). The different valuation comes from the perception of the heroic leadership style being most effective for producing things in the work sphere while the post-heroic style being most effective for growing things in the private sphere (ibid). The differences in valuation of leadership styles could be related to The valuation of heroic individualism presented by Rao et al. (1999:2-12) that through cultural masculinities such as expressions of male heroes, focus on male accomplishments and keep women from being acknowledged within the organization.

Even the recent popularity of the post-heroic leadership style has a small effect on how women are perceived (Fletcher, 2004). Women applying the “new” leadership style are not viewed as doing something new and exceptional, whereas this is the perception male managers could get from applying the post-heroic leadership style. This is congruent with the conclusions made by Eagly and Carli (2007: 810 referred to by Baxter, 2012). They explain the reason to why there has been no widespread advantage for senior women despite the demand of leadership style associated with the perceptions of how women lead, as that men and women tend to be evaluated differently and unequally for using the same leadership skill-set (Eagly and Carli, 2007: 810 referred to by Baxter, 2012). The introduction of earlier considered feminine traits into the definition of needed management is also called colonization of the feminine (Lewis and Simpson, 2007 referred to by Wahl, 2014). One example is social competence that has traditionally been gendered as feminine, but now it is more prestigious and the concept has changed to become masculine (Abrahamsson, 2003 referred to by Wahl, 2014). The phenomenon of feminine

traits entering management is considered as a step toward gender equality in the gendering of management, but do not benefit all female managers or give them extensive space to do management differently (Wahl, 2014).

It has been found that being emotional could be regarded as a feminine symbolically at the same time as it could be more common in practice among male managers to show emotions (Wahl, 2014). This could be related to that the space for being different in relation to the ideal management is more open to men than to women, because of the dominant position of men in management (ibid). This discussion could be perceived as close to Fletcher's (2004) conclusions that the introduction of post-heroic leadership creates no space for women to be perceived as different. Wahl (2014) found that male managers could work on the basis of one's own capabilities while female managers were perceived as to have to play the game. From the perspective of women in managerial positions, a pressure to take on a role, is included in the concept of "manage like a man" presented by Wacjman (1998, referred to by Acker 2012). On the other hand, male managers can consider female managers "managing like a man" as an act of role play that is negatively perceived in a way that could create cultural exclusion for women (Wahl, 2014). This dilemma of being perceived either as too assertive or too tentative is in coherence with what Pierce (1995, referred to by Acker, 2012) and Holmes (2006 referred to by Baxter, 2012) conclude as being a double bind for female managers. Managing as a man through being aggressive and competitive, could incur negative feelings of that the woman is being too assertive or even bitchy (Pierce, 1995, referred to by Acker, 2012; Holmes, 2006 referred to by Baxter, 2012). Further, it has been shown that female managers can be considered as exceptional and superior managers by their colleagues, but that they will be individual and somewhat exceptional acclaimed for their success (Wahl, 2014).

2.5.3 Gender awareness

Gender awareness as a constituent of organizational culture deals with the organization's history of female employment, equal opportunities, overt support for women from the organization, men's and women's views of female managers, how women themselves are received in the workplace and whether employees think that their organization creates a culture that encourages and nurtures women in their career (Rutherford, 2001). While gender awareness does not necessarily result in a gender equal organization, an organization being gender blind are probably having a culture with a marginalizing effect on women (ibid). Martin (2003) defines two kinds of gender awareness: liminal and reflexive gender awareness. Men or women are liminal gender-aware when they use their masculinity/femininity means in practice without being conscious about any harm they can cause or how their actions will be viewed by others. Liminal gender awareness has more negative effects on the minority group as those with gender practices will be resistant to change initiatives since they will find them not legitimized (ibid). A reflexive gender practice would require a careful consideration and deliberation of content and effects of one's action on others (ibid).

According to Acker (2012) the most common inequalities concern wage gap between women and men, job gendering, functional occupations, and hierarchical positions. It is not uncommon that a woman at the working place is seen as firsthand a woman rather than a colleague both deliberately and unconsciously (Martin, 2003). Consequently, gender practices in organizational cultures keep assigning women a pleasing role towards their male counterparts, which emphasizes the stereotypes about the lack of required skills for some "masculine" work (Martin, 2003). Skaggs, Stainback and Duncan (2012) argue that organizational cultures and associated gender stereotypes towards women can shape

decisions made by female managers in ways that compromise women's advancement opportunities. Further, the prevailing norms about gendered tasks can be a hinder for women to advance through hiring and promotion processes (Gorman, 2005). Since job incumbents at senior managerial level are derived from the norms established by male and are reflected in organizational hiring and promotion policies, female managers may prefer assimilation rather than challenging strategy to avoid potential conflicts and try to live up to male normative expectations (Skaggs et al, 2012). Thus, Schein's (2001) studies of psychological barriers to women's progressing in management found that other managers, women and men, tended to perceive successful female managers as possessing characteristics, attitudes and temperaments more commonly ascribed to men than women.

The banking industry have been historically using women as ready labor source to meet peak business times, which resulted in employees' categorization into the career and non-career ones (French and Strachan, 2007). This perception of women as cheap flexible labor source in finance and insurance industry explains why female are awarded positions in supportive functions, thus limiting advancement opportunities (ibid). Therefore, equal treatment initiatives that are based on gender blind strategies are unlikely conducive to positive changes in the advancement of women to higher-level managerial positions (French, 2001; Konrad and Linnehan, 1995). French and Strachan (2007) explain that the efficiency of organizational supportive initiatives for female in their career will depend on their ability to acknowledge women's historical disadvantages within the industry and in management.

2.5.4 The long hours culture

Working hours have a symbolic value and contribute to the creation of identity (Ottoson and Rosengren, 2007). Availability to work long hours is interpreted as symbolic meanings of loyalty and devotion towards the company's goals (Hansson, 2004 referred to by Ottoson & Rosengren 2007). The possibility to work long hours could also be viewed as a class mark since it divides the non-free scheduled bound workers from the managers with more autonomy, which is part of the identity creation (Ottoson & Rosengren 2007). Large complex organizations applying long hours could be a way for managers to stand out from the rest of the workers in the organization through attendance on early morning meetings and during late nights (Rutherford, 2001:265 referred to by Ottoson & Rosengren, 2007). Further, by perceiving the length of the work day as means of creating an identity, the characteristics of the work task itself becomes less important (Ottoson and Rosengren, 2007).

The long hour culture could have a marginalizing effect on female managers (Rutherford, 2001). How the long working hours' culture affects women depends on their responsibility for household and childcare, which Rutherford (2001) states to be of a significant portion for most women. Brunett, Cooper, Gatrell and Sparrow (2010) also argue that working mothers in heterosexual couples on average undertake substantially more domestic chores than their partners. On the other hand, changes in the parenting practices have been identified among men, by the men being less likely to expect that mothers will mediate the child-parent relationship on their behalf (Gatrell 2005, 2007 referred to by Brunett et al., 2010).

Further, organizations have defined the ideal of the abstract worker as a worker that can work unencumbered (Acker, 2012). This ideal of the abstract worker differentiates women from men because women have traditionally done more unpaid work and hence men are more likely to be unencumbered (ibid). This results in that employers are being reluctant

to hire women for jobs, usually male-defined and male-dominated, for which the worker is expected to be unencumbered (Iversen and Rosenbluth, 2010 referred to by Acker, 2012). It has been observed that the work/family conflict is identified within policy and research as a problem for senior mothers and less relevant to fathers in managerial roles (Brunett et al., 2010). It is often assumed by organizations that mothers in professional roles will sacrifice their promotion prospects to work part time or use flexibility arrangements in what has been termed as the “mummy track” (Blair-Loy, 2003; Tracy and Rivera, 2010 referred to by Brunett et al., 2010).

2.5.5 Work ideology

The workplace of organizations and the home could be considered as two domains separated in time and place with different goals and forms of organization (Acker, 2012). The work ideology of organizations relates to the separation of these two domains, and how they are accepted to be merged (Rutherford, 2001). Most organizations have the aim to produce profit and no responsibility of the reproduction of people, which is the responsibility of the home domain (Acker, 2012). Although, the unpaid work is dependent on the wages of the paid work (Acker, 2012). Thus, the structural separation might have different implications for men and women because of the responsibility for household and childcare (Rutherford, 2001). The structural separation of production and reproduction perpetuates images of femininity and masculinity, affecting the workplace processes and decision making that result in gender differentiation and inequality (Acker, 2012). The split between work and family has the effect of avoiding further female integration in the core business of organizations (Rao's et al., 1999:2-12). This is congruent with the results from a study (Hofstede, 1998) where it was found that the managers perceived that the women belong to the administrative subculture of the organization.

Meanwhile, it has been found that both male and female managers place themselves as apparently ungendered market actors in their career stories and can adopt much the same career strategies (Wajcman and Martin, 2002). This is often unproblematic to men since a central component of their private identities is the priority of paid work responsibilities over unpaid ones (ibid). For women, few were found to be able to integrate their public gender-neutral career narratives with a feminine identity that includes being mother and wife (ibid). Incongruently, it has been shown that managers believe most of the women experience conflicts between work and their private lives (Hofstede, 1998). However, men can experience such conflicts to a greater extent than women (ibid). A proposed theory behind the unexpected argument is that when a woman takes a job she has resolved her family problem whereas men do not consciously resolve their problems (ibid). Because private identities remain so integrally and fundamentally gendered, they are the increasingly dominant source of the quite different ‘family-work’ choices and dilemmas men and women face (Wajcman and Marin, 2002). Further, the organizational culture could indicate if the separation between work and family is being challenged and if it is on the behalf of women only or of both women and men (Rutherford, 2001).

2.5.6 Language and communication

The language is considered as a carrier of the organizational culture and is expressed through meetings, daily conversations and texts (Wahl et al., 2011: 106). There are three types of languages within organizations that act exclusionary to women; military language, sport language, and sexual language (Rutherford, 2001). When military and sport language are used to communicate, important information could pass women by. Sport language is also a communication mechanism for men. Therefore, they could exclude female colleagues from networks and informal communication systems by talking endlessly about sports (ibid). Sexual language, on the other hand, could be direct humiliating for women as they

might be forced to use it to not be directly excluded from groups at work (ibid). Further, masculine language as a part of the culture genders the organization and, therefore, has a negative effect on the possibilities for women (Rao et al., 1999:2-12). The influence of gender, both at the micro-linguistic level of interactions and at the organizational level of how leadership identities are enacted through preferred discursive practices, should not be underestimated as a hinder for women to progressing to more senior roles (Baxter, 2012).

The language used by managers and associated with management has been under investigation by several researchers (ibid). Metaphors from the sport and the military are particularly popular in leadership theory (Hearn, 1989). Recently, gender and language theorists have challenged the idea that women and men have different linguistic 'styles', but this view is still current in management studies (Baxter, 2012). Further, it has been found that the language used by managers is shaped by the managerial work context (Holmes, 2006 referred to by Baxter, 2012). Hence, in a division deemed to be feminine, such as a Human Resource department, a male manager is more likely to use relational leadership language than a male manager working in a division considered as masculine such as a sales department (Baxter, 2012). The same pattern of contextual adoption has been found to be valid for female leaders (Holmes, 2006 referred to by Baxter 2012). Further, the language could contribute to a feeling of difficulty for senior women in balancing professional and gender identities (Schnurr 2009 referred to by Baxter 2012).

2.5.7 Informal ways of socializing

The informal aspects of corporate life could constitute of: networking, mentoring, formal and informal socializing after working hours, and sport (Rutherford, 2001). The forms of informal socializing and how they are used by managers to foster their career will have an impact on the female managers (ibid). A failure to be included in the informal networks might result in both missed information and client contact, which could affect the career opportunities and create isolation and personal distress (ibid). Exclusionary informal socializing is practiced through "male bonding" activities, which take place after work hours, during sporting events, clubs and bars (Linehan 2001). Further, it has been observed that female managers perceive that quite an amount of businesses are discussed at informal socializing events, during which useful contacts for further career and business opportunities could occur (Linehan 2001, Bierema, 2005). This is incongruent with the argument that female managers often are unaware of their exclusion and the consequences (Rutherford, 2001). The female managers' lack of access to informal opportunistic situations constitutes covert barriers to female managers' advancement and generates detrimental effects through blocked promotions, blocked career development, discrimination, occupational stress and even lower salaries (Linehan, 2001). This exclusion of women from male managerial groups will lead to more exclusively male customs, traditions and negative attitudes towards female managers (ibid). Further, the "old boy network" is still dominant in most organizations throughout Europe, especially in established industries such as accounting, medicine and law (ibid).

Further, differences in how men and women use networking have been found (van den Brink & Benschop, 2014). Men have shown to have more access to higher status sponsors and powerful coalitions through their networks (Burt, 1998, referred to by van den Brink and Benschop, 2014). Women experience barriers to networking due to time constraints and family responsibilities (Linehan, 2001 referred to by van den Brink & Benschop, 2014) and due to a reluctance participation in network activities (Tonge, 2008 referred to by van den Brink & Benschop, 2014). Women are said to use their networks for social support

while men use their networks to increase their internal visibility and to create self-promotion (Forret & Dougherty, 2004 referred to by van den Brink & Benschop, 2014).

Mobilizing masculinity and mobilizing femininity are two concepts related to informal socializing that both could lead to promotions of the sexes (Van den Brink & Benschop, 2014). Mobilizing masculinity is an unaware inequality-creating process among men, close to the concept of homosociality (Holgersson, 2013) described in chapter 2.5.11 *Homosociality*. Mobilizing femininity is a similar bonding process among women, but it is done with consciousness with an aim of creating gender equalities. However, mobilizing femininity is only partly considered as successful in creating gender equality (Van den Brink & Benschop, 2014). This is because reproduction could occur despite an inflow of women and that the unintentional mobilizing of masculinity may be a more rooted practice than intentioned practices (Van den Brink & Benschop, 2014). Further, men can be hesitant to take on a female protégés in mentorship initiatives (Stokes, Riger and Sullivan, 1995). Stokes et al. (1995) argue that senior male managers could reflexively avoid developing personal relationships with their female protégé to avoid potential sexual involvements or unfounded rumors in order to protect own private life.

2.5.8 Sexuality

The sexuality aspect of organizations is said to contribute to organizational theory by its emphasis on how societal institutions, such as the family, directly affects the structures of organizations (Hearn and Parkin, 1987 reviewed by Konrad, 1988). The concept sexuality is embedded with power relations, such as the domination of men over women, the public over the private, production over reproduction (Hearn and Parkin, 1987:ch 4, reviewed by Konrad, 1988). "The Sexual Construction of Organizations", a concept defined by Hearn and Parkin (1987: ch 6, reviewed by Konrad, 1988), focuses on that organizations develop rules for prohibiting sexuality and that these rules become part of the organizational structure. The Sexual Construction of Organizations also results in the typical gender distributions found at workplaces due to its similarities with the heterosexual relationship (ibid). This is embodied by men in the upper hierarchies being provided by a pool of male peers and a pool of female subordinates (ibid). Sexuality, exploitative or consensual, is a clear confirmation of gender differences that complicates efforts to achieve gender equality (Acker, 2012). Hearn and Parkin (1987: ch 5, reviewed by Konrad, 1988) also brings up the possibility of organizations' prohibition and ignorance of sexuality only makes sexual activity more exciting.

Organizational sexuality has features such as language, imagery, appearance (Hearn, 2014), and proximity of possible sexual partners (1987: ch 5, reviewed by Konrad, 1988). The language could be used to both enhance and obscure sexuality through the use of signals (Hearn and Parkin, 1987: ch 7, reviewed by Konrad, 1988). Through the use of signals, organizations can bring sexual images to mind without overtly calling attention to sexuality (ibid). Further, the importance of dressing, appearance and body displays in its relation to influencing credibility within organizations has been studied as features of the organizational sexuality (Hearn, 2014). Organizational cultures could incorporate sexuality or sexual harassment, and men might use this to dominate or marginalize women (Rutherford, 2001). The sexuality or harassments could be embedded in everyday jokes, swearing or used in metaphors in the organizational language (ibid). Even if some of the more gross forms of sexism in interactions at work have disappeared today, the concept still lingers and could appear through opposition to proposals favored by women or seemingly objective criticisms of women's abilities to do the job (Acker, 2012).

2.5.9 Background of the organization

The cultural constituent background includes the organizational history, its ownership structure, the nationality of the company, and its operational industry (Rutherford, 2001). Here is the Swedish nationality in relation to gender, two industries in relation to gender, and the concept of gender in entrepreneurship presented as a sufficient theoretical basis for the organizational background. The ownership structure is left out because previous research (Rutherford, 2001; Vera and Dean, 2005; Constantinidis and Nelson, 2009) have shown that family ownership influence women's situation in organizations and the International Group is a listed and a publicly traded company.

2.5.9.1 SWEDEN

Although Sweden often is ranked among the top countries in the world for gender equality, it still has a gender-segregated labor market with little change for the past 15 years (European Commission's Expert Group on Gender and Employment, 2009). It has been observed that the majority of the male working force is employed within the private sector, and among the thirty most common professions in Sweden only three have close to equal gender distribution (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2012:58, 62). However, Sweden is a relatively equal and egalitarian society (Chhokar, Brodbeck and House, 2013:33-75). There is an extensive social welfare system and several policies that promote gender equality have been adopted since the seventies, such as paid parental leave and subsidized childcare (Oliver Wyman, 2014). Further, the Swedish egalitarian culture discourages hired household help and therefore negatively impacts women's abilities to advance to senior positions within the financial industry (Nordling & Samuelsson, 2014).

2.5.9.2 WOMEN IN THE FINANCE INDUSTRY

The financial industry comprises several financial actors such as banks, insurance companies, and pension funds. The culture within the financial industry is described as customer-oriented (Oliver Wyman, 2014). Gender theoretical research, in general, is mentioned as having a tradition of conducting research within the financial sector (Halford et al., 1997 referred by Linghag 2009). Earlier findings suggest that the financial services industry's historical culture of long working hours has been an unfriendly environment for women (Michaelson et al. 2003, referred to by Beck and Davis, 2005). Further, the financial service industry's gendered culture, reflected in macho cultures and homosociality, have been found as the most influential hinder for women to advance (French and Strachan, 2007). Previous studies with a focus on the connection between gender and everyday work in finances have found that women within the financial sector are considered as good at their jobs or good mothers but not both, have trouble to blend in, could be treated as sex-objects (Renemark, 2007:242). On the other hand, a recent survey (Oliver Wyman, 2014) showed that women in senior positions within the financial industry perceive that sexual harassment and discrimination does not occur to the same extent as it did in the past. Further, earlier studies show that the work within the financial sector tends to reproduce images of masculinity (Renemark, 2007:242). Attitudinal prejudices and stereotypes (Beck and Davis 2005), lack of respect for gender equity and diversity (Michaelson et al. 2003, cited in Beck and Davis, 2005) and the consistency of organisational change (Metz and Tharenou, 2001) are identified as characteristics of the banking industry that reduce female's advancement opportunities. It has been found that around half of the people working within the financial industry consider that it is harder for women to reach leadership positions compared to men (Oliver Wyman, 2014). Internationally, the female representation in the executive teams is 13 percent and 11 percent of the women have responsibility for business divisions or units (Oliver Wyman, 2014).

2.5.9.3 WOMEN IN THE SWEDISH FINANCE INDUSTRY

Sweden has one of the highest female representations in the executive teams in financial firms according to a recent survey (Oliver Wyman, 2014). It has been found that 29 percent of the executive members in financial service companies are women and 20 of the executive team members are women if only banks are considered (Oliver Wyman, 2014). Further, the junior staff comprises of 53 percent females within the Swedish financial service companies (Nordling & Samuelsson, 2014). In another study (Renemark, 2007:9) the total distribution of women within the Swedish financial sector was 53 percent as well. However, if one large bank and one large insurance company are excluded, the female representation is instead 34 percent on average (ibid). Further, the majority of the women within finance is appointed to the supporting functions such as administration, human relations, and economics and is separated from the core activities (ibid). The positions within the financial sector dominated by men are brokers, analysts, and traders (Blomberg, 2005 referred to by Renemark, 2007:237). Only 10-13 percent of the employees within Swedish financial companies that possess these positions are women (Renemark, 2007:238). Instead, women dominate the back-office jobs (Renemark, 2007:249).

The financial sector is also characterized by intense mobility, which means that employees move between companies to a great extent (Renemark, 2007:243-244). It is also typical that whole work teams moved together between companies, thus career paths are built across companies instead of up in the hierarchies (Renemark, 2007:243-244; 247). Women have been found as members of such moving communities to the same extent as men (Renemark, 2007:247). Further, a senior managerial role within the Swedish financial industry is perceived to require less travel than other Swedish industries (Nordling & Samuelsson, 2014). This is considered as beneficial and could help the managers to combine work with family commitments (ibid). However, the men within the financial industry are not found to utilize their parental leave to any greater extent (ibid). It has been found that men employed within Swedish financial service companies on average utilized only 25 % of the available parental leave (ibid).

The everyday life of a Swedish financial worker comprises work in open offices, extensive use of computer and phone and a certain dress code (Renemark, 2007:237). Men wear dark suits, shirts, and ties while women wear similar but more varied clothes (Renemark, 2007:244-246). Contact seeking behavior is common, as where the emphasis put on the importance of daily relations both by the use of technology and by face-to-face contact (ibid). However, contradictions in the work descriptions of the Swedish financial workers have been found, which reveals that working within finance can be considered as on the one hand extreme and on the other hand ordinary (Renemark, 2007:247). As an extreme job the finance work was described as a job with long working hours, where the communication consists of a sexist jargon and with high rewards being offered (Renemark, 2007:249). When the finance work is described as normal, it referred to a job with normal office hours and work groups with both genders represented (ibid). Therefore financial work, such as brokerage and trading, could be considered as both a way of doing gender as well as not (ibid).

2.5.9.4 WOMEN IN THE IT INDUSTRY

The IT industry has a low female representation at all levels. Within IT Specialist, systems analyst and programmer professions taken together, women only account for 20 percent of the working labor in the industry (SCB, 2009). Further, at managerial positions only 7.6 percent are females (Ingenjören, 2013). A newly constituted masculinity has emerged among male employees in the Silicon Valley as a result of companies looking for technical

brilliance, innovation, creativity, independent work ethics, long hours and complete dedication to one's job tasks among its employees (Cooper, 2000 referred to by Davies & Mathieu, 2005: 12-22).

The Swedish IT industry is considered by its employees to provide workplaces with sought after qualities, enjoyable jobs and great jobs (Davies and Mathieu, 2005: 12-22). However, women exclusion does also exist through gender practices. The gender practices are performed through five different ways: social leads, assignment of peripheral job to women, managerial cultivation of individual's interests, long working hours and individualized reward schemes. It has been found that visibility i.e. "face time" is very important for one's advancement in career. Further, women's career ambitions within IT companies is also affected by women's forced choice of less commitment to the company due to family responsibilities and also the stereotypes-based assumptions by the company about women's incapacity to take on certain jobs due to family responsibilities. Individualization and responsibility are highly valued within IT-industry and can act in disfavor of women through individualized reward schemes, conscious development of the individual, development of self-directed training and career paths and high commitment. Hence, even though individualization processes are not gender marked per se, they can exclude women through strong commitment being one of highly valued attitude of the process. (ibid)

Further, it has been found that the more hiring, evaluation and promotion processes were formal within the IT sector, the less they were gender marked (Britton, 2000 referred to by Wickham et al., 2008). However, individualization processes can also open up for opportunities for women (Wickham, Collins, Greco & Browne, 2008). Individualization provides employees flexibility while giving women opportunity to pursue career ambitions in the area of own interests (Walby, 1990 as cited by Wickham et al., 2008). Thus, women may reshape their work landscape and redefine themselves as equal to their male counterparts since individualization allows decoupling of occupational positions from individuals (Wickham et al., 2008).

2.5.9.5 ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND GENDER

The classic literature defines entrepreneurial characters as having features that are connected with masculinity (Bruni, A., Gherardi, S. & Poggio, B., 2004). The entrepreneurial characters are described as lonely heroes and conquerors of unexplored territories (ibid). Further, entrepreneurial activity is a capacity of innovation ascribed rather to a person than to a set of practices (ibid). The features of entrepreneurship include symbols of the initiative taking, accomplishment and relative risk. These symbols belong in the male domain and when they are transferred to the feminine domain they become uncertain (ibid). Recent studies of women and entrepreneurship have come to describe the female entrepreneur as "the Other" (Jonson Ahl, 2002 referred to by Bruni et al., 2004). There is an assumption that the entrepreneur is competitive, have the ability to work constantly and the ability to be geographically mobile (Fournier and Grey, 1999 referred to by Bruni et al., 2004). This assumption tends to marginalize those that are unable to take part in these practices due to engagement in domestic activities and that have historically been the women (Bruni et al., 2004). It has also been found that new alternative constructions of entrepreneurship could exist among individual entrepreneurs and that these processes do not create masculine images of entrepreneurship (ibid).

2.5.10 Gender marking

Gender marking is used to describe how a position, a task or a profession is associated to a specific gender (Wahl et. al., 2011:114). This concept is related to the gender structure of organizations (ibid). The words masculine and feminine are sometimes used as expressions for the gender marking and defined from certain power conditions (Wahl et. al., 2011:114-115). A common perception of the difference between men and women are that the women are nurturing, caring, and gentle while men are active, competitive, and good with tools and machines (Acker, 2012). Further, these implicit beliefs have strong foundations in the basic structuring of work in capitalist societies (ibid).

The organizational work performed by men is often more highly valued than the work performed by women (Sundin, 1998, Abrahamsson, 2002 referred to by Wahl et al., 2011:115). The male gender marking is often clear among the core business while the female gender marking is clear among the service operations. This division is related to the gender distribution at leading positions (Wahl et al., 2011:115). Further, the gender marking is also related to technology where technology often is male gender marked in societies (Mellström 1999, 2003 referred to by Wahl et al. 2011:117). Moreover, leadership could be considered as male gender marked and is characterized by communication, uncertainty and total devotion (Wahl et al., 2011:116). The uncertainty is said to be managed by the creation of a homogeneous management culture that incorporates a common language and lifestyle. The total devotion for work aligns with male ethics and culture (Kanter, 1977 referred to by Wahl et al., 2011:117).

2.5.11 Homosociality

Homosociality is related to the consensus among men that creates meaning (Lindgren, 1999 referred to by Wahl et al., 2011: 120). Cultures where the men orient towards other men and choose men for important assignments have clear elements of homosociality (ibid). This deeper meaning of an agreement is related to the superiority of men considering their gender belongings and includes men in the togetherness despite organizational position. The competition and the showdown within the homosociality act as confirmation rituals (ibid). One consequence of the homosociality of organizational culture is the exclusion of women, often among the leading positions of the organizations (Wahl et al., 2011:120). Another consequence is the creation of heterosociality among the women of the organizations as a reaction and confirmation of the homosociality. The women could actively support men as well as take distance towards or counteract other women (Wahl et al. 2011: 124-125).

The concept of homosociality could provide a reason to why the vast majority of the men in the Swedish business elite can claim to be pro-equality whilst they are not contributing to change in recruitment practices. Men could acknowledge the disadvantages for women in their career advancements, meanwhile they blame the society or other men for the situation. Therefore could homosociality be understood as an unreflective gendered practice, enabling men to simultaneously portray themselves as pro-equality and at the same time reproduce male dominance in management. Being positive towards gender equality but not acting accordingly could be interpreted as a sign of active resistance. (Holgersson, 2013)

3. Methods

This chapter describes the choice of paradigm, the choice of method, the research design of the case study, the validity and reliability of the study, the ethical aspects, and the limitations of the research design. A case study at Focal Unit within banking and IT services of an International Group was chosen as the research method. The data collection methods for this case study were the collection of secondary data, semi-structured interviews, and one field study. Thus, this chapter is aimed to define, describe and justify the used methods by pointing out their suitability among other alternatives for this specific study topic.

3.1 Choice of paradigm

Research paradigms are philosophical frameworks that guide researchers in how scientific research should be conducted (Collis & Hussey, 2014:43). According to Jermier et al. (1991), the interpretive paradigm has had a significant influence on organization theory and research. Further, it is most evident in studies of organizational culture (Jermier et al., 1991). In this research, the interpretivist paradigm is adopted since the approach has been to investigate a social phenomenon within a particular context, namely the corporate culture's impact on women. The research conducted under the interpretivism paradigm equals an interaction between what is researched and the researchers themselves, because it is impossible to separate what exists in the social world from what exists in the researchers' minds (Smith, 1983; Creswell, 2014 referred to by Collis & Hussey, 2014:45). The ambition is for the reader to be acknowledged that in some way values are brought into the research process, which the researchers are aware of. An inclusive culture open to female advancement is considered as important, but efforts have been made to act like independent researchers of the topic. The aim is to interpret the exclusionary as well as inclusionary cultural aspects with equal objectivity. Further, the use of the theoretical framework is improving ability to recognize those aspects but is no guarantee that every exclusionary or possible inclusionary phenomenon will be and be equally recognized during data collection and data analysis. According to Collis and Hussey (2014:47-48) researchers within the interpretivist paradigm is guided by their beliefs to determine what should count as facts. Moreover, the lengthy presence of the researchers and the process of data collection might have an impact on the context in which the data is collected. This is well-known and described by Collis and Hussey (2014:44) as the social reality being affected by the act of investigating it.

3.2 Choice of method

Since the purpose of the study is to investigate how corporate culture in the financial and IT industry act to exclude or include women and impact their career possibilities, the methodological approach chosen was a case study. Further, one company, The International Group having units with business in both the financial and IT-industry, was identified based on its official interest in gender equality and outspoken recognition of male dominance within its operating industries.

Research by a case study consists of a detailed investigation of a phenomenon where the data is collected within its context, often over a period of time (Collis and Hussey, 2014:68). According to Casell and Symon (2004:323-334) case studies are useful when it is important to understand how the organizational and environmental context is having an impact on or influencing social processes. Further, since the research topic could be considered sensitive and in some aspects act disguised among the organizational members, the data collection will to some extent be dependent on the researchers' abilities of building trust. Casell and

Symon (ibid) explains that a case study is a useful technique where exploration is being made of organizational behaviour which is informal, secret or even illicit due to the possibilities for the researchers to build trust during their organizational presence. Further, a case study design could be considered somewhat flexible and open to investigate areas of emergent theory (Casell and Symon, 2004:323-334), which is considered a benefit to this research. Consequently, a case study was chosen to be conducted at a geographically commonly located unit of the International Group. A case study allows for certain parts of the case company to be chosen areas for the phenomenon under investigation (ibid), which in this case will be the Focal Unit's office complex located in the Stockholm area of Sweden.

The case company is considered to representative for the research topic under investigation, but will due to its dual sectorial belongings provide insights in how culture in both financial and IT heavy settings exclude females and impact their possibilities to advance. The case company as a whole is by no means considered as any extreme example for the studied phenomenon. The case study is considered to be an explanatory study that investigates the relationship between the cultural constituents and their perceived impact among the women. The two research questions starts with the word "how". Research questions about "how" and "why" rather than "what" or "how much" are best suited to the case study strategy (ibid).

Other alternative research methodologies could have been action research and ethnography. Action research was neglected for two reasons. First, much of the action research within this area (Rao et al. 1999, Meyerson and Ely, 2000b, Amundstotter, 2010) have had the purpose of creating cultural change within the organization and that is not the aim of the research process of this research. Second, previous action research (Rao et al. 1999, Meyerson and Ely, 2000b, Amundstotter, 2010) of gender-related issues required much more resources considered time or size of the research team or both. Further, it is possible that ethnography (Collis & Hussey, 2014:65) would provide an exhaustive understanding of the culture by the use of several methods, of which one is observations, but there is not enough time to adopt such methodological approach.

Moreover, it is possible to call this research a gender study (Collis & Hussey, 2014:70). The Swedish Research Council Committee (u.d) states that the concepts, methods and research subjects of gender studies are still a matter of controversy, and it is impossible to give a definition that is valid for all gender studies. However, gender researchers study how people think, interpret, perceive, symbolize, feel, wish, experience, define what we normally call sex and what this word means (Swedish Research Council Committee, u.d). In other words, gender studies investigated how gender is constructed. Further, gender studies do not deny the biological aspects of the human body but focus on their cultural and social consequences (ibid). Gender is a specific object of study, the issues could be acknowledged as having relevance to most of the things people do (ibid). Consequently, knowledge obtained from interdisciplinary gender studies could be used to improve understanding of problems in other disciplines (ibid). However, the benefits of calling this research a gender study is mostly restricted to the epistemological dimensions about the social constructions of gender leaving biology out of focus. Meanwhile, calling this study a case study incorporates some clarification for the methods and limitations, which is of practical value for the researchers as well as containing a way of providing the reader with an understanding of the research design.

3.3 Research design of case study

The study was inspired by the researchers' completed courses in Organization and Leadership and the manifested interest in gender equality work by the case company. The case study has been conducted in an iterative process, where the adjustments have gone from extensive to minor along with the duration of the case study. The research started with a problem formulation, the aim of the study and also preliminary research questions that would form the basis for the case study.

An initial orientation interview (Casell and Symon, 2004:323-334) were conducted with some of corporate leading team members of the International Group and provided insights on research topic at case company. Thereafter, researchers kept reviewing literature for a better problem contextualization, for the choice of theoretical framework, and for finding suitable methods. Then organizational documents were collected by visiting the International Groups Headquarters or by email from the contact person at the Human Relations function. Corporate documents, such as the organizational chart, functional descriptions, Annual Reports, and corporate leadership and employee principles, provided a general overview of the structure and functioning of the organization. Within the International Group, the Focal Unit was chosen for the case study due to its geographical location that provides easy access, that it operates within both IT and the financial industry, that it comprises only one national culture and because of its interesting gender distribution among the corporate functions.

The rest of the research process, which constitutes the main part of the research process, is presented in Figure 1.

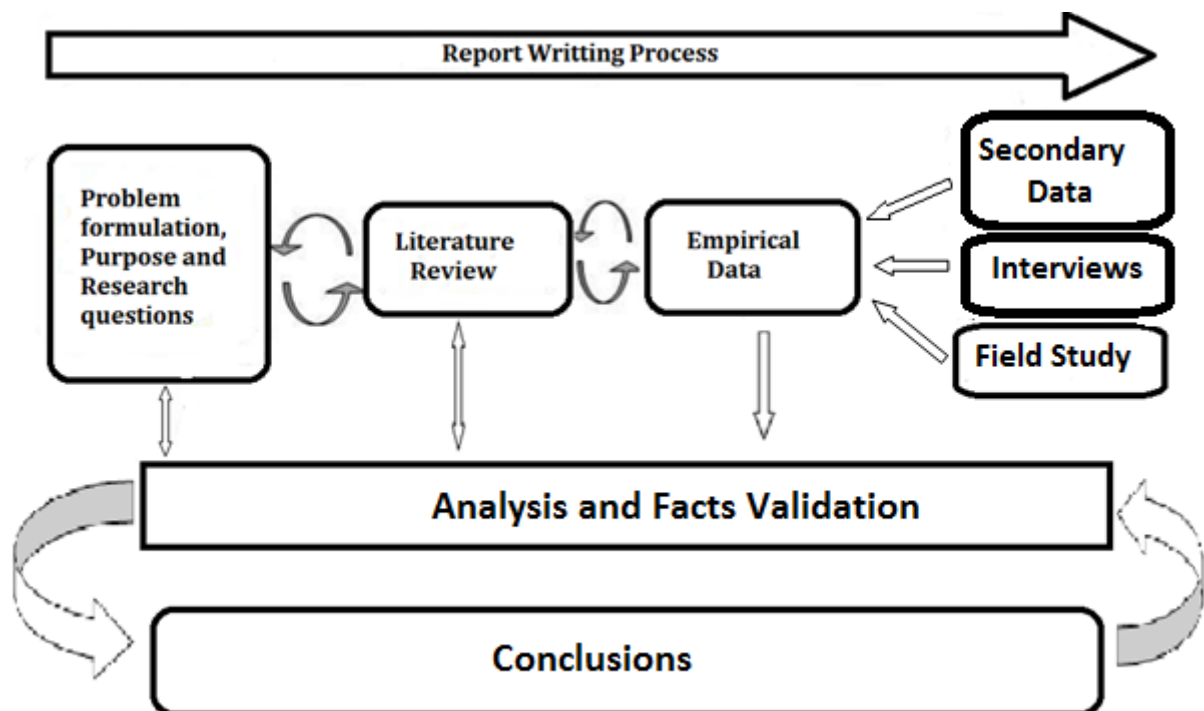


Figure 1: The case study approach

Figure 1 shows the case study approach. The report writing has been continuous and the iterative relations between the parts of the research design are also illustrated. The data collection methods started with collection of secondary data. The secondary data was provided by the Equality Scorecards, the International Group's equality indicator

measurement system. The collected secondary data coupled with a continuous literature review provided researchers among other insights, the basis on which the selection of interviewees would be done. The interview data was then collected by semi-structured interviews. These were held with nine managers, who directly report to the executive team. Lastly, a field visit was performed in order to collect data of the workplace physicality. The analysis of the empirical data was ongoing and started after respectively data gathering methods were completed in time. The problem formulation, the purpose as well as research questions were revised several times throughout the case study. This improvement process was based on both literature and analysis of collected empirical data at different stages of work. Facts from the interview data were checked on with the interviewees, which is called facts validation (Casell and Symon, 2004:11-23). Finally, conclusions could be established after facts validation. The report writing was a continuous work with deemed necessary adjustments throughout this research.

3.3.1 Literature review

Conducting the prior literature review on female representation at a managerial level within organizations in general, it was found extensive earlier studies about glass ceiling phenomenon, its emergence and gender reproduction processes in organizations. Analytical studies of organizational cultures, cultural exclusion of women and cultures' effects on opportunities for female advancement to leadership positions was also found. Rutherford's (2001) findings are well acknowledged as they explicitly outline cultural factors that potentially can exclude and undermine female advancement. Rutherford (2001) findings on organizational cultural exclusion and its creation of barriers for women's advancement to senior managerial positions served as the foundation of the knowledge base used in the study. The chosen theoretical framework suggests nine cultural constituents that could exclude female managers from the culture and affect their opportunities to advance in their careers. Hence, these cultural constituents represent nine different study fields that were needed to get deepen in for this study. Therefore, the nine study fields guided the researchers during the extensive iterative process of searches and limitation to relevant books, journals, and topics. The cultural constituents came to be treated as research themes and where deeper knowledge of each theme provided by other researchers were interpreted as cultural processes. Processes are a preferred term to use since the cultural constituents incorporate ongoing practices and valuations. Further, the Focal Unit is both a financial service organization and an IT company. Hence, besides the review of the literature on organizational culture, the search was extended to earlier studies on women's situation in both IT and banking industries. Some further adjustments have been made in the literature based on the analysis of the empirical data. The ownership structure of the organizational background (Rutherford, 2001) was left out from the cultural constituent organizational background because previous research (Rutherford, 2001; Vera and Dean, 2005; Constantinidis and Nelson, 2009) have shown that family ownership influence women's situation in organizations and the International Group is a listed and publicly traded company. Instead, previous research about women and entrepreneurship was included in the literature review based on a need derived from analysis of empirical data.

Most of the used articles were found in the database provided by the library at the Royal Institute of Technology called KTH Primo. Further, Google Scholar was used as a search source to determine relevant articles that were cited frequently in earlier studies on Rutherford's cultural constituents and other involved study fields. Stockholms Stadsbibliotek, Google books, the supervisor, and online bookstores were used to provide

the researchers with books. Explored literature on different topics involved in this study is compiled in Table 1.

Organizational culture	Jermier et al., 1991; Wahl et al., 2011; Schein, 2004; Sackmann, 1992; Martin, 1995 ; Hofstede, 1998; Findler et al, 2007.
Gender in organization	Rutherford, 2001; Wahl et al., 2011; Fournier, 1997; Baxter, 2012; Linghag, 2009; Findler et al, 2007; Acker, 2012, 1990; Hearn, 1989; Champoux, 2011; Billing and Alvesson, 1989; Baxter's & Wright's, 2000; Meyerson & Ely, 2000a; 2000b
Rutherford's cultural constituents	
Physical artefacts	Rutherford, 2001; Tyler & Cohen, 2010; Champoux, 2011.
Gender awareness	Rutherford, 2001; Martin, 2003; Skaggs, S. et al, 2012; Acker, 2012; Gorman, 2005; Schein's,2001; French and Strachan, 2007; Konrad and Linnehan, 1995
Management style	Rutherford, 2001; Hearn 1989; Fletcher, 2004; Baxter, 2012; Wahl, 2014; Acker, 2012; Eagly and Carli, 2007; Rao et al.,1999; Findler et al, 2007;
Long hours culture	Rutherford, 2001; Ottoson & Rosengren,2007; Brunett et al., 2010; Acker, 2012;
Work ideology	Rutherford, 2001; Acker, 2012; Hofstede, 1998; Rao's et al.,1999; Wajcman & Martin,2002
Language and communication	Rutherford, 2001; Wahl et al., 2011; Rao's et al.,1999; Baxter, 2012;
Sexuality	Rutherford, 2001; Hearn and Parkin, 1987; Konrad, 1988; Acker, 2012; Hearn, 2014;
Organizational background	
Swedish gender equality	Wyman, 2014; Nordling & Samuelsson, 2014; Chhokar et al., 2013; European Commission's Expert Group on Gender and Employment, 2009
Women in IT	Davies and Mathieu, 2005; Wickham et al, 2008; Bruni et al., 2004.
Women in Finance	Wyman, 2014; Renemark, 2007; Linghag, 2009; French, 2007; Beck & Davis 2005; Metz and Tharenou 2001; Rutherford, 2001;
Additional topics	
Homosociality	Rutherford, 2001; Findler's et al., 2007; Brink & Benschop, 2014; Linehan, 2001, 2005; Bierema, 2005; Stokes et al, 1995; Holgersson, 2013;
Gender Marking	Wahl et al. 2011; Acker, 2012

Table 1: Consulted literatures according to different topics that were concerned by this study

3.3.2 Methods

Case studies could incorporate the collection of quantitative as well as qualitative data (Collis and Hussey, 2014:69). However, studies of organizational cultures have traditionally been dominated by qualitative case descriptions (Hofstede, 1998). What data collection methods that have the most potential for discovery and depiction of organizational culture remains undecided among researchers (Jermier et al., 1991). Studies of the organizational culture (Hofstede, 1998; Jermier et al. 1991, Sackmann, 1992) show examples where qualitative as well as quantitative data have been collected. Hofstede (1998) and Jermier et al. (1991) have both used questionnaires to identify cultural diversity within organizations while Sackmann (1992) used interviews together with observations and secondary data. In the field of gender studies Wahl (1992) used a questionnaire to collect qualitative data and Rutherford (2001) used both qualitative and quantitative methods utilizing interviews, questionnaires and observations to study the exclusionary effects of organizational culture. The used methods and the type of data collected in research depend on the research questions. In this research the methods that were considered to best answer the research questions are: a collection of qualitative data by utilizing both interviews and a field visit, and a collection of quantitative data through the collection of secondary data.

3.3.2.1 SECONDARY DATA

Secondary data were gathered from the Focal Unit's Equality Scorecards to understand how the majority of the employees within the Focal Unit were distributed between the organizational functions according to their gender. Equality Scorecards were collected for the Focal Unit's following functions: Processes, Transactions, External Relations and Marketing, IT-Services, and Product and Service Development. The overall Equality Scorecard for the whole Focal Unit was collected too. The Equality Score Card's content was based on year 2014 numbers and were the most recent versions.

3.3.2.2 INTERVIEWS

According to Arksey and Knight (1999, p. 2 referred to by Collis & Hussey, 2014:133) interviews are concerned with exploring data on understandings, opinions, what people remember doing, attitudes, feelings and what people have in common. Since answering the research questions, incorporates understanding what people think, feel and have in common interviews were considered to be the most suitable method of data collection of the managers' experiences.

According to Hofstede (1998) a group of managers could be considered as having a possible managerial subculture. Further, according to both Hofstede (1998) and Jermier et al (1991) the functional and professional belongings could create subcultures as well, so there is a possibility that cultural diversity will exist within the sample frame. Further, from a gender perspective the distributional representation, profession and work characteristics as well as the power distribution will affect the gender structure (Wahl, 2011:87-90) and therefore the women' perceptions, feelings and strategies. For the identification of possible interview participants the corporate organizational chart, the equality score cards (the secondary data) and functional descriptions have been analyzed to provide insights of horizontal and vertical gender distributions and general characteristics of the power distributions within the company.

The immediately reporting managers of the Focal Unit were considered to be able to give a comprehensive picture of the organizational culture at managerial level capturing the experiences of managers working below the just below glass ceiling but within

constellations with different gender distributions. Therefore were the immediately reporting managers that represent different functional gender distributions needed to be included in the study. Further, the sample frame therefore did not include managers from lower levels than the immediately reporting because the aim was to capture the exclusionary culture as experienced or described for different levels by those who are close to but have not broken the glass ceiling. Five of the eight organizational functions of the Focal Unit have managers who report directly to their boss in the executive team, while the remaining three functions are small and without an immediately reporting manager in-between the employees and the executive team member. Four organizational functions were chosen as a frame for potential interview participants due to these functions differences in gender distribution. These functions are the; Transactions, Processes, IT-Services, and External Relations and Marketing functions. Together they hold 88 percent of the Focal Unit's employees. The immediately reporting managers of these functions, the potential interviewees, would together represent functions with high, low and none female representation at the management levels. Holding interviews with some of these managers would, therefore, generate data that captures all perspectives of the organizational culture at management level as well as the managerial perspective of the employee-level culture.

The four chosen functions for the study have 17 immediately reporting, of which 8 are females, and all were targeted for interview participation. All 17 targeted managers were invited by e-mail to participate in the study. Nine of them took part in this study, among whom four men and five women. This gives a response rate for interview participation of 53 percent. In order to facilitate for the interviewees and hence, avoid to coincide time for interviews and managers' high workload, which would negatively affect the interviews' outcome, researchers provided an online timetable where managers could choose the suitable time in accordance with their own availability. This resulted in a longer time for data collection, but the approach was considered by researchers to be convenient to get as good interview material as possible due to the sensitivity of the research topic. The period of data collection through semi-structured interviews was 1.5 month during spring 2015.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted and questions were asked in the same order to the managers. Questions were prepared through an iterative process, where questions were revised several times and the total number of questions reduced from eighty to forty one questions. This was done in order to fit them in the planned interview time range without losing the possibility to capture valuable information. The final set of questions was approved by the supervisor as appropriate to cover the topic of the study. All the interviews were held at the focal company in the presence of both researchers and with duration of 90 to 120 minutes each. All interviews were recorded on a Dictaphone with an approval of the interviewees. In order to get as concise and controlled answers as possible, two to three probes were prepared for each question. The interviewees were responsible for booking a room for the interview because the Focal Unit could not avail a room for the whole research duration. However, the rooms were almost of the same size, all located at ground floor and with a similar design, illumination, and furniture.

3.3.2.3 FIELD STUDY

The theoretical framework for cultural exclusion used in this study consists of the organization's physical artefacts as a cultural constituent among others. Although the set of questions used in interviews included physical artefacts related questions in order to capture managers' perceptions and feelings, it was vital for researchers to conduct and collect data that will reveal how the corporate culture through its physicality creates cultural exclusion or inclusion for women. The field study comprised walking through the

whole Focal Unit's physical space, asking questions to the accompanying representants of the Focal Unit, and taking notes on answers, thoughts, and observations. The accompanying representants were a female employee, who has been working at the company for some years, and the researchers' contact person at the Focal Unit. Both researchers participated in the field study. The field study lasted for one hour and was conducted April 2015.

3.3.2.4 ANALYSIS OF SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS DATA.

Analysis of qualitative interview data was performed based on McCracken's (1988, referred to in Piercy, 2004) analysis method, which is a general analytical procedure applied on a semi-structured interview. The method assumes that the research is built on a theoretical framework that guides the development of research questions and subsequent data analysis (Piercy, 2004). Rutherford's (2001) cultural constituents constituted the theoretical framework that guided researchers both in the formulation of interview questions and in data analysis. Mc Cracken's analysis method presumes analysis process in five steps:

1. Careful reading and rereading of interview transcripts
2. Development of transcripts into preliminary descriptive and interpretative categories
3. Examination of preliminary categories and development of pattern
4. Determination of basic themes emerging from clusters of participants' comments and researchers' memos.
5. Examine predominant in all interviews themes, which compared to the theoretical framework, will serve as answers to the research questions.

After each interview, records were listened to and transcribed. The transcription work was equally shared between the authors based on the length of the interview record. Further, each researcher had to go through the other researcher's part of the interview transcript while listening to the record to assure a correct transcription process, afterwards the parts were set together in an integral interview transcript and a final joint verification of accuracy was performed. The same process was repeatedly used for each performed interview. The transcripts were carefully read through by both researchers (1).

The process of developing transcripts into preliminary descriptive and interpretative categories (2) started with reduction of interview transcripts. The transcripts of the entire set of interviews were in a range of thirty to thirty four pages, totalizing 270 to 306 pages of raw material. After the reduction process, the researchers had material of 10 to 14 pages from each interview, thus 90 to 126 pages of qualitative data to work with. Further, interpretative categories were created for each reduced interview material. Reduced materials were e-mailed to respective managers for facts validation, where they were given an opportunity for comments, objections or additional elucidations. The facts validation process returned elucidations and adjustments from six of the managers. Respective managers approved the rest of reduced material.

Reduced material from all interviews was then examined together and preliminary categories developed based on similarities, differences and topics (3). Further examination and reduction resulted in pattern codes that were then developed into thematic schemes (4). The topics of the thematic schemes constituted the nine cultural constituents and the code patterns found was interpreted as cultural processes, that on their own or together with other codes, could create cultural closure or inclusion of women (5).

3.3.2.5 ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM FIELD STUDY

Data from the field constituted of the researchers' observations, thoughts and answers from the tour guide and her accompaniment all written down in field notes. The field notes were reduced and grouped into a thematic scheme according to common characteristics.

3.3.2.6. ANALYSIS OF SECONDARY DATA

Gathered secondary data constituted of Equality Score Cards, which were rich in gender-related data. The gathered quantitative data was reduced to only comprise data of the gender distribution and analyzed by simple mathematics to find the functional gender distributions and its relations to the total distribution. The results are displayed in Table 2.

3.4 Validity and reliability

Collis and Hussey (2014:52-53) give some indications of how to increase the validity and reliability of a research. By building the research on Rutherford's (2001) nine cultural constituents, the construct validity is related to how well these constituents capture the cultural impact on female advancement. That is partly validated by the fact that Rutherford's findings are well acknowledged. On the other hand, the theoretical framework does not guarantee a fully exhaustive capture of the culture's impact of women. Further, reliability and validity of the collected data have been strived for and improved in accordance to recommendations (Collis and Hussey, 2014).

The reliability of the interview data is partly increased by the fact that the interviews were semi-structured. Further, researchers invested in having sameness in the interview performance at the extent of the possible. All the interviews were held at Focal Unit and the rooms for interview were almost of the same size, all located at ground floor and with a similar design, lightning, and furniture. The reliability of the results from the field study is increased by the fact that the whole office complex was observed in a structured and throughout manner. On the other hand, it is still possible that other researchers could have observed different things. Hence, the reliability of the qualitative data is not considered as high. However, high reliability is not a critical issue for qualitative data (Collis and Hussey, 2014:53). The reliability of the secondary data is, on the other hand, considered high due to the fact that the initial source is the Focal Unit's employee records.

The operationalization of the theoretical framework constitutes a process of data collection that could incorporate more or less validity. The validity in the data collected from the field study could be interpreted as increased through a literature review that gave understanding for what physical artefacts that have been related to the women's situations in previous research. Further, to ensure that the interview data, which in volume constituted the major data in this research, has high validity in its ability to operationalize the theoretical framework some improving steps were taken. Interview questions were prepared through an iterative process, where questions were revised several times. The set of the total number of interview questions were initially eighty and the iterative process resulted in a final set of forty questions, their respective probes excluded. Although no pilot test was conducted to valid the set of questions to be asked, the researchers worked under a close guidance of their supervisor, who has a long research experience in gender studies. The final set of questions was approved by the supervisor as appropriate to capture all the cultural constituents and respective processes. Hence, the validity in relation to how well the theoretical framework is operationalized could be considered as high.

Further, the research validity is also impacted from how well that actual process of data collection creates validity. For the semi-structured interviews, this incorporates getting the participants to answer the questions as honest as possible and for the researchers to understand the answers correctly. During the interviews, the topics in the study were brought up in a thoughtful manner in order to create a comfortable atmosphere for the managers to open themselves up when answering the questions. For instance, all interviews started by the researcher's self-presentation, thereafter the interviewee was asked about the own professional background and description of his/her actual job tasks at Focal Unit. This was decided because managers' professional background and job description are deemed representing individual's achievements, thus linked to personal pride and hence easy to talk about. Thereby, sensitive questions that potentially would decrease interviewees' willingness to answer in a desired way were embraced little later on during each interview. Creating comfort for the interviewee would probably increase the will and ability to answer the interview questions, and hence increase the validity of the interview data.

Further, all interviews were recorded with an approval of respective interviewee. It is recommended to check the empirical findings with the case study participants, which is called facts validation (Figure 1) and is a valuable method to ensure validity of the research findings (Casell and Symon, 2004:330). In this study, researchers used this method in an iterative way. First, reduced material was presented to the respective interviewees to ensure none of the quotations would create misunderstanding when taken out of its context. Later on, the further reduced data was sent again to the respective interviewees and this time the quotations were put in a context where needed to validate the researchers' interpretations and to exclude potential misunderstandings.

In conclusion, several steps and actions have been taken throughout this study towards validity and reliability of this research's conclusions.

3.5 Ethical aspects

The researchers were aware of the ethical aspects of the study and that some interview topics might be considered as sensitive. Researchers guaranteed full anonymity to participants to increase openness, willingness to participate as well as honesty (Collis & Hussey, 2014:34). At the meeting with the CEO and some members of executive team, the researchers had the opportunity to explain the purpose of the study, how it was thought to be conducted and their expectations as contribution from the Focal Unit. Voluntary participation was highlighted by researchers at the meeting as well as anonymity and confidentiality towards both participants and the Focal Unit's sensitive material. Further, invitation letter to participate in the study was sent to all targeted participants. In order to assure managers on intended provision of anonymity and confidentiality, a doodle-link to online booking system for the interviews was communicated at the same time with the invitation letter and a detailed clarification of the booking process provided. Each manager who wanted to take part in the study was invited to confirm the willingness by answering the invitation letter; thereafter a code name was assigned and communicated to the respective interviewee. The participant could then follow the provided doodle-link and book the suitable for him/her interview time with a code name. Thereby, each participant could see others' booked times and their respective code names, but would precisely know who else will be interviewed.

In their book, Collis and Hussey (2014:33-34) draw attention to some aspects that may cause an ethical dilemma. Being aware of these aspects and that unfavorable image from

the study's conclusions might harm the company's reputation, researchers called in an extra meeting with some of the Focal Units's representatives in order to discuss the level of anonymity in final report. The decision out of it was to provide anonymity to the organization as well.

3.6 Limitations of the research design

Immediately reporting managers of the Focal Unit have been chosen for the interviews and therefore it is the managers' perspectives of the corporate culture that this study is based on. There is a possibility that representatives from other levels, employees and executive members, perceive the cultural processes as including or excluding for women in different ways. If it were not for time and resource constraints, could the findings have been verified with the employees or the employees could have been interviewed as a part of the study too. As an example, an employee-level verification of the cultural constituent Informal Socializing and its impact on career advancement could have been beneficial.

Further, a unit of investigation has been chosen among all managers that work at the Focal Unit. The unit under investigation comprises immediately reporting managers from four of the larger organizational functions and therefore could perspectives from the smaller functions be missed. The number of interviewed managers is also limited to 9 out of 17 possible immediately reporting managers within the larger functions, which also could result in missed viewpoints. However, Collin and Hussey (2009:51) contend that sample size is not a critical issue for interpretivists. Further, the interviewed managers' time worked at the Focal Unit varied from less than a year to many years. The managers with a short working history at the focal Unit could not contribute with certain data, which was taken into consideration during the collection and analysis of data. Moreover, some organizational functions are only represented by a single interviewee, which also could result in biased perspectives of the culture. However, comparison between the functions with the purpose of analyzing the differences in the answers related to functional belonging has not been made. Instead, the managers' answers are treated as a part of a managerial subculture that spans over the functions and departments of the Focal Unit. Doing a divisionalized analysis and investigating the differences between the corporate functions in this study based on the nine participant answers, is not considered as sensible even though Rutherford (2001) recommends such an analysis. Rutherford performed a divisionalized analysis by the use of additional data gathering methods. It could, of course, have been beneficial with a divisionalized analysis at the Focal Unit and then probably by the use of different data gathering methods or an extended number of interview participants. However, compared to the size of the case companies in Rutherford's study, the Focal Unit is a smaller organization. This could impact the necessity for a divisionalized analysis. Further, some constituents and cultural processes that are related more to the individual, like the occurrence of the long hour culture and its relation to the division of household responsibility, are very limited by being investigated through only nine interviews. Rutherford (2001) used both questionnaire and interviews, both with a larger number of respondents and participants respectively. Moreover, it might be easier to get honest answers to more private questions by not using face-to-face interviews.

The nine cultural constituents presented by Rutherford (2001) are not explained as being exhaustive in capturing all cultural processes that could act excluding to women. This could result in a limitation in finding how cultural processes impact women. However, the research questions are formulated so that the findings will show how Rutherford's defined components with related cultural processes impact women. Further, the cultural constituents of the theoretical framework are further investigated in literature by other

researchers, besides the framework creator. Therefore could there be limitations in the interpretations of the cultural constituents compared to what was initially meant by the Rutherford (2001). The cultural constituent Organizational Background might be particularly dissenting from the frameworks original cultural constituent. In this study has the Organizational Background been used to understand both the cultural background and the current and previous practices that have an impact on the corporate culture from a gender perspective. Comparatively, Rutherford (2001) had incorporated fewer practices in the Organizational Background during her case studies.

4. Findings and analysis

In this chapter are the empirical findings presented and analyzed by the theories found in the literature. The sub-chapters present the findings related to the nine cultural constituents of the theoretical framework. The empirical findings from the secondary data are mainly presented in chapter 4.1.3 *Gender Distribution* of the sub-chapter 4.1 *Organizational background* but referred to in other chapters as well. Similarly, the findings from the field study are presented in chapter 4.2 *Physical artefacts* but continuously referred to, while the findings from the semi-structured interviews are presented in all chapters. The sub-chapters are Organizational background, Physical artefacts, Management style, the long hours culture, Work ideology, Informal ways of socializing, Language and communication, Sexuality, and Gender awareness. All sub-chapters conclude with a summary and eight of the sub-chapters constitute of several under-chapters.

4.1 Organizational background

This sub-chapter presents the empirical findings and analysis of the cultural processes that is covered by the cultural component Organizational background. The Organizational background provides an understanding of the cultural background and of the current and previous practices that have an impact on the corporate culture. This chapter has eight under-chapters and one summary.

4.1.1 A matrix organization

The International Group is a listed and publicly traded company. The Focal Unit started its business in the 90:ies and The International Group has had a couple of CEOs, all men, since then. The executive team consists of 25 % women. Compared to the 20 % of the executive teams positions that is held by women in Swedish banks on average (Oliver Wyman, 2014), the International Group has a slightly higher female representation than its Swedish financial peers. Further, it has a significantly higher female representations at leading position compared to its Swedish peers in the IT-sector that have only 7.6 percent (Ingenjören, 2013) women at different managerial positions. This indicates that the International Group and the Focal Unit could have a culture that includes female managers to a greater extent than its industries' peers.

The Focal Unit comprises of eight organizational functions that are geographically situated in the same office complex. The executive team of the International Group works in the same office complex as the Focal Unit. It is the managers that report to the executive team that has been interviewed and these are referred to as the managers in this report. The managers in turn have employees, team leaders or bosses that report to them. The hierarchical structures vary among the functions, where a larger number of employees incorporate several hierarchical layers. This results in heterogeneity in the amount of employee responsibility and in the work tasks managed by the managers. Further, the Focal Unit has a matrix organizational structure with several dimensions. The organizational structure and the corporate culture it induces are both perceived as non-hierarchical among the managers. The non-hierarchical feeling is congruent with the perception of the corporate language and physical artefacts.

There is another culture here. It is much more flat. It is nonhierarchical...

Being immediately responsible for managers or for employees did not have any impact on the perception of the flatness of the organization. The non-hierarchical culture creates

feelings of inclusiveness among the organizational members. This indicates that women are not feeling excluded from the culture in general. In some of the Focal Unit's functions both the managers and their employees with managerial responsibility constitute a group called the executive team of that function. Mixing different hierarchical level representatives, which seems natural for a matrix organization, could be a contributing factor to why the hierarchical levels are not experienced to a great extent within the corporate culture. Some of the managers at the Focal Unit have previous work experience within the finance industry and therefore could the effects of the culture at the Focal Unit be assessed through the managers' perceptions of the actual workplace compared to their previous. Hence, the feelings of flatness could be enhanced if the previous workplace was very hierarchical. However, some hierarchy is present at the International Group and thereby at the Focal Unit:

... Utterly there is an executive team, and it is hierarchical by nature.

It is very okay to look like, basically to look like whatever. But then, on the other hand, if you look at what the executive team is wearing, they do not look like whatever...

The executive team and the CEO were perceived as a hierarchical constituent of the organization, which was also notified on the choice of clothing within the executive group.

Managing the structure of decision-making is perceived as complex. The matrix structure of the organization complicates this due to its several dimensions. Further, it is perceived as essential for a manager to handle this structure. There are different decision forums for different decisions and the best way to map this structure is to talk to the colleagues.

And you have to learn this otherwise you will get nothing done and there is no map for how this works. You do not get this map the first day in your welcome package; you have to figure this out by yourself... Even if one has drawn nice boxes with lines, people do not work in boxes! That is not how problems are solved daily.

This decision-making structure and cooperation between functions and departments is time consuming. On the other hand, it could be seen as a possibility to create a wider impact within the company. One manager explains that whether this is perceived as beneficial or a drawback depends on how you are as a person.

At this Focal Unit, which is of a smaller size, your little area of responsibility becomes a much greater part of the organization. You have to understand a little, understand what happens at the other end because you cannot drop the question here and expect someone else to continue all the time. The drawback with this is that you are not getting any better at what you are doing but you gather much more knowledge of the other parts of the Focal Unit too, that is my theory...It depends on how you are as a person, man or women, it doesn't matter. It is about how you are as a person. If you like to solve problems at your desk and go home at 5 o'clock and ignore what happens with what you have done during the day... or you are a person that wants to understand the whole chain and want to be in and impact the outcome. Here you have greater impact all the way.

Managing the decision flows and processes of the Focal Unit is complex, time consuming and essential for the managerial work. Further, it could also be essential to utilize the structure for the reason to be perceived as having a certain personality, hence the decision-making structure could be related to the long hour culture. A long hour culture could add

pressure on female managers and have exclusionary effect for women to senior positions (Rutherford, 2001). The long hours culture of the Focal Unit is discussed in chapter 4.4 *The long hours culture*.

4.1.2 The Focal Unit – both financial and IT-company

It is possible to categorize the Focal Unit as both a financial service organization and an IT-service organization. Despite offering financial services to its customer, the distance taken from the traditional banking atmosphere is clear among the members of the Focal Unit. They explain that if categorized as a financial service company the Focal Unit is considered as very modern and relaxed, which is congruent with the observed physical artefacts on site.

You should not be a gang of bank clerks walking around as in any bank office, shaking hands with each other... It is a different culture!

The managers state that the company dress code is a visible sign of distance from traditional banks. One manager explains that it is not just a distance taken, but an aim to signal its belonging to the IT sector instead. This will of belongingness within IT sector could also be identified in how the status of the professions within the company is perceived among the employees.

The economists have been the market leaders within the financial sector, but now it is more techs.

This change within the financial industry is described among the managers as general for the industry. Considering gender practices it is both positive and negative. Repudiation from old traditions, such as the traditions of the financial service companies, has the possibility to create inclusion for women according to Rutherford (2001). Accordingly, the younger Swedish IT-industry is considered as an industry that provides its employees with great opportunities and interesting jobs (Davies and Mathieu, 2005:12-22). On the other hand, the IT-industry is male dominated and gender practices do exist in ways that could impact inequalities such as work task segregations (ibid). Therefore could the cultural striving towards the IT-industry contribute with positive feelings among the female managers or contribute to withholding a cultural status quo through the gender practices. Further, for this Focal Unit in particular, giving IT higher status in disfavor of other financial service functions means giving potential male marked functions higher status than potential female marked ones.

4.1.3 Gender distribution

Of the Focal Units nearly 300 employees 38 percent is women. When compared to the Swedish financial service companies' average of 53 percent (Renemark, 2007:9), the Focal Unit has a lower female distribution. However, the distribution presented by Renemark (2007:9) without two large Swedish financial service companies is 34 percent, which could be considered as a more representative distribution for the Swedish financial sector. Therefore, could the Focal Unit be considered to have a higher female representation throughout the organization than its Swedish peers. Further, when comparing the Focal Unit to its peers within the Swedish IT-sector it has 18 percent higher female representation throughout the organization than its peers. The distribution of men and women that work within five of the larger organizational functions of the Focal Unit is presented in Table 2.

Function name	% female distribution within the function, managers and employees	% of total women within the Focal Unit, managers and employees	% of total men within the Focal Unit, managers and employees	% of total employees within the Focal Unit, managers and employees
Transactions	43	16	14	15
Processes	47	50	35	41
IT-Services	17	12	37	27
External Relations and Marketing	50	6	4	5
Product and service development	44	7	6	6

Table 2: Results from secondary data

Table 2 presents the results from the secondary data. Table 2 shows the gender distributions within and among the five larger functions of the Focal Unit as well as the functions employees in the percentage of the Focal Units total employees. The Transactions, The Processes, The IT-services, and The External Relations and Marketing hold together 88 percent of the Focal Units total employees. According to Table 2 are the women concentrated to the Processes function and the Transactions function, while the men are concentrated to the IT-Services function as well as to the Processes function. Further, the Processes and the IT-Services functions are the largest functions of the Focal Unit. Having an uneven gender distribution in functional occupations is according to Acker (2012) one of the most common inequality within organizations.

Since every other woman at the Focal Unit and only every third man works within Processes, this function might be considered as female gender marked. The Processes function could be categorized as a back office function and within the Swedish financial service companies are the jobs within these types of functions dominated by women (Renemark, 2007:249). Further, a man within this Focal Unit is most probably working within the IT-Services function whereof could the IT-Services function be considered as male gender marked. The organizational work performed by men is often more highly valued than the work performed by women (Sundin, 1998, Abrahamsson, 2002 referred to by Wahl et al., 2014:115), which would indicate that IT-related work are highly valued among the Focal Unit's members. The high valuation of the IT-related work, men's work, is congruent with both the Focal Units and the industry in general trend in valuation of work as was discussed in chapter 4.1.2 *The Focal Unit - Both Bank and IT Company*. It is also important to notice that the men are more diffused into different functions, while women instead are more densely distributed in some functions. At an overall level, the diffusion of men might counteract gender marking. On the other hand, it could be viewed as men having a wider range of suitability for different tasks while women have not. If such valuations exist it could probably impact internal movability and therefore female career advancement, thus withholding gender inequality.

At function-level the major difference between the number of female and male employees is found in the IT-Services function. 17 percent of the employees within the IT-Service function are women, which is a representation that reflects the average distribution 20 percent women within the Swedish IT-sector (SCB, 2009). Hence, when the Focal Unit as a whole is compared to its peers in the Swedish IT-sector it has a higher level of female employment, but if only the IT-services of the Focal Unit is compared to the industry average similarities are to be found. The current gender distribution within IT-Service function together with the announced difficulties for the function to find skilled women to employ, are well-known issues within the whole Focal Unit. The supply of women by the labor market for IT-technology is often recognized as the main reason for the current state. Further, knowledge about the current gender distribution might have the potential to be perceived as negative by female job candidates, which makes it harder to change the current situation according to the managers. The IT-Services function risks in having a male dominated subculture, due to its low female representation.

The smaller departments within the Focal Unit's functions do not hold equal gender distribution either. Further, within the Swedish financial companies most brokerages, analysts and traders are men (Renemark, 2007:238), which is close to the description of the situation at the Focal Unit. The mentioned departments with high male representation are the trading departments, the brokerage departments, and the departments that manage risks. These departments are found within the Processes and Transactions functions. Therefor on an aggregate level the functions might seem equally gender distributed, but analyzing the gender structure at department levels might give a more gendered picture. These three mentioned departments are perceived as traditionally both masculine and male dominated culture-wise.

... There has been a male-culture. One has to remember that the organization has been a player within the securities trading market from the beginning. It is the brokerage; it is a heritage from an old school. However it has changed over the years at the market, but some behaviors from the era remains.

The description of the old school culture could be related to the description of the extreme work within finance described by Renemark (2007:247). The extreme work is a way of doing gender and does contribute to a work life where women risk in being marginalized (Renemark, 2007:247). According to the manager this culture have changed over the years, which also could be related to the other observation made by Renemark (2007:247) that normal work within the Swedish financial sector also exists. Moreover, the Focal Unit has experienced external critique for publically being seen as having homogenic employee composition of certain financial departments. This is known as unfortunate among the managers:

That is not how we want to be perceived! But still, it was how we represented us when we did not think about it. And of course, we are aware now. If we will represent our employees officially again, we will include someone young and someone old, a girl and a guy, someone in a suit and someone in a T-shirt. But it is an image; it is not the daily business. Absolutely, we have learnt to varnish the façade, just like everybody else. Then, if it is more or less equal the before, I don't know.

Except from analyzing the gender distributions among functional belongings and professions, one could analyze whether there are any work task segregation within certain

professions (Wahl et al., 2014:87-90). It has earlier been found (Acker, 1994 referred to by Linghag 2009) that at an overall level, the Swedish financial companies could have a more gender equal distribution of the professions while gender segregations instead is present among work tasks. Likewise, the Swedish IT-industry has also shown task segregation due to gender by assigning more peripheral jobs to women (Davies and Mathieu, 2005: 12-22).

4.1.4 Career paths

There are no officially drawn career paths for internal movement within the Focal Unit's operations according to the managers. Further, the employee turnover is mostly at the same positions.

Well, there are no drawn career paths. We live very much by the motto, do a good work and perform and the possibility will come to you or you will be able to take the possibility, but there are no drawn career paths in that sense. That is what our employees say, that is what everybody says; that one does not know, there are no clear steps in how a career look likes at the Focal Unit.

The lack of formal career paths and career building on individual interests can be understood as footprint from the IT industry that impacts the Focal Unit's culture. Employees' career in IT industry within Sweden and Ireland is much affected by managerial cultivation of interests and preferences and the assessment of competence via individual interest (Davies and Mathieu, 2005: 12-22). The Focal Unit is said to have a policy of internal recruitment even though the career paths are unstructured. At a lower level, it is common to enter the Focal Unit through a position at the customer service and later on advance from there. Further, the internal career advancement is coupled with informal socializing in a way that is unbeneficial for female employees and presented in chapter 4.6 *Informal ways of socializing*.

However, some of the Focal Units functions are currently working on structuring the internal career paths. This is a structural process that will counteract the unbeneficial cultural processes for women. When the hiring, evaluation and promotion processes within the IT sector are more formal processes, they are less likely to be gender marked (Britton, 2000 referred to by Wickham et al, 2008). Today, the managers play an important role in the career development of the employees through the work of clarifying potential career paths as well as to be giving critical recommendations. It is even possible to advance internally to the managerial level closest to the executive team. There are several examples within the organization of managers at higher position that started from the lower levels. It is common to ask the manager of a potential new department, if this manager can talk to the current manager about letting the employee change department. A bit contrary to this process of asking for a new position, it is also explained that a prerequisite to get recruited internally is to be asked for the position. Lately, the Focal Unit has experienced several leading positions being supplied by recruitments from other companies, mostly from major banks.

Now, during the most recent years there has been a supply of new employees from above. Leaders from other banks and other companies are entering, so we are kind of getting a turnaround by the fact that there are a lot of external recruits.

As the external recruitment has been ongoing, the number of female employees at leading position has increased. Therefor it could be assumed that the external recruitment has resulted in the great change of the gender distribution among the leading positions within

the Focal Unit. Of all managerial positions, including immediately reporting managers as well as the bosses below the immediately reporting managers, women hold 33 percent. This is much greater than the 7.6 percent (Ingenjören, 2013) that is the average for the female representation at managerial level in the Swedish IT-sector. Further, it is close to the company's total female representation of 38 percent. However, the female representation at immediately reporting managerial level was earlier perceived as low among the newly employed, both as absolute number and in relation to how modern the Focal Unit otherwise was perceived. Among some of the employed men, one newly recruited female manager experienced a lack of realization of the situation during a meeting:

We were about to sit down at the table and a male manager said: Let's sit every other man and woman. And I just responded: We are four times as many men as we are women; it is going to be a bit difficult.

The change of gender distribution in leading positions has not only increased the female representation but also the number of women in charge of powerful positions.

That is what I think is good, we do have women in possession of real roles and it is not like we have women that sit where they sit without no area to be responsible for... Today, we have women at heavy positions and women in charge of business transactions. It is all important roles. The female managers that we have, they are not in charge of typical staff functions. It is business functions!

Within the Swedish financial sector, the majority of the women is appointed to the supporting functions such as administration, HR and economics that are separated from the core activities (Renemark, 2007:9, French and Strachan, 2007). These service functions are often gender marked as feminine and this is related to the gender distribution at leading positions (Wahl et al., 2011:115). Contrary, this Focal Unit has female leaders at business positions, which then could act against a male gender marking of the business related roles and work tasks. Further, it could create cultural inclusion for the female managers, as it could be interpreted from the female manager's quotation above.

Further, the female members of the International Group's executive team with more business responsibility are managers of the functions that do hold most of the company's female employees. Therefore one could say that due to the female functional concentration, a gender marking could still be present. Moreover, the congruence between the positions of women leaders and the functional concentration of female employees makes the female leaders positions somewhat expected. On the other hand, the Focal Unit has managed to include more business tasks and responsibility in the potentially gender marked functions than what has been found at other companies within the Swedish financial sector (Renemark, 2007:9), which is a step towards gender equality and does probably contribute to a general inclusive culture for women.

4.1.5 Educational programs

The general opinion among the managers is that there could be more educational programs. The learning by doing-principle or learning from colleagues is mentioned as common principles of learning within the Focal Unit. However, the functions have their own competence enhancement programs; some are already in place, some are newly started and some are under construction. Managers have invited employees from other departments and even from other functions to these programs.

You can learn about whatever you like... in that manner one can take very well take own initiatives to learn, but there is not like, we are not the large company where you sign up on an education.

However, finding out about the current educational possibilities outside one owns department requires knowledge about the organization and therefore could receiving information about the educational opportunities be related to socializing and networking. Particularly, in situations when managers can choose who outside the department to invite, a network or informal socializing experience have shown to be of significance. Further, receiving education in certain areas does in turn impact career opportunities of employees and could do both internally and externally. Receiving education based on own interests could be compared to what Davies and Mathieu (2005: 12-22) explain as individualization processes in professional development that are common within the IT sector. Such processes have been shown to be both excluding (Davies and Mathieu, 2005: 12-22) and including (Wickham, 2008) for female career advancement women.

4.1.6 Parental leave

According to the managers there are two ways in which a parental leave is managed at the Focal Unit. First, a substitute could be hired. For this case, the method is explained to be applied to secure that the role and work tasks still exist at the end of the employee's parental leave. By this method, the Focal Unit contradicts earlier findings (French & Strachan, 2007) where women are perceived as a cheap flexible labor in finance industry, thus not suitable for organization's long term planning. The second method, which is sometimes applied in the IT-services function, is said to be an unavoidable solution to shorter periods of parental leave when substitutes are hard to find. In this case, absence is covered up by the colleagues. The method of letting colleagues handling the parent's work assignments could lead to problems of returning to the initial role and work assignments, as suspected by one manager. However, the general ambition at the Focal Unit is to use substitutes, which indicates an awareness that is beneficial for women.

Further, unfortunate complaints have been expressed that the production reduces when employees goes on parental leave and the Focal Unit has to hire unversed substitutes. Such opinions could indicate valuations that could act culturally excluding to women. Contrary to such valuations, the Focal Unit has hired pregnant women. It is not possible to determine if the hiring of pregnant women is connected to a heated labor market or not, but it is probably not. Therefore, this initiative and the symbolism that follows it are including aspects for women. Although, the provided strategies are created at managerial level and applied at employee level, it shows the awareness among managers as well as contributes to a general culture of female enclosure that probably impacts the female managers positively as well. On the other hand, two of the managers brought up examples where other managers have not returned to their positions after the parental leave. However, the managers are not sure if the absence due to parental leave has been a contributing factor or not. The following event described by a manager occurred several years ago:

One member of the executive team went on maternity leave and during that period she was transferred from her role and did not get a new role and she walked around one and a half year without knowing about it, before she had to leave. I do not know if it depended on the maternity leave... But one could also claim if it was the right decision from a business perspective, does it matter if you are on maternity leave or not? On the other hand, one can also think no! You can absolutely not take away someone's work tasks because of the person

being on maternity leave. That is complete craziness! Thus, it is an ethical question and it is also a complex question.

This however indicates that the ambition of withholding the positions during parental leave is not always successful or that the ambition is a more recent incurred ambition. However, there might be a risk that this example lingers on within the organizational history. Such a history could contribute to cultural values that merging motherhood and a managerial role is not manageable, which creates cultural exclusion for female managers. It is explained that when female managers go on parental leave, it is not unusual that they visit the office to meet the employees to be updated during their parental leave. This could indicate that even when the managers at the Focal Unit go on parental leave, they have a will of being present at work. Whether this is a will or a need due to a fear of being replaced or losing control over the work tasks, is not possible to assess. Stated by Tracy and Rivera (2010, referred to by Brunett et al., 2010), there is an assumption among organizations that mothers in their professional roles will sacrifice career advancement possibilities when they become mothers. Therefore, it is possible that female managers feel a need to be visible at the office to indicate that they are not interested in down-prioritizing the job and future career possibilities despite being a mother.

4.1.7 The gender equality work

The International Group has acknowledged gender equality and has it on the corporate agenda:

It is on the agenda... The CEO walks the talk. We have actually gotten more women in the executive team; we have gotten more women at leading positions. I think that he has started a very important journey.

So far the organizational work with gender diversity mainly consists of: the executive team's participation in a lecture about gender equality, investigating the present gender distribution state by implementation of Gender Equality Score cards down to business unit level, and focusing on having both genders represented in the recruitment processes. The involved actors are the CEO, who is considered as an advocate for gender equality, the executive team, and the Human Relations function. Since the CEO is an advocate of the topic, the recent employment of female leaders could be considered as gender equality work even though it started before the company's focus on gender equality started. This indicates that the CEO and the representatives at higher levels improved the current female representation without labeling their actions. Such initiatives could indicate that further gender equality work could come equally natural at higher corporate levels that eventually could contribute to female cultural inclusion at managerial and employee levels. Anyhow, the managers express that they perceive the gender equality work to be in its infancy and that they would like to have directions of how the question of gender equality should be managed in the daily work.

... it certainly sounds great up there somewhere, but what does it mean ?

Well, yes there is a plan rolled out, but obviously since I can't mention anything about it, it has not reached me with a great impression... However, the CEO has actually recruited one, no two women for the executive team which I find as the right thing to do. There were only men and one woman in the executive team earlier. That is well done. He should have all respect for that.

The so far most significant work from a gender equality perspective, according to the managers, is the employment of several female leaders. Even if the gender equality work is considered to be in its infancy, the actual employment in congruence with the CEO's discourse constitutes a cultural process that is beneficial for female managers' career advancement.

4.1.8 An entrepreneurial unit

The managers describe the Focal unit as a very business oriented and an entrepreneurial unit of the International Group. The valuation of entrepreneurial work is explained as integrated in the corporate culture. The business that is highly valued is described as business that is visible for the customers. Events that receive media attentions, the electronic interface, and other customer experiences are mentioned as highly valued entrepreneurial work. The focus of customer experiences is among the managers considered as very important for the types of financial services and products that the Focal Unit manages.

Entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial work have for long been associated with masculinity (Bruni et al. 2004). The Focal Unit highly values the entrepreneurial work, which could equal highly valuing masculine traits (ibid). Such valuation could result in an unconsciously lower valuation of the women's work. However, the managers do not express any gender traces in the symbolic meaning of entrepreneurship, but they express some varied consequences of the entrepreneurial focus. Some have reflected upon negative consequences or potential negative consequences. Being entrepreneurial and focusing on customer experiences requires working with a certain pace at the Focal Unit. This is accepted as a part of the culture and appreciated by some:

But I appreciate a little high chaparral, that we can do things with a certain speed. We are an entrepreneurial company at the bottom. Many at the Focal Unit have been here since the old times and still carry this culture. That heritage is carried with us all the time.

One female manager describes how the fast changes results in both possibilities and drawbacks for a culture of quick actions and short notice that demands adjustments in the planning:

... It is a culture that could be tough to live with in the work... but meanwhile; it can be both tough and very stimulating because it is also a challenge... It is a great difference between working here or working at a large bank.

The recognition of corporate demands coming from the entrepreneurial front-end side of the Focal Unit could also be perceived as creating a tension between the back-end and the front end of the Focal Unit. This viewpoint is not unanimous among the managers, though the conflicts of resources are instead recognized as the usual conflicts of resources present in any organizations. However, one manager explains:

The money is where the strategy is, says the CEO... And this rhetoric creates a polarization between the ones that have resources and the ones that have not. Processes is solely seen as a cost center and because of that, one could draw a conclusion being less worth.

One manager explains why there is a will to invest in product development:

There used to be a tendency that a thing that creates high efficiency or something for a administrative department might not be as easy to motivate as something that shows: if we do this, then we will have a new product for the customers and we will be able to sell this much, create this profits within this timeframe. So it is a constant conflict, or different perspectives and it is good that those exist. Then it is about prioritize these in a good way, which I think it is done in a good way according to what I have noticed so far. But I do not know how it has been historically. I have heard that there have been some changes in how one works with prioritizing and so on.

The back-end part of the Focal Unit has been described as the neglected part of this organization, which is said to create possible recruitment problems. Firstly, internal movement from back-end to frontend is considered complicated because it involves a change of visibility within the organization. Secondly, external recruits could also be problematic:

Processes could get a recruitment challenge if senior recruits are needed, which is required in complex transformations. It will be hard to do that if Processes is considered as low status. When you have worked for a while, then you are used to grasp a certain part and have a certain visibility and certain heaviness. That rule of game is not exactly working here.

However, the emphasis on the entrepreneurial work is understood as a natural stage of the Focal Unit's and the International Group's development. The Focal Unit is described as going through a phase of change where more resources are assigned to organizing processes. One back-office manager explains that the focus from the entrepreneurial work is shifting toward cost cuttings in back end, which is not appreciated in all cases. This change of focus and the growing acceptance of the change of focus, are notified by another back-office manager:

And I think that more and more people in general are realizing that if you only focus on the business and do not care for the other things, then you will get long term problem.

There is a risk of friction in the further work of creating orderliness according to another manager:

For me, it is important with an entrepreneurial spirit. If we structure everything, having a forum for every question, then the entrepreneurial spirit will die. The people will leave and we have a new unit tomorrow.

It is not obvious how the entrepreneurial or front-end work should be transferred to the work of the Focal Unit's functions and departments. Product and Service Development, External Relations and Marketing and certain departments within the Transactions-, the IT-Services, and within the Processes-function could be considered as front-end work. This proposed acknowledgement of the functions Product and Service Development's and External Relations and Marketing's high valued work is congruent with the findings presented in chapter 4.2 *Physical artefacts*, having these functions located close to the executive team. However, the important acknowledgement is that Processes, the potential female gender marked function, is not considered as entrepreneurial to a high extent. Therefore, is it possible that tensions and resource struggles between entrepreneurial and non- entrepreneurial functions could be seen as gender related. From that perspective could the current state in practice be seen as marginalizing for female managers abilities to make oneself heard, to make decisions and to move internally. As described by Gorman

(2005) norms about gendered tasks could hinder women to advance within the organization. Further, the monoculture of instrumentality (Rao et al., 1999:21) is a part of the deep structure within organizations that perpetuates gender inequality. The monoculture of instrumentality is present when corporations focus to a large extent on the accomplishments of narrow quantitative goals in disfavor of focusing on other processes, people and perspectives that is not directly related to accomplishment of the narrow goal. The Focal Units entrepreneurial focus and valuation of product development could be related to the narrow goals that Rao et al. (1999:21) describe, which could then be a hinder for inducing new perspectives and acknowledging the value of all processes. Then the additional association of masculinity with entrepreneurial work (Bruni et al., 2004) could strengthen the symbolic meaning of the situation and further marginalize women. However, the current focus is said to be changing, which then is considered as positive for the female managers. This could both contribute to erasing potential practical barriers such as career barriers as well as reducing the importance of valuing the masculine traits that are associated with entrepreneurship.

4.1.9 Summary: Organizational background

The matrix-organized unit is perceived as being non-hierarchical but with a CEO and an executive team that is understood as a hierarchical constituent of the International Group and of the Focal Unit. The non-hierarchical culture creates feelings of inclusiveness among the Focal Unit's members. This indicates that women are not feeling excluded from the culture in general. The Focal Unit is perceived as a modern, non-traditional financial service organization that has a culture and a dress code that emphasizes a belonging within the IT-sector. Repudiation from old traditions, such as the traditions of the financial service companies, has the possibility to create inclusion for women according to Rutherford (2001). Accordingly, the young Swedish IT-industry is considered as an industry that provides its employees with great opportunities and interesting jobs (Davies and Mathieu, 2005: 12-22). On the other hand, the IT-industry is male dominated and gender practices do exist in ways that could impact inequalities such as work task segregation (ibid) and therefore contribute to a withholding of a cultural status quo.

Managing the decision flows and processes of the Focal Unit's operations is time-consuming but essential for the managerial work. Further, it could also be essential to utilize the structure for the reason to be perceived as having a certain personality that includes the ability to work long hours. This process could put pressure on female managers and have exclusionary effects on their career advancement as discussed in the chapter 4.4 The long hour culture.

The Processes function and the IT-Service function could be considered as female and male gender marked respectively. The gender marking affects the valuation of work (Sundin, 1998, Abrahamsson, 2002 referred to by Wahl et al., 2014:115) and therefore could IT-related work be highly valued within the Focal Unit. Further, the Unit's female members are concentrated to the Processes function while the male members work more diffused into the Focal Unit. At an overall gender level, the diffusion of men might counteract gender marking. On the other hand, it could be viewed as men have a wider range of suitability for different tasks while women have not. If such valuations exist it could probably impact internal movability and, therefore, female career advancement, thus withholding gender inequality. Having an uneven gender distribution in functional occupations is a characteristic for the Swedish financial service companies (Renemark, 2001:9).

Further, the IT-Service function has the lowest female distribution of all the Focal Unit's functions, which is a distribution congruent with the IT-industry, and therefore risks in having a male-dominated subculture. Within the Processes and Transactions functions are some departments male dominated. The brokerage, trading and risk departments are considered as traditionally male dominated culture-wise. Such male dominance in the culture could be related to the description of the extreme work within finance, which is a culture that could marginalize women or be related to the more gender-neutral normal work (Renemark, 2007:247).

There are no officially drawn career paths within the Focal Unit, which is a common characteristic for the IT-industry (Davies and Mathieu, 2005: 12-22). Internal recruitment is an old company tradition and common from lower levels at the company. This process is coupled with informal socializing and the process of receiving internal educations is probably related to informal socializing and networking as well. These couplings are presented in chapter 4.6 Informal ways of socializing as unbeneficial for women. However, some of the Focal Unit's functions are currently working on structuring the internal career paths, which is a structural process that will counteract these unbeneficial cultural processes and benefit female career advancement as have been shown in earlier research (Britton, 2000 referred to by Wickham et al, 2008).

External recruitment has increased lately, which has resulted in an increased number of females at positions that are considered to be powerful. This could contribute to a sense of cultural inclusion for the female managers. The executives' composition of 25 percent women is both slightly higher and significantly higher than the International Groups industries' peers (Oliver Wyman, 2014; Ingenjören, 2013). This indicates that the International Group and the Focal Unit could have a culture that includes female managers to a greater extent than its industries' peers. However, Wahl et al (2011:115) have acknowledged the correlation between gender marking of organizational functions and women in charge for those functions. Accordingly, the leading positions held by women at the Focal Unit are related to the female concentration and from that perspective the leading female managers' positions might be considered as expected. However, the Focal Unit has managed to include more business related work in the potential gender marked functions compared to the Swedish financial industry peers (Renemark, 2007:9), which is a step towards gender equality and does probably contribute to a general inclusive culture for women.

Further, pregnant women have been hired, which creates cultural inclusion for women. Parental leave is managed by either hiring a substitute or letting the colleagues manage the work tasks, of which the first method is considered as related to gender awareness. There have been occasions when women did not return after the parental leave to their previous positions, which could put pressure on managers to be present during their parental leave. Such histories could contribute to cultural values that merging motherhood and a managerial role is not manageable, which create a cultural exclusion for female managers.

The CEO has outspoken the importance of gender equality and of having women at leadership positions. The CEO, the executive team and the Human Relations function are involved in investigating the company's current state of gender equality in numbers thorough implementation of equality scorecards. The managers would like to have directions of how to work with the equality issues on daily basis. The so far most significant work is the employment of several female leaders, which indicate that further gender equality work could come naturally from higher corporate levels. The actual employment

of female leaders and the CEO's discourse contribute to both cultural inclusion of women and is beneficial for female managers career advancement.

The Focal Unit is considered as highly business oriented and entrepreneurial, which impacts the cultural valuation of entrepreneurial and non-entrepreneurial work. In practice, the negative consequences of this is said to be a high work pace, complicated internal movement and different valuation of corporate functional work that creates internal tension. The potential female marked function Processes is not considered as entrepreneurial to a high extent, then it is possible that tensions between entrepreneurial and non-entrepreneurial functions could be seen as gender related. From that perspective could the current state in practice be seen as marginalizing for women managers abilities to make oneself heard, to make decisions and to move internally. The entrepreneurial focus is related to the concept of the monoculture of instrumentality (Rao et al., 1999:21), which could then be a hinder for inducing new perspectives and acknowledging the value of all processes. Then the additional association of masculinity with entrepreneurial work (Bruni et al., 2004) could strengthen the symbolic meaning of the situation and further marginalize women. However, the current focus is said to be changing, which then is considered as positive for the female managers.

4. 2 Physical artefacts

This sub-chapter presents the empirical findings and analysis of the cultural processes that is covered by the cultural constituent Physical artefacts. Here are the findings from the field study presented together with some findings from the semi-structured interviews. This chapter has four sub-chapters and one summary.

4.2.1 Pictures on the walls

In the entrance of the Focal Unit hang small, equally sized, and colored photographs of all the employees. These photographs could be assumed to contribute to a feeling of inclusiveness of all employees as well as to the outspoken feeling of the Focal Unit being non-hierarchical. Further, Tyler and Cohen (2010) argue that space can be a reflection of materialization of power relations. With that in mind, male dominance in an organization may be assessed through space allocations. Hence, employees' photographs and their size at the Focal Unit's entrance hall presume equal treatment rather than power relations. Further, at the entrance wall there are also three different product planches of a woman who has a leading position within the company. She is portrayed as a strong and fearless character, which could be interpreted as she is a heroine. Secondly, she is not accompanied by any men, neither in the picture nor on the walls, which strengthens her heroine status.

At a bulletin board located inside of the company hang a variety of newspaper clips and printed articles with photographs of employees. A Human Relations-representative explains that the ambition is to let this bulletin board be representative for the company, which is why they always hang articles representing employees of both genders and of different ages. This too would create feelings of equality and inclusiveness among the company members. Further, the thoughtful choice of whom to hang on the wall indicates that the Human Relations department is gender aware and strives to spread that awareness among the members of the Focal Unit.

4.2.2 Plenty for the kids

The Focal Unit has a play corner with chairs, pool tables, books and toys. The HR-representative explains that this play corner is for the employees' kids when their parents take them to work. Further, the HR-representative explains that the main reason for taking

a child to the workplace is to show the child where the parent works. The play corner could also be used when employees need to work but their children's kindergarten is due to some reason closed. There is also a baby chair in the lunchroom of the Focal Unit and a nursing table in one of the toilettes close to the entrance. Having these physical artefacts within the corporate walls shows that the family is acknowledged by the organization as an important part of employees' life and hence, also a part of the corporate world. Most organizations consider themselves to have no responsibility for the home domain (Acker, 2012) and therefore do the physical artefacts of the Focal Unit's indicate a unique valuation of the home domain. Even welcoming the children into the lunchroom is clear indicator that this company challenges the separation between the public and private on behalf of all parents. This creates cultural inclusion for women by its symbolism of that work and maternity is a suitable combination. Further, having the possibility to merge private and public live in a way that is encouraged by the Focal Company, might release some pressure on women that are often taking responsibility (Rutherford, 2001) for the private sphere.

Fleming (2004) argues corporations could utilize employees' private lives as a strategy to make them invest more of themselves in their work. The strategy is a part of cultural management and is coupled with the feelings that could be induced by the workplace's physical artefacts. Hence, the artefacts are used as a way to erode the boundaries between home and workplace in a way that makes the employees to invest more of themselves in their work. There is a possibility to interpret the children's' play corner as a mean of cultural management used by the Focal Unit. In that sense, the welcoming of children signals that the employees should be more available for work and be more like the unencumbered worker as defined by Acker (2012). However, the main cultural impact that the welcoming of children is assumed to cause, is the one that signals a merge between the two spheres that creates a culture where it is accepted to be a female manager and a mother as well as where women are included in general.

4.2.3 The locations of the functions

The office layout consists of several open offices, some larger and some smaller, where the different functions and department sits. There are no differences in the standard throughout the office building. However, the Product and Service Development function seems to have a more airy layout of their part in the large open office space. This function belongs to the functions with entrepreneurial responsibility. They also have a large balcony umbrella with lamps hanging from the inside, which could be interpreted as a symbol of creativity. No other functions were marked with an own physical symbol in such obvious way. Further, this symbolized function is located on one hand side of the executive team's area within the open office space. On the other side of the executive team, sits the External Relations and Marketing function that also works with product development. As the physical artefacts could be interpreted as a result of a process of acquisition that is related to power relations and identity work (Taylor and Cohen, 2010), could the proximity of the entrepreneurial functions to the executive team indicate that those functions have significant power within the corporation. This strengthens the empirical evidence presented in the chapter 4.1 *Organizational background*, which shows that the entrepreneurial work is highly valued within the organization. Another way to interpret the locations of these functions is from the perspective of the executive team and their utilization of management of space. Management of space can also enact as a mechanism of organizational control according to different previous studies (Kornberger and Glegg, 2004; Hancock, 2005; Hancock and Tyler, 2007; Dale and Burrell, 2008 reviewed in Hancock and Tyler, 2007). Hence, as an entrepreneurial organization, innovative functions are crucial for the organization to stay in forefront, and that might explain these functions'

proximity to the company's executive team. This perspective gives a picture that also is congruent with the valuation of the entrepreneurial work of the corporation.

4.2.4 Open offices create inclusiveness

Further, the employees relate the open office layouts to modernity and describe closed offices as old-fashioned. The managers describe this open office layout as a layout that erases the walls between managers and employees. The managers' feelings of disassociation from the old and non-hierarchical relations generated from the physical artefacts could be interpreted as the modern values induced by the physical artefacts described by Rutherford (2001). Hence, the perception of the office space layout is creating cultural inclusiveness among the employees, which is beneficial for women. Further, one female manager explains that having an open office with easy access to several departments makes easier to get to know the company. The possibility that the office layout provides daily contact could enhance the daily networking and enable the employees to learn more about the Focal Unit. This is congruent with the findings by Kornberger and Clegg (2004), where they state that such office layout as found at the Focal Unit enhances the interactions and networking possibilities. Further, this in turn could be an important network possibility for the women that seldom participate in informal activities such as after works as described in the chapter *4.6 Informal ways of socializing*. There are also complaints about the reduction of common spaces that negatively affects the socializing during lunchtime, which could indicate a refurbish trend that could negatively impact on the possibilities for women to network during the office hours.

4.2.5 Summary Physical artefacts

The pictures on the corporate wall show inclusion of all employees as well as induce feelings of heroine status of a female member of the executive team, which create an inclusive culture for women. By having a children's corner, the Focal Unit uniquely challenges the private and public divide on behalf of all parents. This could both release pressure on women and signal that family responsibility is no hinder to work at the Focal Unit. Hence, the welcoming of children creates a culture where women are included and it is accepted to be a female manager and a mother.

The open offices create feelings of modernity and such feelings induced by physical artefacts could be coupled with modern values among the organizational members, which create female cultural inclusion (Rutherford 2001). Further, the open offices could enhance daily networking and therefore be valuable for the women that do not participate in after hours' activities. On the other hand, the physical locations of the functions strengthen the argument that the entrepreneurial work is highly valued by the company.

4.3 Management style

This sub-chapter presents the findings of the cultural processes that are covered by the cultural component Management style. This chapter has 6 under-chapters and one summary.

4.3.1 The managers' leadership styles

From managers' descriptions of their own leadership styles, no gender related differences emerge in their descriptions. This is congruent with earlier findings (Rutherford, 2001) concluding that leadership style associates to the context rather than to the leader's gender identity. At the Focal Unit, there are great variations of contexts in which managers practice their leadership. The size of departments for which managers are responsible is in a range of a few to dozens of employees and employees' required skills could vary from student to

expert. Some of the managers have experienced how the constellation impacts their leadership style, as they have to adapt it to the actual context.

Nevertheless, there is a self-description among the managers of being coaching, a listening leader who are more oriented toward collaboration with the employees, which is close to Fletcher's (2004) description of the post-heroic leadership. Further, different managers have brought up some leadership-related issues. A common leadership-related issue is the lack of feedback. Managers acknowledged that there are actually ongoing discussions at managerial level in order to improve the culture of giving feedback. The actuality of feedback at the focal company, together with the self-descriptions of being coaching, could be interpreted in terms of a wanted and valued post-heroic management style.

Contrary, one female manager concluded that she is not as determined as she wishes to be. From her reflection, it appears that her mental image of a manager is someone that is determined. This managerial skill is viewed as more characteristic for men than for women (Beeson and Valerio, 2012; Schein, 2001:271), implying that this female manager wants to adhere masculinity norms in order to fit in. Hence, this is congruent with Fournier & Keleman (2001, as referred to by Wahl, 2014) claims about the femininity's subordinate status to "male" rationality. However, the majority of the managers confirmed that the more feminine post-heroic leadership style was highly valued.

Further, a manager who explains having gone through some changes in her leadership style verifies the argument that the post-heroic style is most valued. She states that she is more like a guide and a listener nowadays compared to her previous style where she took more space. Her old and new leadership styles are perceived as congruent with Fletcher (2004)'s respective descriptions of heroic and post-heroic leadership styles. This female manager might have realized that the leadership norms at this company are different so that a masculine heroic style becomes inconvenient for the employees. The stronger valuation of the post-heroic leadership style is more unusual in the corporate world (ibid). Since the traits of the heroic leadership style are socially ascribed to men (ibid), a preference of the post-heroic leadership style could be assumed as positive for the female managers of this company. On the other hand, both Fletcher (2004) and Eagly and Carli (2007: 810 referred to by Baxter 2012) have found that the valuation of this newer leadership style have had little effect how female managers are perceived.

The female managers' change of leadership style at the Focal Unit could also be described from another perspective. Wahl (2014) discuss that men could have more space to be different in their leadership styles, compared to the current management ideal. It could therefore be possible that a male manager had not felt a need to change in the same way that these female managers did. Further, by looking at which attributes one of this manager included in her new style, her change could also be stemmed from the negotiation of two roles that is discussed by Haveman and Beresford (2012). Haveman and Beresford (2012) explain that women managers must negotiate two roles—woman and manager—and reconcile the communal qualities people prefer in women with the agentic qualities that people expect in managers. As a result, female managers are more likely to adopt democratic, participative and collaborative management styles (Eagly and Johnson 1990, as referred to by Haveman and Beresford, 2012). Hence, this female's changes in her leadership style may also be a result of reconciliation of women and manager roles, which made her include femininity attributes in her already accommodated masculinity norms. However, it does not indicate much freedom in female managers' leadership style.

There is another issue related to leadership style at his company, namely how much into details a manager should go when controlling one's employees. The allowance of being into details could also vary between the genders. One male manager has changed from having a large need of control and managing in details, to giving people freedom and responsibilities. Further, this change was not induced by criticism from colleagues. A female manager is working on a similar change in leadership style because she has received criticism from her colleagues. This also indicates that women might have lesser space to deviate from the norm than men, which could marginalize women and exclude them from setting cultural standards.

Managers use the impression management technique as a way to further their career by the impressions that they create among higher-level managers (Broadbridge, 2004). Although it can be used in different ways, the technique has the same purpose, which is to evidence one's efforts and accomplishments in order to affect the superior's impression. The technique could be interpreted as used by managers of both sexes at the Focal Unit. As stated by one manager:

As soon as I manage to get my superior on track, I will be advantaged, because then my superior reports about me to the boss who happens to be our CEO.

Another manager who uses the same technique towards the CEO also pinpoints that the employees use this technique upon the immediately reporting manager as well. The impression management technique might be of great importance in an organization without officially defined career paths. The technique is not claimed to be mostly used by men, but men socialize more with each other than women do and that provides men an additional platform to practice impression management techniques (Broadbridge, 2004). Hence the impression management technique influences men's career paths to a greater extent than their female counterparts (ibid). In contrast with Broadbridge's (2004) claims, the technique was claimed to be mostly used in daily work by the male employees at the Focal Unit. From the homosociality perspective, it may be easier for a male manager to record or recall other male's behavior than the females' ones. In addition, instead of questioning the valuation system of employee's performance, the manager suggests women to adhere this technique. This reflection confirms somewhat that women are expected to adopt masculine norms of management even when valued attributes in men's behaviors may be perceived as inappropriate (Wahl 1998, 2001; Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2001 as referred to by Wahl, 2014). The use of the impression management technique among the managers might be gender neutral at the Focal Unit, but the opinion on the female employees that should adhere to the technique indicates that the male standard in some cases is perceived as constituting the norm in a way that marginalizes women and exclude them from setting cultural standards.

4.3.2 Female managers' style

The managers describe their female managers, members of the executive team, by using words soft, social and nice. Wahl (2014) describes that femininity has often been associated with embodiment, emotions, and sexuality. Thus, the used words *soft, social, and nice* in the description of the senior female managers could indicate an expression of feminine stereotypes of female leaders by employees at Focal Unit. This may negatively affect female managers at focal company since the stereotyping could make them be perceived first as women before being colleagues (Martin, 2003). Stereotyping of women within the financial sector has also been found to negatively impact their career advancement (Beck and Davis 2005). On the other hand, this description could also

indicate that the construction of gender in management is challenged as identified in recent research (Wahl, 2014).

She is a good combination of being extremely professional as well as she is very soft and social and a happy person... I have respect for that combination because when you enter a discussion, in a meeting room then you would like to have competence, clarity and high quality of the discussion.

As this manager expresses that there is a great respect of extreme competence with femininity attributes. This may be a consequence of Lewis and Simpson (2007, as referred to by Wahl, 2014) *colonization of the feminine* phenomenon and how social competence has become gendered masculine (Abrahamson, 2003 referred to by Wahl, 2014).

There could either be a stereotyping of the senior female leaders or a colonization of the feminine within management at the Focal Unit. Earlier it was concluded that the post-heroic style is highly valued at the Focal Unit, which then speaks for that there is a feminine colonization present in the management style. The concepts of feminine colonization and post-heroic leadership style are related and both describe a new valuation of what has earlier been seen as feminine traits. Further, the valuation of the post-heroic leadership style has insignificant impact on the valuation of women (Fletcher, 2004). On the other hand, Wahl (2014) has found that feminine traits entering the management could be considered as a step towards gender equality in management and could benefit certain women, but not the female gender in general. Therefore, it is still common to consider female managers as superior in a way that make them individually exceptional while female managers in general are still valued the same (ibid).

Further, all descriptions of senior female managers were positive and some managers of both sexes admitted looking up to the female senior managers. This again indicates that traits associated with the post-heroic leadership style are appreciated at this company. Further, it also implies that the senior female managers could act as role models or heroines within the company's culture, which is congruent with the physical artefacts and does create inclusiveness for female managers. Moreover, female managers also identified themselves with the senior female managers. As stated by Haveman and Beresford (2012), managerial roles are associated with men and not with women. Therefore could the senior managers also act as a source of comforting familiarity in an environment of potentially masculine norms.

Further, for women to adopt so-called masculine traits in their leadership style is not considered as positive at the Focal Unit. The concept when female managers "manage like a man" (Wacjman, 1998 referred to by Acker 2012) have shown to induce negative feelings among male colleagues (Wahl, 2014). Some researchers call this as a double bind (Pierce, 1995, referred to by Acker, 2012; Holmes, 2006 referred to by Baxter, 2012). At the Focal Unit there are not only male managers that feel uncomfortable when a female manager is managing like a man. There are ongoing rumors at focal company about a female manager being known as Ice-Queen.

Oh, "she is like that". "She is very determined", "she is like an Ice-Queen" or something, and it is all very peculiar because this person is not an ice-queen, but people think that she is and that is a bit funny.

The non-acceptance of displaying masculine attributes as a female manager indicates that this female manager could perceive herself as being trapped in a double bind with potential cultural exclusion. Further, deviating from the popular post-heroic style does not seem appreciated. This example does not disclose that deviation from the post-heroic is accepted to a lesser extent among female managers, but there were no mentioned rumors about any Ice-Kings. The consequence of the double bind is that women have to make tough decisions without being aggressive or insensitive (Beeson and Valero, 2012). Some managers explained that showing emotions in general at a managerial position is not considered as positive. Having mood swings or being stressed at the workplace is not considered as positive at the Focal Unit, but is not explained as a gendered attribute. However, Beeson and Valero (2012) explain that the non-acceptance of showing emotions is directed toward female managers, which constitute a limitation in their accepted leadership style. Again, being limited in the accepted leadership style marginalizes the female managers (Wahl, 2014) and deviations from the norms could result in cultural exclusion.

4.3.3 Relationships among managers

There was no evidence of often occurring relations between the female managers, except from the professional relationships that occur at workplace. Among the male managers the situation was a bit different. One male manager admitted having a friendship with his manager both at workplace and outside of the company.

We get along very well... He acts differently towards different individuals, but people feel confident in that I manage what is on my desk.

This relationship may be advantageous for him over his colleagues and might be considered as homosociality (Lindgren, 1999 referred to by Wahl et al., 20014: 120), which could lead to exclusion of female colleagues. The claimed different treatment of managers further indicates that there is risk of homosociality in this relationship. Moreover, one male manager explains how he and some managers form a special group of managers that knows each other very well.

Where I sit, most of the managers have been here for a very long time and know each other very well. We think equally, most of us, and we have a balance between actually carrying out things and perform leadership.

Similar relationships are explained by other male managers. Male managers that work very close to each other, consider themselves to be similar in their leadership styles and have a lot of discussions, can be related to a sign of homosocial culture. However, one wouldn't exclude that these relationships occur in fact due to similarities between these male managers' work tasks.

4.3.4 Heroes (and heroines)

There are a couple of individuals and groups of individuals that are mentioned as well-known within the Focal Unit and some persons even externally known as well. Some of these people are referred to as old foxes or old vultures. As explained by one female manager, the existing high employee turnover makes those that have worked for a long time at the Focal Unit a sort of internal semi-celebrities.

There are three men working at the Focal Unit who are described as well-known both internally and externally. They have formal positions that contribute to their celebrity and one of these men is the International Group's CEO. Their status may contribute to the

perception of a “must be a male” to become a hero of the Focal Unit. One of these men is mentioned as a regular participator in after works, which could have an impact on the importance of participation in the after works and the after work culture in general.

Among the groups of individuals that are mentioned as renowned, is a group of three men within the IT-Service function. This group is renowned for its skills in the field of IT as mentioned by different managers. The heroic valuation of these men may be related to the company’s business model as it highly depends on IT-Service function.

We have three persons that people always talk about as the “go to the guys”. They are responsible for the large parts of the IT-system and two of them have been working at the Focal Unit since it started, and the third have not been here too long, but he is also responsible for a system that is very important for everyone who works at the Focal Unit.

One manager explains that some of the managers are renowned because of their special management style, like the “Ice-Queen” mentioned earlier. Further, there are two male managers from one organizational function that also are well-known at the Focal Unit.

They are a bit, well they are not managers in the regular way... One should know them to “be a part of the good society”.

This quotation indicates that these men have large influence of organizational culture with an ability to determine inclusion in the “good society”. Therefore they might have larger cultural impact than what is normally considered within the hero-concept. Further, there are a couple of “ambassadors” working within the Focal Unit. They are informal leaders, renowned within the Focal Unit, and have significant importance in discussions.

If you are about to make a change in something, then I think that these persons are extremely important to get on the boat.

One manager explains that these are a kind of people who don’t need to sit in an executive group to make through their will. This group of informal leaders is said to be represented by one person from each department and mostly by men. Although one manager managed to mention at least one women from a relatively gender balanced part of the Focal Unit, who is considered to be one of the ambassadors. Further, not being on a good foot with the ambassadors might be problematic:

If you have not anchored a good relation with these people, then you should expect that they might turn against you. It is that simple, so you have to know who they are.

Conclusively, among the renowned people of the Focal Unit most are heroes. The externally known triad, the go to guys, the representatives of the good society, and most of the ambassadors are men. As symbols they act excluding to women because they are male symbols and salute male accomplishments. The renowned Ice-Queen does not hold the same positive appearances as for example the go to guys, hence heroines might be said to be few within the oral culture. Further, some of the well-known people such as the representatives of the good society are said to have significant impact on corporate culture. The cultural impact of the renowned people is emphasized:

They are the celebrities of the Focal Unit so it feels like they are the Focal Unit, they are considered very close to what the organization stands for. The Focal Unit is reflected in these celebrities and the celebrities of the Focal Unit represent the Focal Unit.

Except from symbolism, the celebrities also have an impact on decision-making and cultural inclusion. Further, they could also act opportunistic. Being excluded from these male dominated groups might impact daily work as well as the mental well-being. According to the concept of homosociality it might be tough to enter some of these groups for women. However, there are female ambassadors as well. Therefore could the ambassadors actually constitute a potential open community of celebrity for women where they could be included and exert power.

4.3.5 Receiving appreciation

The managers' perceptions of the appreciation they get for their performance varies from much to barely noticeable. Some of the managers explain that they receive indirect appreciation in deeds of their colleagues and superiors, by getting consulted or asked to participate in different projects. Some have also experienced taps on the shoulder and encouraging words as signs of appreciation. In general, the managers express a lack of appreciation-culture at the Focal Unit. Further, the lack of feedback as a component of appreciation from superiors could be related to Beeson's and Varelio's (2012) argument that it is not uncommon for executives to hesitate in showing appreciation towards subordinates.

There is a tendency among the male managers of the Focal Unit to feel more appreciated than the female managers. One manager relates the lack of appreciation to the general perception of front-end work being associated to value creation post while back-end relates to organization's costs. Since the women are concentrated in the back-office functions, this would imply that the women at the Focal Unit do not receive appreciation to the same extent as men. Therefore could the lack of appreciation be interpreted as gender related. Earlier studies (Ohlott, Ruderman, Marian, McCauley & Cynthia, 1994; Mattis, 2001) have shown that reluctance in discussing career related topics are more emphasized towards women than men, which could be another explanation to why the men tend to feel more appreciated in general.

4.3.6 Make oneself heard and make decisions

There were three brought up methods that are used by managers to make their cases; have a more close relation to the superior manager, prepare the cases with regard to the audience, or be as visible as possible within the organization. It appears that female managers rely on their performance to a greater extent while male managers prefer their relationships to others within the organization. Hence, taking into account informal socializing activities and the culture of celebrity that is male dominated, it is possible that male managers are in an advantageous situation compared to their female colleagues regarding making oneself heard or getting through with one's suggestions.

4.3.7 Summary Management style

There is a self-description among the managers of a leadership style that is close to Fletcher's (2004) description of the post-heroic leadership. The more feminine post-heroic leadership style is highly valued at the Focal Unit. According to previous research (Fletcher, 2004 and Eagly and Carli, 2007:810 referred to by Baxter 2012), such valuation has not shown any effect on how female managers are perceived. On the other hand, there is probably a colonization of the feminine within management at the Focal Unit. This could be seen as a step toward gender equality in management but might mostly be beneficial for

individual female managers and not the gender as a whole (Wahl, 2014). Further, the senior female managers described as feminine could also be perceived as role models or heroines within the Focal Unit's culture, which is congruent with the physical artefacts and hence create cultural inclusiveness for female managers. The name giving of one female manager that has adopted masculine traits in the leadership style indicate that the double bind (Holmes, 2006 referred to by Baxter, 2012) could be present and complicate the daily work for the female managers.

There are also indicators that female managers have lesser space to be different in their leadership styles compared to the male managers, which is congruent with previous research (Wahl, 2014). This could also be related to found managerial behavior at the Focal Unit that could be interpreted as negotiation processes between the roles of being a woman and a manager (Haveman and Beresford, 2012). Being limited in the accepted leadership style marginalizes the female managers (Wahl, 2014) and deviations from the norms could result in cultural exclusion.

The impression management technique is used by both managers and employees, which could lead to improved career possibilities (Broadbridge, 2004). Among the employees, this technique is said to be mostly used by men and seen as something that women should adhere to. This emphasizes that the male standard to some extent could be perceived as constituting the norm in a way that marginalizes women (Wahl 1998, 2001; Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2001 as referred to by Wahl, 2014) and exclude women from setting cultural standards. Further, the impression management technique might be of great importance in an organization without officially defined career paths.

The male managers show a tendency to relate and socialize more with male colleagues and male superiors, which could be interpreted as homosocial behavior (Lindgren, 1999 referred to by Wahl et al., 2001: 120) with the risk of being excluding to women.

Most of the Focal Unit's heroes, known for skills, formal position or leadership style, are men. Except symbolism, the celebrities also have an impact on decision-making processes and cultural inclusion. Further, they could act opportunistic. Being excluded from these male-dominated groups might impact daily work as well as the mental well-being. However, there are female informal leaders that are renowned as well. Therefore could the informal leaders actually constitute a potential open community of celebrity for women where they could be included and exert power.

The managers express that there is a lack appreciation culture at the focal company. The low amount of appreciation received could be related to either working with non-core business, hence to gender, or to earlier studies findings (Ohlott et al, 1994; Mattis, 2001) showing that reluctance in discussing career related topics are more emphasized towards women than men.

Further, it appears that female managers rely on their performance to a great extent for the ability to make oneself heard while male managers prefer their relationships to others within the organization for that purpose. Hence, taking into account informal socializing activities and the culture of celebrity that is male dominated, it possible that male managers are in an advantageous situation compared to their female colleagues regarding making oneself heard or getting through one's suggestions.

4.4 The long hour culture

This sub-chapter presents the findings of the cultural processes that are covered by the cultural component the long hour culture. This chapter has 3 under-chapters and one summary.

4.4.1 A type of long hours culture

All of managers work more than 38.5 hours and therefore are the prerequisites for the presence of a long hour culture fulfilled. However, working long hours could either be a consequence of workload or a participation in a long hour culture (Rutherford, 2001). There are several indicators of that a long hour culture is present as a mean of identity creation, even if the managers' workload might be high.

... You have to put in extra hours to be able to do what you are supposed to do with a good result... I can only speak for myself, but I believe that there are many colleagues within my function that puts in many hours in addition to the 38 and a half.

There are differences among the managers' perceptions of how much more than scheduled time they work as well as differences in whether they perceive themselves to be working a lot. One female manager says she works 60-70 hours a week while another female manager considers her weekly work time in a range of 50 to 60 hours to be very long. Further, the long hours are not worked with a purpose of being visible at the office:

We do not have that kind of law firm stamp, where it is considered as very nice to enter the office at 7 o'clock and leave it at 10 o'clock in the evening. I do not think that, it is not that you get glorified because you have worked a lot of hours; no we do not have that.

This argument is congruent with the fact that IT-systems could be accessed from home by some managers, which makes the long hours at the office invalid as the single indicator of an ability to work hard. However, the managers consider long working hours, no matter physical location, to be included in their role and responsibly. Therefore it is possible that the managers of the Focal Unit use long hours as a way to create identity. Ottosson and Rosengren (2007) state that identity creation by working long hours is common for managers within organizations. By analyzing the organizational background it was also found that the rather complex decision structure is mentioned as a time consuming factor that could be used strategically by managers to create a larger impact from their work. This is discussed in chapter 4.1 *Organizational background*. The strategic use of the opportunity by working long hours was explained as an indicator of what person one would like to be. Therefore is there a linkage between working long hours and identity creation. This is further verified by the answer from a manager to the question of how he would perceive a manager that leaves the office at 5 o'clock:

... Then you have to be very clear with that... What I mean is that, if a manager would start to work here and say: this is how I work! And the manager still can deliver the same quality as the rest, and then I would never question him or her... And I would not call this person at 9 o'clock either, but things are as they are right now.

The manager shows that if a manager would like to deviate from the norm, then there has to be an explanation provided from the manager. This indicates that working long hours is instinctively accepted as a principle hold by people in managerial roles, which confirms that working long hours could be perceived as a way of identity creation at the Focal Unit. Further, working long hours is mentioned as a prerequisite for delivering good results and

quality in work, which also could be a part of the managerial identity. Working long hours for the solely reason of making career is a rejected argument among the managers of the Focal Unit. On the other hand, working long hours is more of a prerequisite for receiving a managerial role:

... Often you chose to become a manager because you are interested and therefore you are interested in doing these extra things and finish something a little better... And that is maybe why you got the job in the first place. So I would not say that it is like; now you are the manager, now you should work more! Instead I think that many have been doing that before, and it is not just build on expectation. It builds on inner motive, inner drive in what you want to deliver.

While some managers emphasis what could be described as a personal drive or personal pressure to work long hours and deliver good results in the managerial role, a female manager have felt an external pressure to work long hours as well:

... When I started to work at the Focal Unit, I felt that there was a clear expectation that I should work very much. My boss told me that I was expected to work more than 38.5 when I signed my employment agreement... But there has been a change during the last years.

The long hours could be perceived as a natural way for the managers to create identity, a prerequisite for getting to a managerial position, and as the last quotation shows, a prerequisite for having a managerial role. Therefore could the long hour culture of the Focal Unit have a marginalizing effect on further career possibilities for both the female managers and for the female employees that strives for a managerial role. Further, the long hour culture has been found as a common gender practice within the IT-industry that has exclusionary effect on women (Davies and Mathieu, 2005: 12-22). According to Rutherford (2001) is the marginalizing effect on women related to how much responsibility they take on for children and household work.

The description of the identity of someone that can work up to 70 hours a week and deliver high quality results is close to the perception of the unencumbered worker as described by Acker (2012). The perception of the unencumbered worker held by organizations, is said to prevent women from being employed for certain roles (ibid). Pathan and Faff (2012) explain that women often have to work harder than men to reach leading position, which is related to the perception that the unencumbered worker suitable for such roles is a man. This might force women to over-deliver to prove the norm to be wrong. One female manager uses the expression a "good girl", which she explains is a women that over-delivers and this expression could come from observations similar to these made by Pathan and Faff (2012). However, the female manager also explains that she refuses to be that over-delivering good girl. There are other indicators of a growing resistance toward the long hours culture as well:

I do think they feel that I am committed, but my boss have told me that I do not have to work that much... It is my own initiative to work and sometimes I think that it is a bit dumb. I think it is based on a misunderstanding about that I do not want them to think that I do not take my job seriously, but to work from home has nothing to do with taking the job seriously. It is about how you manage your work at the workplace that shows how serious you are. It has nothing to do with staying at the office for long or working from home. This is something that I recently learned..

Both the managers and the executive team are questioning this long hour culture and in which ways it actually results in delivery of better results. This induction of change could be interpreted as a cultural process that is beneficial for female managers because it could release the pressure of having to live up to a norm as well as to give them more spare time. This change would have the possibility to contribute to inclusion of women within the managerial culture. Further, since the executive team stands behind a change of behavior and, the possibilities of actual change of the norm could be perceived as larger than without this support.

4.4.2 Private life is affected in a manageable way

The managers explain that their private life is affected by the long working hours. The female managers are able to recall situations to a greater extent than their male colleagues, where they have struggled with balancing work and private life. The male managers refer to the impact of the workload on the private life as a part of a life style:

Of course it affects your private time, but it is nothing strenuous. Instead it is a lifestyle that has been ongoing for many years.

The female managers all think that they manage the puzzle of balancing the private life with work, but it is not done without some complications.

You do not really get that time for yourself. I think that might be the reason to why I often switch off at Saturdays. I just sit shut off and can't do anything, to start to get back on track at Sunday.

Two other female managers express what could be perceived as guilty conscience towards their family members for working much. One manager follows her child to activities where she sometimes keeps working:

Well, I stand there and hang around, but many times I sit with my phone and take care of emails. But it works. But I believe that my child would like to have more of the mother, sometimes. I do believe so.

And another manager has received complaints from her partner about how much she works:

I have heard him complaining for some years, and, well, there are not so funny discussions at home occasionally.

The long hour culture acts as a hinder for female managers to reach to senior positions due to the perception of women's greater responsibility for the private sphere (Rutherford, 2001). These female managers have received managerial positions, but they have experienced complications in their private lives to a seemingly greater extent than their male colleagues. The complications indicate that the female managers are experiencing difficulties in the identity creation as a manager and belonging to the category of the unencumbered worker that is generally perceived to be a man. Wajcman and Martin (2002) have acknowledged this identity conflict. They describe that the private identities of women and men in the corporations are deeply gendered, which is the reason to why the work/family conflict are perceived differently among women and men. According to Hofstede's (1998) study, female managers resolve their family problems to a greater extent than men. The men do not consciously resolve their work-family conflicts. This could also

be an explanation to why the women were able to think of more examples of how they manage the balance, while the men might have not thought about the potential conflict at all. However, the long hour culture of The Focal Unit might impact the genders differently, which could create exclusion for female managers to reach to senior positions (Rutherford, 2001).

4.4.3 The responsibility for the housework – a revolutionary divide?

Most of the managers live together with their families. Among the women, some claim to have an equally divided responsibility of the household work and some claim that their husbands or partner are doing more household work:

He cooks, he does the dishes, and he does the laundry. But he doesn't work as much as I do... So I am not in a women's trap where I come home and cook, instead I do almost nothing.

Having a gender equal husband is a prerequisite for being a woman in a leading position, according to the female managers. Further, being partners with equal salaries is mentioned as an additional enabler. Some managers have utilized household and childcare help, which could be considered as an enabler for having a leading role too. In previous research was the Swedish egalitarian culture's discouragement of help in the private sphere considered as negatively impacting women's career advancement (Nordling & Samuelsson, 2014). As the quotation above reveals, having a partner that works less is another contributor to not overload the women with the household responsibly. The male managers, most pretty vague in their declarations of how the household work is divided, could be perceived as doing more or equal of the household work than their female partners. This empirical material indicates a result that is contradictory to previous research (Rutherford, 2001; Brunett et al., 2010).

... I can manage all housework without receiving help from my wife... But in practice, my wife did more of the household work earlier for the simple reason that I was not available.

I have an excessive interest in household work such as cleaning and cooking, so to say. It is a hobby. So yes, there is time for that.

It is rather, rather balanced, I think... We can encourage each other, like: We do this now. It will be great afterwards! But if I were to live by my own, then I would have a cleaner. I had a cleaner before I started to live together with my partner.

These male managers show knowledge, interests, and assumptions about equal distribution of household work, but they do actually not articulate that they do have an equal distribution of the responsibility. Brunett et al. (2010) have shown an increasing responsibility of household work and childcare among men, which could be an explanation to why it is possible to interpret these male managers as taking on equal responsibility. At least, Brunett et al. (2010) acknowledged changes in responsibility distribution are congruent with the statement of a fourth male manager. This manager announces that in his relationship is the private workload equally divided. However, the general vagueness in expressing equality in the private life could also be related to what was previous stated; that men have not reflected upon or solved their situations, as Hofstede (1998) proposes.

Further, some managers claim that they have resigned their household and childcare help due to the permissive climate of the Focal Unit. The Focal Unit's culture and its permissive climate act beneficial for the female managers, as do the female managers have positive

feeling regarding their own situations for the Focal Unit's culture as well. This is a contradictory result to the found long hour culture and it is possible that the permissive climate is related to geographical flexibility that enables some managers to work self-selected hours. It could also be related to certain department belonging. However, the main conclusion is that there is a long hour culture present.

4.4.4 Summary The long hours culture

The long hours could be perceived as a natural way for the managers to create identity (Ottosson and Rosengren, 2007), a prerequisite for getting to a managerial position, and a prerequisite for having a managerial role. The identity creation by working long hours is also coupled with the Focal Unit's decision-making structure. The identity of an employee that could work long hours and deliver results is close to the description of the unencumbered worker (Acker, 2012). The perception of the unencumbered worker held by organizations is said to prevent women from being employed for certain roles according to Acker (2012). Hence, the long hour culture could have a marginalizing impact on women's career possibilities. According to Rutherford (2001), the marginalizing effect on women is related to how much responsibility they take on for children and household work.

The female managers perceive their partners to be gender equal and have in some cases taken help in their private life. Equal responsibility in the private sphere or additional help in private life might be enabling factors for these female managers to take on a leading role in their career. A household responsibility divide contradictory to previous research (Rutherford, 2001; Brunett et al., 2010) is indicated among the managers of the Focal Unit. The female managers have experienced manageable complications in their private life as a result of the long hour culture. The fact that women can recall the work-family conflict to a greater extent than the male managers could indicate that the female managers experience the identity conflict described by Wajcman and Martin (2002). The private identities of women and men in the corporations are deeply gendered, which is the reason to why the work/family conflict is perceived differently among women and men (ibid). Hence, the long hour culture could impact the genders differently and have a marginalizing impact on female managers' career possibilities. Meanwhile, the long hour culture is discouraged at the executive team level and also questioned by some managers, which constitutes cultural processes that counteract the long hour culture. This would further enable the female managers to identify themselves with the managerial role and culture, and maybe release some potential stress. This would have the possibility to contribute to inclusion of women at the managerial culture.

4.5 Work ideology

This sub-chapter presents the empirical findings and analysis of the cultural processes that is covered by the cultural component Work ideology. This chapter has two under-chapters and one summary.

4.5.1 The work ideology

The work ideology at the Focal Unit is closely related to the long hour culture. It was acknowledged that the managers work long hours but not necessarily all hours at the office. When they work at home they could be said to merge the spheres of private and work. The managers prepare for meetings, read texts, read emails, send emails, and think about their work tasks at home or out of the office. When this is done it is more an act of identity creation, which is discussed in the chapter 4.4 *The Long hours culture*. However,

the new technology is both creating beneficial and unbeneficial movement of the border between the public and the private spheres.

... People know that you have your phone with you, even if you are on vacation, on paternity leave, or what it ever could be, you are available. I absolutely think that there is an expectation of being available.

Being connected equals an expectation of being available to the service of the Focal Unit. A manager is expected to be there for the employees even after the office hours, according to some managers. Further, a manager is also expected to be available for the superiors' and colleagues' questions. This is a movement of the public private divide that affects all managers. The most significant pressure the availability creates is the expectation to answer emails that are received at late evenings or at night. The managers acknowledge this late reading and sending emails as a certain mail culture. By responding or sending emails, the receiver of the email could be judging how much the manager works. Hence, there could be a pressure to answer or to send emails after office hours. It was earlier concluded that the long hour culture did not incorporate being visible at the office, but this mail culture could be assumed to replace the visibility at the office space (Rutherford, 2001:265 referred to by Ottoson & Rosengren, 2007) with a pressure to be visible online. Hence, the same negative impact on female managers (Rutherford, 2001) exists but the medium of visibility is new. Therefore, the mail culture and culture's part of the work ideology could be merged with the concept of the long hour culture and the long hour culture's visibility as defined by Rutherford (2001).

Therefore requirements and expectations of working long hours, or being available and visible as in this case, in managerial roles could act exclusionary for female managers to advance in their career reach senior position because they might find it hard to comply with the availability (ibid). There are some managers that have only acknowledged the culture without making efforts to change it. There are some managers that are challenging the culture, members of the executive team and mostly females at managerial level, by emphasizing that answering is not actually expected from the Focal Unit:

You might build up your own expectation of that you are expected to answer, but nothing about such expectations is spoken out. And we work with some managers, and others in the organization, say like this: "stop answering emails at the evenings or go home from work" and are really clear that it should be the other way around.

Meanwhile the culture is being withheld at the managerial level:

It is a competition, partly. By showing that you respond any time during the day, then you show an impression of being very serious and ambitious. Of course it will affect your reputation internally... It is more of a competition because it is smarter to sit and email a quarter past eight than a quarter past seven, because it seems like you have been working all these hours, so if you want to be strategic!? I have seen that there is rather many that apply this technique...

The availability in general and the mail culture in particular contribute to a merge between the two spheres on behalf of the public sphere. Some managers, both male and female, have expressed a will of a separation between the work and home sphere by refusing to answer to emails after office hours, not checking the email during the weekend, and declaring that they "are not their jobs". However, the availability exists and it seems to be a matter of how

well one could put up a mental shield for the expectations. According to Rutherford's (2001) observations about how the responsibilities for the private sphere are divided, the movement of the border on behalf of the public sphere assumingly impacts women to a greater extent. Even if the interviewed female managers at the Focal Unit perceive that they manage to balance work and home today, the availability could not be said to contribute with positive effects on their situation. The fact that some female managers and the corporate management team are encouraging a change of the mail culture is positive for the female managers, and it shows that it is an acknowledged problem among women. This acknowledgement and particularly with the executive team's involvement, could however hinder the opinions of the impact on reputation or career advancement that the long hour culture is considered to have. Hence, answering emails is a cultural pressure and not relating to fulfilling the work tasks but the discouragement of the mail counteract potential cultural exclusion.

There is however managers with responsibility to respond to emergency phone calls or emails as well. Being available to handle official emergencies after office hours was mostly related to a manager's responsibility for IT-structures at the Focal Unit. There are few women with such responsibility. However, the expectations of being available might act as a hinder for females to take on such responsibilities. The information technology also acts as an enabler for merging the private and public spheres in a way that potentially could release pressure on some managers, according to one woman:

... We do not have our business systems at home... Other roles have their business systems available at home and therefore other possibilities to be able to pick up kids and then work in the evening. It is different in different roles.

The IT-system responsible functions, among other departments, do have this possibility. And again, the IT-Service function is male dominated which means that the company is giving this opportunity to mostly men. Flexibility by corporate initiatives is however best defined as a structural process, but it has cultural implications. Not treating women differently means that the perception of a mummy-track, as explained by Brunett et al. (2010), is not included in the culture's values and therefore not there to create cultural exclusion. This indicates that the organization has no preconceptions of that women take on more private responsibility, or it indicates that the organization has not reflected about the subject to a greater extent. Anyhow, not having obvious preconceptions of that household is a woman's responsibility is positive for women and acts cultural including. On the other hand, giving the opportunity to be flexible to mostly men results in potential missed benefits for several women. Rutherford (2001) claims that women are taking on most of the responsibility, then enabling the women to plan work together with private in a flexible manner could have released some pressure of the female managers. However, since both the male and female managers claim to have an equal distribution of the private responsibility, a possibility to be flexible would benefit all parents. Contrary, the empirical evidence indicates a possible different use of the flexibility among the genders. One male manager uses the flexibility occasionally to work undisturbed from home while a female manager uses the flexibility to both work and take care of the household and children:

I work from home time to time... If I do not have meetings, then I could sit at home and go through a lot of work stuff. Then I can put on the washing machine in between presentations and emails... I can also decide to work from home so that I am there when the children arrives.

These two ways of using the flexibility reinforces the creation of different private identities as described by Wajcman and Martin (2002). Further, if the flexibility is used in a way that enables men to perform better it could affect their careers positively and contribute to unbeneficial positions for the women.

4.5.2 The children friendly ideology

As concluded in the chapter 4.2 *Physical artefacts* the Focal Unit welcomes children. This means that the organization encourages a merge between the two spheres on behalf of the private sphere. According to Acker (2012) a structural separation of work and family contributes to images of femininity and masculinity that contributes to the gender inequality at work places. At the Focal Unit the welcoming of children could be said to challenge the separation between production and reproduction and therefore challenging images of masculinity and femininity. This could further enable gender equality and could contribute to female cultural inclusion (Rutherford, 2001). Having the opportunity to bring children to work might reduce potential prejudices of females not being suitable for managerial roles due to their responsibility for the private sphere. This might create cultural enablers that are beneficial for female employee's career advancement to managerial level.

Some of the female managers have brought children to work, for pleasure or for having no other option due to illness. It has been found that men utilizes only 25 percent of their available parental leave within the Swedish financial sector (Nordling & Samuelsson, 2014), which could indicate that this industry's culture is not encouraging men to take on equal childcare responsibility. Women bringing the children to work because it is demanded by the circumstances could indicate an uneven childcare responsibility divide but not necessarily. Further, using this possibility of bringing children to work to take on more child care responsibility as a woman, is not contributing to an inclusive culture in the same way as merging the spheres with a purpose of eroding the boundary between work and private life. However, the latter has been announced as the purpose of having a children's play corner within the office building and therefore could the physical artefacts and the welcoming of children be interpreted as contributing to cultural inclusion of women. Some managers of both sexes expressed being comfortable with this merge of the two spheres by bringing children to work or considering doing so. It seems like the managers' view on the merging of the family sphere with the public is congruent with the physical artefacts found at the Focal Unit.

4.5.3 Summary Work ideology

The work ideology is on one hand challenging the private-public divide on the behalf of the public sphere through the availability demands from corporate mail culture. The mail culture is at the same time unwished, ignored, and used to create a reputation of being hard working among the managers. This culture risk in stress creation and could be assumed to replace the visibility at the office space (2001:265 referred to by Ottoson & Rosengren, 2007) with a pressure to be visible online. Hence, the mail culture and therefore cultural constituent the work ideology could be merged with the concept of the long hour culture and the long hour culture's visibility as defined by Rutherford (2001). The requirements and expectations induced by this culture could then be assumed to act exclusionary for the female managers to advance in their careers in the same way as the long hour culture does (ibid). However, the division of the private sphere's responsibilities will be a contributing factor for how the female managers will be impacted (ibid). Further, the mail culture is being discouraged by female managers and by the executive team, which both is positive for the female managers and reveals the severity of this culture. The discouragement counteracts potential cultural exclusion.

The work ideology is on the other hand challenging the public sphere by the company offering possibilities to work from home during office hours and bring children to work. However, the geographical flexibility is not extensive and is mostly provided for men. Not treating women differently means that the perception of a mummy-track, as explained by Brunett et al. (2010), is not included in the culture's values and therefore not there to create cultural exclusion. On the other hand, giving the opportunity to be flexible to mostly men results in potential missed benefits for several women. When flexibility have been is used by both female and male managers, ideology behind it could be discussed because there is a risk for that women will use the possibility perform more household work and therefore reinforce the creation of different private identities as described by Wajcman and Martin (2002).

Further, the welcoming of the children revealed by some managers' attitudes are also congruent with the physical artefacts. According to Acker (2012) a structural separation of work and family contributes to images of femininity and masculinity that contributes to the gender inequality at workplaces. Contrary, the Focal Unit encourages a merge between the two spheres, which creates cultural inclusion for women. Having the opportunity to bring children to work might reduce potential prejudices of females not being suitable for managerial roles due to their responsibility for the private sphere, thus being beneficial for female career advancement.

4.6 Informal ways of socializing

This sub-chapter presents the empirical findings and analysis of the cultural processes that is covered by the cultural component Informal ways of socializing. This chapter has three under-chapters and one summary.

4.6.1 Socializing in clusters and constellations creates networks

According to all of the managers there are socializing taking place through different types of activities and by different groups of employees. The groups that participate in the socializing activities are said to constitute networks. Further, the managers explain that there are some people that have been working together for a long time and have become friends that constitute networks.

There is a strong cohesion within the groups over the departments. These are persons that have been working here for a very long time... Because, the Focal Unit is often your first employer and when you have been working here for six to seven years, then one has sort of a pretty strong network that socializes during the spare time, often thorough after works or training or trips or poker. Several groupings have lunch together, both outside and in the kitchen here. People socialize over the departments.

It is not stated whether the networks includes managers, employees or both, only that these activities and groups are cohesive over several departments. The networks however are said to include people that have been working at the company for a long time and it is therefore possible that these people have managerial positions today. Further, the formal corporate activities and some of the informal socializing activities are said to explicitly include both employees and managers. How specific social activities relate to managerial networks is not obvious due to the intermixture of employees and managers. Linehan (2001) and Broadbridge (2004) only mention, and Rutherford (2001) emphasis, exclusion from managerial networks as critical for women in leading positions. This could imply that social activities where employees participate to a greater extent do not have an

exclusionary effect, or at least not have negative consequences of the exclusionary kind effects, for the female managers. However, Rutherford (2001) has shown that senior male managers include younger men into networks based on common interests in sports in a way that excludes women. Therefore could social activities and networks that include both managers and employees be excluding for female managers despite the emphasis on managerial networks by earlier research (Linehan, 2001; Broadbridge, 2004; Rutherford, 2001). Further, the stated flatness of the Focal Unit is probably impacting the socializing activities and networks. The concept of managerial networks described in previous research (Rutherford, 2001; Linehan, 2001) might need to be transformed into mixed networks and socializing among employees of several levels, to suite the Focal Unit's informal socializing. The discussion about renowned persons within the Focal Unit (chapter 4.3 *Management style*) reveals that formal title is not significant for all cases of stardom, which is another reason to assume that mixed networks exists.

However, the managers perceive the atmosphere at the Focal Unit as very welcoming and that there is no general feeling that these social clusters are excluding constellations. On the other hand, female managers do not always realize that they are excluded from the informal life of work (Rutherford, 2001) and therefore could exclusion exist even though the managers do not experience it. Several managers describe that there is a difference in being excluded and not participating due to lack of interest or because of the family situation. Further, exclusion or non-participation in the informal socializing occasions and networks has negative impact on career, work performance and the individual's emotions (Linehan, 2001; Rutherford, 2001). Accordingly, the interviewed managers have experienced that informal socializing in network contributes to knowledge sharing among those who do participate. It could for example be obvious that some people have discussed certain issues before the actual meeting. Surprisingly only male managers have experienced how this negatively impacts the discussions during meetings or isolate some from decision making processes, which is incongruent with Findler's (2007) findings of women mostly experience exclusion from information networks. On the other hand, it could be the unawareness of exclusion described by Rutherford (2001) that is the reason to why the negative consequences are not acknowledged by female managers. One male manager explains how networking impacts the daily work negatively:

You force yourself into meetings to discuss questions that you are not involved in.

This shows that informal socializing impacts one's work performance capacities and could do it negatively for those who do not participate. When people shows up to meetings to get involved in issues there might be a risk that this impacts the agenda and that the managers risk being unable to go through with their own agendas. This could then probably affect both the ability to fulfill work tasks and create personal distress from exclusion. Further, participation in informal activities and network creation have induced positive feelings among managers of both sexes as well as helped them in their daily work. Additionally, the participation in network is proven to impact career advancement, which is discussed in the under-chapter 4.6.3 *Networks could help you to get the job*. Hence, even if cultural exclusion from informal socializing is not experienced in general, non-participation is unbeneficial due to missed opportunities. The types of social activities that the Focal Unit's members participate in could be divided in four categories: after works, sport activities, lunches, and poker nights, quiz-nights and trips. How these activities enact including or excluding and how the managers perceive it, are discussed in separate sub-chapters for each activity. Further, these activities could be formal and informal opportunities of socializing, and take place both during and after office hours.

4.6.1.1 POKER, QUIZZES, AND TRIPS

There is a certain group of people participating in poker nights, quiz nights, after works, and that does shorter trips together, according to the managers. They are said to have a network that is a part of the corporate culture. Further, two male managers of the Focal Unit are explained as the arrangers of these events. One manager refers to these two arrangers as celebrity-leaders and other managers explain that these people have been working at the company for a long time.

There is a small group that goes on trips, a bit of cozy activities together. I think it is good because they have a history together, which I think that they should keep. It is a part of the networking... So there are some trips, there are gambling nights. I do not know exactly what they are doing but it is a cluster. This cluster that I am talking about, it is a pretty strong culture. But I feel no need to be included.

One female manager that has participated in some of these activities explains that one has to know somebody to get invited. A male manager explains that for receiving an invitation one should just ask for an invitation and then one will probably get invited. One arranger of these events explains that people are sincerely welcome and that participation in socializing is essential for networking. The manager explains that he has considered the subjects of the quiz to be important for the participation rate, therefore general topics are chosen. Even if the quiz itself could be considered as gender neutral due to its diversity among the topics and even if the gender distribution are claimed to be about equal at both poker nights and quiz nights, the network itself might not be considered gender neutral.

If we should be crass, I would say that it is a gang of guys that are in the know. I would not say that it impacts, creates unfair recruitment. It is nothing that bothers in that sense. But we do have a couple of old vultures and therefor it easily resulting in that they are sticking together.

Since male managers manage the network, one already have to be included in some way to get invited to the events, one activity includes poker that could be perceived as a masculine activity, this whole network has the risk to be excluding for women. Even though the intention from initiators of the network is to create an inclusive constellation, a failure to acknowledge these activities from a gender perspective could result in the opposite. Further, the network uses the corporate building for their activities after the workday, which could act as a sign of their significance for the corporate culture. Accordingly, this particular network is mentioned as having a significant impact on the corporate culture and the events do create lengthy discussions among the corporate members. Conclusively, this network risks to create exclusion of women from the corporate culture both on managerial and on employee-level.

To what extent exclusion from a network negatively impact female managers, depends on how a network is used by male managers to foster their career or share information (Rutherford, 2001). There is no empirical evidence of that participation in this particular network impacts career advancement or information sharing among managers. Further, it is even stated that no impact on career advancement from this network and activities is experienced. On the other hand, one of the managers within this network claims that socializing is essential for networking, which is one reason to why he runs these forums, and that networking is essential for career advancement. There could be a risk that this network has some impact on internal recruitment from lower levels and internal mobility, despite not being obviously acknowledged by other managers. Moreover, due to masculine activities and the fact that the initiators are close friends and men, there could also be a risk

for creation of feelings of exclusion among the female. Hence, the network and its network activities will have similarities with a homosocial relations and activities.

Further, the construction of this network is close to the typical gender distributions derived from the sexual construction of organization, with men as managers and a pool of male peers and female subordinates found in companies, as described by Hearn and Parkin (1987:ch 6, reviewed by Konrad, 1988). So these socializing events could be assumed to withhold the sexual construction, which embodies women with lesser power. Further, the initiators of these social activities have gained internal visibility, which is likely to be one of the purposes with engaging in these activities. This is congruent with van den Brink's and Benschop's (2014) findings about how men use the network with a purpose to create visibility among other benefits. Increased visibility could also lead to career advancement according to Broadbridge (2004). Therefore have the initiators of this network created potential benefits for themselves by committing to these activities. Further, they therefore risk in being considered as suitable candidates and leaving applying female candidates as inconsiderable in a recruitment process at Focal Unit.

4.6.1.2 AFTER WORKS

The managers explain that there are after works occasionally taking place at bars and restaurants in the area around the office complex.

I think that there are quite a few at this company who are good at going to the "The Place" and have a beer before going home on a Friday. So there is a lot of that going on, I would say.

The managers explain that this behavior is most common among younger employees and the ones that do not have families. However, there is an "iron gang" with representatives of different ages that go out for an after work at least once a month. The "gang" represents corporate functions with high male representation, which indicate that there are mostly men within this gang. One female manager estimates the male representation to be around 70 to 80 percent at after works from what she has acknowledged by her participation. Further, she explains that the situation for participating in after works is the same as for the quiz and poker nights, which means that one has to know someone to get invited. She feels that the participating men know each other well. In congruence, one male manager explains that it is up to you to invite yourself:

... I would not be thrown out if I ask to participate, but it is always up to oneself to participate.

A male manager explains that appreciation for each other's efforts could be exchanged at the after works, which is of a particular importance since the Focal Unit has shown to have a culture of not showing appreciation explicitly. These occasions where appreciation is shared might comfort the participators and make them feel better about their work than the ones that are not participating in the after work. Hence, the missout of potential positive feedback is a missed opportunity for the non-participating managers and employees. Further, the event of men drinking beers together and tributes each other could be seen as an act of homosociality.

The fact that there are mostly men that participate and that you have to invite yourself could create barriers for women to entry because the after works might be perceived as being mostly for the men and one has to make an effort to be invited. Further, depending on the division of family and household responsibility among the couples, these occasions might be difficult to attend for women due to private reasons. It is possible that the after

works are culturally excluding to women. According to Rutherford (2001) any further impact, on career advancement or on received work related information, depends on how these occasions are used by the participants. A female manager has observed that there is a correlation between after work-participants and the ones that have advanced from the customer service toward higher back-office positions. This observation is congruent with the explanation provided by another manager that explains that if someone would like to change department, then there is a prerequisite that one has a relation to the potential new manager and that this manager is aware about the interests of the employee:

If we say that you have a network, you have been drinking beer with this person, you have shown interest in this certain question. It doesn't matter if you actually care about the question itself, you can get a position even if you do not care about the certain issue. Some might think this is political mambo jambo, but it is not... And it is only around 5 percent of the individuals that use this method... so I sow a seed in this person's head and that is networking.

The after works are used as means for career advancement mostly at lower levels, which impacts female employees to a greater extent than the female managers. However, in the long run the after works could contribute to a creation of a pool of future male manager candidates. The organizational work with structuring the career paths counteract the influence of informal socializing on career advancement from lower levels and is therefore beneficial for female employees. Further, the change in trend from internal to external recruitment to leading positions have a possibility to weaken the possible negative consequences that the after works have on the advancement process for female managers or future female managers.

Further, the managers have shown that they can utilize the after works to receive information about work, to come up with solutions to practical work issues and to influence colleagues' opinions. The participants, mostly males, could have valuable opportunities for delivering better results at work. The possibility to do so are both acknowledged and rejected as unbelievable among the managers that do not claim to utilize the after works for this. Based on Rutherford's (2001) findings, these two occurrences would show that the after works have negative impact on women and create exclusionary effects from career advancement and work impact.

4.6.1.3 WORKING OUT UNOFFICIALLY

There are both official and unofficial sports activities taking place according to the managers. The unofficial activities consist of working out in small groups at the gym, groups participating in contests and playing tennis in smaller constellations. Some organizational members have participated together in contests, unofficial events that were initiated at the managerial level of the Focal Unit. These initiatives have been considered as exclusionary:

It feels like only two working groups had heard about it. It was nothing like a sign-up list, which I think is unfortunate if you would like the whole Focal Unit to participate. It could have been more promoted... One needs to know somebody to get invited. It is weird that this applies for the official activities; that you even have to know someone to participate in those. It was an official event because the CEO competed. Two departments from back office participated. For another competition it was the same thing... It could have been something much more fun if more employees had participated.

The exclusionary nature of these occasions seems to be congruent with cultural exclusion by informal socializing as described by Rutherford (2001), except on one point. Since several female managers participated these events are probably not exclusionary to female manager, instead they might be beneficial and result in cultural inclusion and increased visibility for the female managers. This could give the female managers that do not participate in after works a way to catch up on the men.

4.6.1.4 OFFICIAL EVENTS AND SOCIALIZING DURING WORK TIME

There are three types of official events for the whole organization according to the managers; training occasions, parties and unanimous coffee breaks. Further, the interacting between the employees during lunchtime account for an important socializing act too. Employees as well as managers participate in the official socializing events.

There is a group that does some running. They train together outside. It is not so many, but a few. They have training lookers upstairs with their stuff. And the Focal Unit pushes them by being the sponsor; t-shirts and the race fees. It is the only club that the organization has officially and it is a bit like, well, it is employees that participate but it is sort of the celebrities of the Focal Unit.

These training sessions act as network enablers and allow corporate members from different department to get together, which a female manager explains as very positive because it is much needed. However, participating in these types of official socializing requires some time away from the office and is therefore not suitable for all interested managers.

Further, the Focal Unit hosts two large parties with high participation each year and after works with lower participation in conjunction with the releases of the quarterly reports. Information about these events is sent by mails, shown on placards in the hallway and by signs at the coffee machine. It is explained that male members of the Board of Directors walk around and say hello and talks to the employees during these parties. Further, the report release pubs are not explained as visited by many women:

Those that have a husband and children don't really show up, but they join the larger parties. But otherwise they are not really joining.

Further, these report pubs are said to be joined by the same group of people each time. Both the official training sessions, the parties and the pubs seem to offer opportunities to informally socialize with well-known and most likely influential people that are related to the Focal Unit. However, these occasions do not seem used by female managers as means of socializing to a greater extent. Thus, these activities might constitute further occasions for male managers to socialize, which could be unbeneficial for the female managers. This might leave the lunch hour as the most important socializing opportunity for the female managers. Accordingly, the managers explain that lunching together is an important part of the socializing at the Focal Unit. They find it difficult to find time to talk during the day and therefore are the lunches important. One interesting aspect is that only male managers explain that there is a connection between lunching together and networking. This could be related to the different purposes of socializing activities for networking, as explained by van den Brink and Benschop (2014). It could be that men, more intentional in how they consider networking (ibid), acknowledge the lunches as networking processes while the female managers do not. Anyhow, the lunches are considered valuable by both sexes and

therefore is the new trend of employees eating isolated at their desks, due to the reduction of common spaces at Focal Unit, not beneficial for female managers.

4.6.2 Managers' participation in after hours' activities varies

The interviewed managers' participation patterns in the socializing activities after hours' vary individually. The possibility of creating a network without participating in the after work activities, the need for a private life, and family responsibilities are the main reasons for choosing not to participate. Managers of both sexes give these reasons why they do not participate. According to earlier studies of networking in organizations (Linehan, 2001, referred to by Brink's and Benschop's, 2014), it is mostly common that women experience barriers to networking because of responsibilities and time constraints. Here both men and women expressed these barriers to informal socializing and networking. Further, the majority of the managers explicitly declare that it is possible to create a network during working hours or that they already have a network from previous work places. These two observations indicate gender neutrality in the reasons for not participating among the interviewed managers. Further, it was also found that both female and male managers participate in the spontaneous as well as the official after work activities. However, men participate to a greater extent in the unofficial after works.

Further, being a manager is said to have implication for how you participate in certain activities because of the relation to the often-participating employees. One opinion is that it is fair to let the employees have socializing time on their own without the manager's presence and another is that it is included in the managerial role to be present at the Focal Unit's official events. As earlier concluded, this is a flat company where the official events include company representatives from all levels. Even some of the unofficial regular events include representatives from all parts and levels of the Focal Unit, such as the quiz nights. Therefore, the participation among managers is also affected about the managers' perceptions of their management style, which is not gender related.

4.6.3 Networks could help you to get the job

The managers explain that networking is important for internal movement at this company, both for finding opportunities and to be considered suitable for the role. To occur in different contexts within the Focal Unit and avoiding being a quiet mouse in the corner is mentioned as having positive impact on career advancement. Further, the importance of networking for internal movement is related to the lack of officially stated career paths.

Network is everything, I would say. To be good at creating networks, because there is nothing else here. Well, it is not like you cannot proceed if you haven't been good at networking, but it will really increase your chances, both for being asked for a position but of course also for being considered suitable when you apply for a position. If you have been good at running around in the house and making your name, but, of course it is also important that you have a manager who is talking good about you, saying that you do a good job and is spreading that part, but because we, the managers, are not so good at spreading that sort of information between each other, it is very much up to the individuals to make contacts.

It is also possible that internal movement is related to a lack of a common structure of the educational programs. In the chapter 4.1 *Organizational background* it was concluded that the departments has their own educational programs, but that there are no unanimous sign-up lists for the whole Focal Unit. Therefore it could be assumed that attending other department programs, by finding educations and showing interest for subjects, is also a possibility that comes from networking. It is possible that the shown interest together with a received education within another department helps in getting a new position in that

department. One manager explains that the Focal Unit is considered to have a greater emphasis on networking compared to larger financial service organizations that have a greater emphasis on performance. There is also a dissenting view presented:

If you do a good job, you automatically create a network internally... I do not think that it is particularly difficult for the CEO to see who performs and who doesn't in a unit of less than 300 persons, so having to spend all day running around and networking and tell about your existence... But there are people that do that too, for sure. It could be someone that has got a certain role by doing so, I don't know.

No matter the perception of how contacts is created, through delivering results or by socializing, the importance of networks for career mobility is acknowledged particularly for this Focal Unit but also for getting recruited in general. One manager explains that recruiting from a network simplifies the recruitment process:

I think that it is common if you get people at high positions that will recruit for positions below them, they will look into their own network, in their own bank of experiences. I do not think that that is unusual. You know that you have worked with these persons... you have own experiences of that person. Then, I do not think that it is critical but it simplifies the recruitment process sometimes... Well, one has noticed some recruitment lately, from major banks...

This manager is indicating that the recent recruited managers are recruited from a network. Since Renemark (2007:243-244; 247) concluded that work groups often move together between financial companies, there are reasons to assume that networks also are commonly contributing factors within the recruitment processes of the financial industry. Further, as stated in the chapter 4.1 *Organizational background* the number of female managers has increased lately. Therefore it could be assumed that female managers have been recruited from a certain network. This could be related to the concept of feminine mobilizing, as presented by Van den Brink and Benschop (2014). They explain the concept of feminine mobilizing to be close to the concept of homosociality for men, but with having the intention to increase gender equality. Van den Brink and Benschop (2014) found that feminine mobilizing could be viewed as a long-term strategy for creating gender equality. Further, the concept of gatekeepers is essential and for mobilizing femininity. Gatekeepers with the purpose of creating gender equality are involved in the recruitment process (van den Brink and Benschop, 2014). Since the number of female leaders has increased, the potential gatekeepers at this company could be perceived as both powerful and with ambition of creating gender equality. Since the executive team has outspoken positive attitudes towards gender equality and has the formal positions to be powerful gatekeepers, the networking at managerial level and within certain networks could be considered as very positive for female leaders. Further, it shows that the non-participation in the after work activities becomes less relevant for female managers within this network. However, females at lower levels within the Focal Unit that aim for managerial positions might have a problematic situation. They are probably not members of this network because its origin is external. Instead, they have to make efforts in networking and socializing after hours to both find opportunities and to be considered suitable for the positions.

Since an impact of networking in recruitment processes in general is present both according to the interviewed managers and to previous research (Broadbridge, 2004; van den Brink and Benschop, 2014; Rutherford, 2001), the positive effect of this cultural constituent could be volatile since the positive results from gatekeeping are related to

individual work and values. This is an assumption close to van den Brink's and Benschop's (2014) anticipations of those unconscious processes such as mobilizing masculinity are more institutionalized than conscious processes.

4.6.4 Summary Informal ways of socializing

The types of social activities that the company members participate in could be divided in four categories: after works, sport activities, lunches, and poker nights, quiz-nights and trips. Further, these activities could be formal and informal opportunities of socializing, and take place both during and after office hours. Further, the stated flatness of this company is probably impacting the socializing activities and networks. The concept of managerial networks described in previous research (Rutherford, 2001; Linehan, 2001) might need to be transformed to mixed networks and socializing among employees of several levels, to suite this case company.

However, the managers perceive the atmosphere at the company as very welcoming and that there is no general feeling that these social clusters are excluding constellations. However, female managers do not always realize that they are excluded from the informal life of work (Rutherford, 2001) and therefore could exclusion exist even though the managers do not experience it. Further, non-participation in the informal activities is unbeneficial due to missed opportunities. Participation enables information sharing that could be used for agenda setting or beneficial in other ways for performance, create positive feelings among those that participate, and is beneficial for career advancement. This is congruent with Rutherford's (2001) findings.

There is one network, socializing through poker and quiz nights as well as during trips, which risk in having some impact on internal recruitment from lower levels and internal mobility. Moreover, due to masculine activities and the fact that the initiators are close friends and men, there could also be a risk for exclusionary effect on women. The network activities could be associated with homosociality and be assumed to withhold the sexual construction (Hearn and Parkin, 1987: ch 6, reviewed by Konrad, 1988), which embodies women with lesser power. The initiators are also receiving internal visibility, which could be beneficial for those men in potential recruitment processes (Broadbridge, 2004).

Few women and female managers participate in after works and therefore could the after works be excluding socializing events due to potential barriers created by the efforts to be invited and the homosocial similarities with these events. Participation in after works is beneficial for job performance, for agenda setting possibilities, and for receiving appreciation for work accomplishments. Further, the after works also impacts advancement at the lower level and exclusion and hence negatively impacts career advancement for female employees. In the long run, the after works could contribute to a supply of male manager candidates. The structuring of the internal career paths as well as the change in trend from internal to external recruitment to leading positions have a possibility to weaken the possible negative consequences that the after works have on the advancement process for women.

Informal training occasions could constitute opportunities for female managers to network and socialize informally. Official training during work time creates a network that is appreciated by female managers, but could be limited to the managers due to time constraints. There are also official parties and pubs, where the latter has lower participation among women with families. Both the training sessions and the parties and pubs seem to offer opportunities to informally socialize with well-known and most likely

influential people who are related to the organization. The official pubs might constitute further occasions for male managers to socialize, which could be unbeneficial for the female managers. This might contribute to leaving the lunch hour as a more important socializing opportunity for the female managers. Further, only male managers explain that there is a connection between lunching together and networking. This could be related to the different purposes of socializing activities for networking, as explained by van den Brink and Benschop (2014).

The interviewed managers' participation patterns in the socializing activities after hours vary individually. The possibility of creating a network without participating in the after work activities, the need for a private life, and family responsibilities are the main reasons for choosing not to participate. However, there are managers from both sexes that participate in the spontaneous as well as the official after work activities, but men participate to a greater extent in the unofficial after works. Further, being a manager is said to have implication for how you participate in certain activates because of the relation to the often-participating employees.

The managers explain that networking is important for internal movement at the Focal Unit and for recruitment in general, both for finding opportunities and to be considered suitable for the role. How advancement from lower levels is premiered by participation in after work is one example. The importance of networking for internal movement is related to the lack of official stated career paths. It is also possible that internal movement is related to a lack of a common structure of the educational programs. The external recruitment and networks are probably also coupled. The recent increase of women at leading position could be an example of recruitment from a network as well as an example of feminine mobilizing (ibid). Therefore, the potential gatekeepers at this company could be perceived as both powerful and with an ambition of creating gender equality, diminishing the importance of participating in after working hours' activities for female managers. However, females at lower levels of the company with interest in managerial positions might have a problematic situation if they are outside of this network and out of reach from the gatekeepers. Further, the positive effect of this network of female careers is probably volatile since the positive results from gatekeeping are related to individual work and values.

4.7 Language and communication

A quite informal and relaxed language is characteristic for the Focal Unit at low as well as at high organizational levels. One manager has admitted that she was impressed the first time she came at the Focal Unit by the receptionist language usage. She reported her arrival to the receptionist who called the corporate management team member that the manager was to meet:

At the reception they say: Hey, ... You have a visitor here at the "repo". I could have been a customer, actually. The personnel in the reception did not know who I was, so I found it as a remarkably relaxed atmosphere compared to other financial organizations.

The language and the communication atmosphere is relaxed at the executive team members' level as well:

We have a really funny management team, when they run their presentations, they're like: yeah and get people start laughing. People do really open themselves up... The management

team members, when holding presentations, they joke even when if it's in front of the whole Focal Unit, it is relaxed. It's not like in the banking world considering that aspect.

Another manager explains that it is noticeable when newly recruited ones from the financial service industry have not learnt the relaxed corporate language yet:

It is noticeable that they are not "Focal Unit-ified" yet, the sect-feeling may not have assimilated quite yet. They are still pretty stiff, I would say. They are from the traditional financial service industry and it's a little bit different.

It is important to notice that most of the participants in this study have work experience within finance industry. Thus, the relaxed language atmosphere at the focal company would not necessarily feel equally surprising for a newcomer with a different industry background. The relaxed language could not in itself act exclusionary against women and female managers. Instead, the relaxed communication induces feelings of inclusiveness once one have got used to the relaxed form of communication. There is still a risk that one could feel strange if employed from a strict background, before having accommodated. This is however related to individual background, but there have been a quite extensive employment of female managers from other financial service companies. They might need to accommodate to the relaxed language, as one female manager experienced from the communication surprise during her interactions with the people in the reception.

Leadership practices, among of which language is one, are much shaped by the local context in which they exist (Holmes, 2006 referred to by Baxter 2012). Managerial professional belonging and work task areas influence the managers' language (ibid). Therefore could the language vary between the Focal Unit's different functions.

In the finance industry there is very much lingo alike ... a world of finance parlance one could say ... then we have a pension and insurance, which has its language. Then we have the tech side.

More examples are some IT related expressions and metaphors that would be hard to understand by someone who is not having an IT-related background. Further, the functions do not only have a language that is related to their type of business, there are also evidence of developed "secret expressions" that are non-understandable for other functions. Business-related languages and secret expressions could constitute a hinder for communication between the functions and act exclusionary for the ones that seek contact or to move between functions. However, the extensive socializing among the different functions and department shows that the linguistic and metaphors-constructed barriers do not widely exist in conversations.

Among both female and male managers' language use there are a spontaneous use of sport metaphors, mostly football metaphors. Hearn (1989) states that sport and military metaphors are commonly used in leadership theory and Rutherford (2001) argues that such language metaphors could be exclusionary for women. A female manager explains that she does not appreciate sport metaphors because they are not natural for her to use, even though she spontaneously uses them. This shows how deeply rooted sport metaphors are in the leadership practices as well. Further, the spontaneous use of a metaphor despite one owns dislike is a type of conflict related to the one described by Schnurr (2009 referred to by Baxter, 2012). Schnurr (ibid) found that women in senior positions feel that balancing professional and gender identity in the language use is a struggle. Moreover, the

influence of gender within the language, both in daily interactions and through creation of leadership identities, should not be underestimated as a potential barrier for women progressing to more senior roles (Baxter, 2012).

The topic sport was also present to a large extent in daily work life of the Focal Unit as well as during socializing activities after the working hours. Further, sport was mentioned as a conversation topic among both managers and employees. It was even declared by one female manager that the extensive occurrences of discussions about sport are most probably excluding sport-uninterested women from conversations. One manager explained that in a female dominated group they talk about certain topics: *it can be about guys, dates or about going out for drinks*. While one male manager explained that in a totally male dominated group: *we talk a little about sports, after work, soccer, beer on the sunk-scarp and so on. It is very lousy to be a cliché, but people say exactly what they think within the group, whether it is offensive or not*. Meanwhile a male manager from a gender balanced group states that they talk about: *sports, individuals, politics, religion, everything can be joked about but you will be bounded by what is perceived to be politically correct*. This shows that sport is a common topic, despite male dominance or gender mixed groups. Further, sport language is used as a communication mechanism for men (Rutherford, 2001). Rutherford (2001) explains that men can exclude their female colleagues from informal communication systems by talking endlessly about sport. Thus, the extensive discussions about sport at the Focal Unit could exclude women from communication systems, as one female manager feared. Further, the comparison of the discussion topics also could be showing what is assumed about the efforts and the climate in mixed groups presented in the chapter 4.9 *Gender Awareness*.

4.7.1 Summary Language and communication

According to the empirical material, a quite informal and relax language is characteristic for the Focal Unit among all its members. If one is recruited from a strict financial background, like several women are claimed to be, there might be a process of accommodation but once accommodated the language creates feelings of inclusiveness. However, variations in the language occur among the corporate functions. Business-related languages and secret expressions could constitute a hinder for communication between the functions and act exclusionary for the ones that seek contact or to move between functions. However, the extensive socializing among the different functions and department shows that the linguistic and metaphors-constructed barriers are not great within communication.

Among both female and male managers, there was a spontaneous use of sport metaphors, mostly football metaphors. Sport and military are commonly used metaphors in leadership theory (Hearn, 1989) and such language metaphors could be exclusionary for women (Rutherford, 2001). Further, the spontaneous use of sports metaphors despite one own's dislike of those, indicates how deeply rooted the sports metaphors are within the leadership practices. Moreover, it could indicate that women in senior positions feel that balancing professional and gender identities are a struggle for senior women as declared by Schnurr (2009, referred to by Baxter 2012). Further, a gendered language could impact women's abilities to progressing to more senior roles (Baxter, 2012).

Sport as a conversation topic was also present to a large extent in daily work life as well as during socializing activities after hours. This has resulted in concerns about the exclusion of sport-uninterested women from conversations. Further, sport has shown to be a common topic within male dominated groups as well as within or mixed groups. Men can

exclude their female colleagues from informal communication systems by talking endlessly about sport (Rutherford, 2001) and hence the extensive discussions about sport at the Focal Unit could exclude women from communication systems.

4.8 Sexuality

This sub-chapter presents the empirical findings and analysis of the cultural processes that is covered by the cultural component Sexuality. This chapter has three under-chapters and one summary.

4.8.1 Dress code

The dress code is described as casual, which means that the Focal Unit's members can wear almost whatever they like. The casual dress code signals that the Focal Unit strives to distinguish itself from the old image of the banking industry and assert itself as an IT company instead. This could be compared to Renemark's (2007:244-246) findings that the dress code within the financial sector is dark suits, shirts and ties for men and similar clothes for women. Some managers at the Focal Unit explain that there is a "no tie"-policy in place to emphasize the relaxed atmosphere and reinforce IT identity over the financial one.

There is some kind of expectation within the society that a financial service organization is more of a suit-wearing organization. And I would say that here they have been pretty clear that we do not look like that. You would never see the CEO at an official picture wearing a tie, as an example.

Even though the general dress code is explained as casual, there is a pattern within the way people dress. The managers have acknowledged that: the executive team is very well-dressed, women on somewhat higher positions are very well dressed, the Transactions-people are well dressed when they meet customers, and the employees within IT-Service function are among the most casual dressed. There seem to be contradictions in the outspoken casual dress code. The no-tie policy and expressed casual dress code are incongruent with the women managers' dressing in practice:

... but I have noticed, since I started here, that women on a bit higher positions are very well-dressed and well maintained. Much high heels...

This indicates that the no-tie culture does not provide any dressing guidance for women and that the female managers may have created their own separate dress code to some extent. It could be interpreted as the general dress code is defined by the male norm. Even in Renemark's findings (2007:244-246), where the dress code was not casual, the women wore more varied clothes than men. According to Walby (1990, referred to by Rutherford, 2001), the sexuality does constitute an arena of male domination. The male guidelines at the Focal Unit could act exclusionary against the female managers and leave them outside the cultural building process of belongings within the IT-sector expressed through the dress code.

Except from not receiving guidance, deviating from the general dress code could be done for other reasons as well. It could be that these women have had previous jobs within the financial sector where a formal dress code was present. Further, wearing high heels could be a way of expressing sexuality. In Rutherford's study (2001) it was found that female managers avoided clothes that could draw sexual attention, which could be considered as a contradiction to the findings at the Focal Unit. This could indicate two contradictory things.

It could be that the women can wear sexualized clothes without receiving negative attention from male colleagues. In that case, this would indicate a very respectful and inclusive culture. On the other hand, it could be that the female managers unconsciously are trying to withhold similarities to the heterosexual relationship, as described by Hearn and Parkin (1987 referred to by Konrad, 1988). In that case, the high heels dress code could marginalize women by a consensual sexuality, as defined by Acker (2012), which confirms gender differences. Despite the origin of the deviating dressing, it is clear that expressed casual dress code and the practiced dress code for female managers make it difficult to manage to be dressed “right”.

I would say that this is a bit more difficult compared to that classic dress code where you wear a grey suit and then it is always okay, because here it could be wrong in both ways. If you show up to well-dressed it could feel wrong.

One female manager related that she was subject of too much attention when she was dressed in costume, which can confirm male dominance regarding rule setting. Further, it seems that deviating from the by the women created separate dress code could create feelings of uneasiness. This is verified by the discussion of how women are perceived at the workplace in chapter 4.9 *Gender Awareness*.

4.8.2. Love at work

There are often policies within the financial sector prohibiting family members to work within the same workflow, to avoid the risk of wrongdoing within the financial operations according to one manager. Further, some employees have romantic relationships with each other and some have children together. Hearn and Parking (1987, referred to by Konrad, 1988) describe that the prohibition of sexuality goes hand in hand with the creation of the sexual construction in organizations. The prohibition could make sexuality at work more exciting and result in romantic relationships among the employees (ibid). Such relationships could further strengthen the typical gender distributions, due to its similarities with a heterosexual relationship that are found in organizations (ibid). Since the company has official parties and pubs as well as training occasions, there are opportunities for the employees the get to know each other in a natural way outside the office. This might be a contributing factor to the creation of romantic relationships and hence a sexualized culture.

The degree to which an organization is overtly male-defined heterosexual is important for female closure (Rutherford, 2001). Rutherford's (2001) findings show that there was a connection between not having a throughout hetero-sexualized culture and women's feeling of cultural encouragement for them to make progress in their work lives. At the Focal Unit, homosexuality and its representation among employees have been acknowledged at managerial level. Such awareness and cultural occurrences could have positive impact on the female managers and female employees of the organization, according to Rutherford's (2001) findings, and hence create cultural inclusion. However, the Focal Unit's playroom for children may reflect an expected heterosexuality at the focal company. Nevertheless, since homosexuals got right to adopt since 2003 in Sweden, this reflection becomes inconclusive whether there is an expected heterosexuality that otherwise may act as reinforcing factor for sexualized culture (ibid).

4.8.3 Sexual humor

The majority of the managers either recalled or explained that sexual jokes or gendered jokes do occur at the workplace. The sexual jokes are perceived as condescending among the female managers and have occurred among employees as well as at managerial levels.

I got really annoyed when a male employee joked with a female employee. He thought she buttered her boss and said that she was brown around her mouth. I became really mad, that was absolutely not okay.

Sexist jargon could be included in the everyday life of a financial worker (Renemark, 2007:242), which is congruent with the observation made by this manager. However, the condescending jargon does in this case occur at employee-level, a sub-culture level, and does probably cause more direct impact on the female employees than on the female managers. Nevertheless, such jargon impact women negatively. Further, even at managerial level, inappropriate sexual jokes have occurred:

Well, there was a little joke, which I did not appreciate. I did not laugh much. It was a bit plump... I do not really remember, but it insinuated something sexual as I recall it. It was in a greater audience. I do not think that is suitable, but it might be me who doesn't appreciate these kind of jokes and then I don't laugh.

Sexualized jokes and inappropriate language in the workplace are other indicators for a female excluding sexualized culture by making the working place unpleasant for females (Rutherford, 2001). Further, more innocent gendered jokes exist as well:

... It is funny to do these jokes; women are like this and men are like that, it is generally quite funny jokes. In the book, men are from Mars and women are from Venus, things like that are funny.

This male manager, who thinks gendered jokes are funny and should be made; also pinpoints the necessity of signifying one is not being serious and one needs to stick to what is politically correct when making jokes. Another male manager also states that gendered jokes exist:

I have never heard anything condescending, absolutely not. Rather, it is the other way around. "If a woman had been involved, this mistake would never have happen".

Even though these jokes are meant to contribute with something positive they do emphasize that there are general differences among men and women. Such viewpoints and stereotyping assumptions are in their construction not different from those stereotypes that hold men more suitable for leadership work (Hearn, 1989) or being the unencumbered worker (Acker, 2012). This could mean that if innocent differentiations between women and men are induced in the corporate culture, then the process of inducing inequality-based assumptions could be more accepted or forego unconsciously. In a long-term perspective it might contribute to hinder further gender equality at the workplace. Hence, cultural differentiations between the sexes could contribute to an acceptance of cultural exclusion of women.

4.8.4 Summary Sexuality

The casual dress code signals that the Focal Unit strives to distinguish itself from the old image of the financial industry and assert itself as an IT company instead. Despite the official casual dress code some groups are considered as more well-dressed: the executive team, women on somewhat higher positions, and the Transactions-people when they meet customers. The expressed casual dress code is incongruent with the female managers' dressing in practice and the no-tie culture does not provide any dressing guidance for

women. It could be interpreted as the dress code is defined by the male norm. According to Walby (1990, referred to by Rutherford, 2001), the sexuality does constitute an arena of male domination. These male guidelines could act exclusionary against the female managers and leave them outside the cultural building process of belonging within the IT-sector expressed through the dress code. Except from not receiving guidance, deviating from the general dress code could be done by other reasons as well, such as that the female managers are free and respected to wear whatever they would like to or that they unconsciously are withholding similarities to the heterosexual relationship as described by Hearn and Parkin (1987 referred to by Konrad, 1988). In the latter case, the high heels dress code could marginalize women by a consensual sexuality, as defined by Acker (2012), which confirm gender differences.

Romantic relationships at the Focal Unit exist and those could strengthen the typical gender distributions, due to its similarities with a heterosexual relationship that are found in organizations (Hearn and Parking, 1987 referred to by Konrad, 1988). However, the corporate members acknowledge homosexuality too. Rutherford's (2001) findings show that there is a connection between not having a throughout hetero-sexualized culture and women's feeling of cultural encouragement for them to make progress in their work lives. Hence, such awareness and cultural occurrences could have positive impact on the women of the Focal Unit and create cultural inclusion. On the other hand, children's playroom may reflect an expected heterosexuality, but not necessarily.

Sexual jokes are perceived as condescending among the female managers and have occurred among employees as well as at managerial levels. Sexualized jokes and inappropriate language at the workplace are other indicators for a female excluding sexualized culture through making the working place unpleasant for females. Further, gendered jokes do emphasize that there are general differences among men and women. Such viewpoints and stereotyping assumptions are in their construction not different from those stereotypes that hold men more suitable for leadership work (Hearn, 1989) or being the unencumbered worker (Acker, 2012). These cultural differentiations between the sexes could contribute to an acceptance of cultural exclusion of women and in a long-term perspective might hinder further gender equality at the workplace.

4.9 Gender awareness

This sub-chapter presents the empirical findings and analysis of the cultural processes that is covered by the cultural component Gender Awareness. This chapter has four under-chapters and one summary.

4.9.1 How women themselves are received in the workplace

Most female managers have not felt differently treated at the Focal Unit due to their gender identity and gender equality is mentioned by managers as being a non-question. Some of them have been treated differently at previous workplace and consider the situation for women at Focal Unit to be better. There are different proposed reasons to why the female managers are being treated better or not acknowledging being treated differently at the Focal Unit. The general inclusive culture, a potential ignorance towards being treated differently that comes with age and experience, and the impact of the gender distribution within the working constellation are brought up as possible impacting factors. The gender distribution of the work constellation is considered as having a positive impact on the inclusive culture through having a female boss and a quite even gender distribution within some organizational functions. This reflection aligns with Cohen et al (1998, cited in

Skaggs et al, 2012) showing that when female representation at higher organizational levels is substantial but necessarily not balanced, women in slightly lower levels are likely to benefit through promotions or recruitments.

Because of the relation between treatment and the gender distribution and higher levels female representation, the perceptions of treatment may vary within the Focal Unit. The influence of senior female managers on gender equality and inclusive culture are beneficial for the female managers, while ignorance of gender inequality by calling it a non-question is not. A historically male culture, like the cultures in banks, which denies gender differences hides gender inequality and are exclusionary to female managers (Rutherford, 1999 referred to by Rutherford, 2001). Additionally, if the managers have become immune of different treatment or fail to notice such, it could impact the working climate and career possibilities for their female employees. Anyhow, the female managers in general did not admit being immune against the male culture that has historically dominated the finance sector.

However, exceptions of perceived equality in treatment do exist. Insecurity about being subject of affirmative action as well as insecurity about whether the salaries are gender equal are mentioned as such exceptions. These issues are related to the organizational structure but do impact the organizational culture, according to the relationship between the culture and the structure presented by Wahl et al. (2011:206-208). Further, the concerns about unequal payment are said to be subject of discussions among the Focal Unit's members and in congruence with this local discourse unequal payment is mentioned as one of the most common inequalities within organizations (Acker, 2012). The fear of being subject to affirmative action could indicate a perceived unsuitability for women to hold managerial roles among the managers of the Focal Unit. If these concerns mirror the result from how a potential marginalizing culture, stemmed from the old financial male dominated world or from the gender practices of the IT-industry, impacts the organizational structure is not possible to tell. One female manager assesses that heterogeneity among the managerial responsibilities creates a complicated pattern for comparison. Having heterogeneity in the amount of employee responsibility and in the work tasks generates difficulties in comparing payment and mandates among the managers in charge of reporting to the executive team. The concerns, even though not verified, are however expressions of perceived different treatment of women.

It has been indicated at the managerial level that there is a preconception of how a female manager at the Focal Unit and in society in general, should adhere to an appearance norm as the one described by the dress code in chapter 4.8 *Sexuality*. In relation to being differently for being a woman, this norm is mentioned as a potential opening for feeling differently if not fulfilled. Hence, deviations from this norm create emotions of uneasiness and potential exclusion. Further, a method to avoid potential exclusion is to compensate by delivering results instead. Wahl (2014) and Fletcher (2004) argue that female managers are left with lesser space of deviating from the leadership norm considering behavior. This observation might indicate that this non-acceptance of deviation has embraced physical attributes as well.

Further, the female managers explain that their age and experiences and thereof confidence make them shielded from acknowledging potential differentiating treatments that could occur in a business sector that originally has a male culture. The use of gender differences as a benefit has also been acknowledged:

Sometimes you could use your women charm a bit and when I do that on purpose, it is me who starts.

According to Martin (2003) when women use their femininity without being conscious of how their actions could be viewed by others, they could be considered as liminal gender aware. It is possible that the women who use their femininity at work to create benefits could be liminal aware and therefore reluctant to further gender equality because they might have to give up beneficial practices. Some female managers have noticed that other women within the company have been treated differently by condescending jokes or comments.

... But there are situations and individuals within the organization, and those are very, very, very, very, rare where women are treated differently. A colleague, she had many discussions with a male colleague and he kind of; little old woman and that whole sort of thing. So, of course, we will always be having idiots among us. There are always such persons and they might be expressing themselves in another ways with men, but you must not behave like that. And when the CEO speaks about gender equality, they could listen or let it fly over the head and not feel affected.

This is an example of how a male manager in obvious way marginalizes his female colleague by calling her words with an aim to minimize her. Fortunately, this example is brought up as an exception. However, it is evidence of that the gender equality discourse provided by top management does not have full effect yet. An effort to create culture equality that is strongly backed by senior management creates a better working environment for women (Rutherford, 1999 referred to by Rutherford, 2001), which implies that condescending forms of address could be erased eventually.

4.9.2 How the organization encourages and nurtures women in their careers

The managers see their possibilities for career advancement to higher positions within this company as being small, mostly due to the size of the Focal Unit and the low employee turnover at higher positions. This has been known to some managers before they started at the company and no one is said to be bothered about the fact that reaching the executive team seems limited. However, several of the managers perceive that they have the possibility to advance sideways. The presented sideways possibilities are to become a specialist, to change department or to increase the responsibility that is currently included in the role. Both men and women perceive the sideways option as a way to advance in their career. One female manager explains that she thinks she has the possibility to further advance within this company, but it is a question of what she wants. She is not interested in advancing to higher levels such as the executive team. But she would like to have a more visible role with more demanding work tasks in the future.

But of course, there are rare times when I think: I have been working in more complex areas and have had a rather visible role. I do not have that anymore. And I can think that it has been comfortable not to have a visible and exposed role. But eventually, I would like to be more visible in the long run... I would like to take on more responsibility and my boss knows that.

This quotation shows some interesting points. Firstly, the manager's potential is not fully utilized today because she has capacity for engaging in more complex projects. Whether it is her own choice or not, the occurrence of having unutilized capacity of women within the organization is coherent with the observations made by Rao's et al. (1999:2-12). However,

Rao et al. (1999:2-12) provides another reason to why there might be unutilized capacity, namely that the split between work and family hinders women from being further integrated into the core business of organizations. This manager relates the potential barrier to cultural differences in visibility and exposure between core business and other business but not to the private sphere or perceptions about women's responsibility of the private sphere. This indicates that the company's emphasis on entrepreneurial work, which induces visibility among the core business workers, could impact women's career possibilities since the women are concentrated within one function as it is discussed in chapter 5.1.9 *An Entrepreneurial company*. Further, the female manager seems to have enjoyed the lower pressure that this company puts on her. It is possible that she in her earlier career at other companies have been an object of scrutinization, which could have been a consequence of her being a token in previous core business projects at other companies. According to Kanter (1977 referred to by Wahl et al. 2014:76-81) tokens become visible and therefore automatically scrutinized. Hence, the reason to not having women to a greater extent in core business could either be due to cultural preconceptions about suitability that complicates recruitment and movement or because of women's own choice to avoid temporary scrutinization in this case.

Further, there are occasions where female managers that have received increased employee responsibility within the Focal Unit. This shows that the managers create their own definitions of career advancement, that female managers are comfortable with expressing their wishes to superiors and that it actually results in career advancement according to one's own definition. This indicates that the female managers' career ambitions are not affected by potential stereotypes in the way that was described by Skaggs et al (2012). Further, the actual internal career advancement of female managers could be interpreted as creating a symbolism of that female managers advance within the Focal Unit, which contributes to cultural inclusion. On the other hand, due to the split between core business and other business the area of movability for women to advance in, risks in being limited.

The Focal Unit applies both internal and external recruitment. The external recruitment is coupled with an increased number of women at leading positions. The managers explain that the CEO has employed several women and that these women in turn have employed more women. Further, the managers indicate that the women that are employed have been employed from certain networks. In this case, this process might be considered as mobilizing femininity by gatekeepers as discussed in the chapter 4.6 *Informal ways of socializing*. Unfortunately, the external recruitment has provoked some negative feelings:

Unfortunately, I see a small negative spiral with the fact that when a manager leaves it seems self-written that the person should be replaced externally. And I think it is a sad development because it is really a sort of segmentation.

This male manager describes a cultural segmentation induced by external recruitment, which could be related to a financial background of the recruits or to gender. The external recruitment is coupled with both. Although the number of female leaders have increased by external recruitment a potential cultural segmentation within the organization could create exclusion.

At lower levels both recruitment and career advancement to higher levels seems problematic. One reason is that some managers find it hard to find female job candidates to consider, which might create an inflow of mostly men. The repeated issues are the low

supply of women by the labor markets and few or non-incoming applications from women. Further, there is an outspoken aim among the managers to select the best candidate, which makes the chance to employ a woman statistically low. Some male managers explain the underlying reason for the low supply of women to be that women are interested in other occupations. Further, according to Mellström (1999, 2003 referred to by Wahl et al. 2014:117) technology is often gender marked within societies, which could be the reason to why IT is considered as uninteresting for women among some managers. One male manager has reflected upon the gender distribution within IT and certain financial departments:

... and in certain cases you just have to accept a difference in the gender distribution. Because there are, if it is gender related or not, there are certain professions that attracts a certain kind of people.

The fact that men refer to different interests in professions and business sectors for men and women indicates perception about gendered marked professions, tasks and positions. According to Wahl et al. (2011:114) the gender marking is related to the gender structure of the company, which includes the distribution of women through the company. The occurrence of gender marking could be further verified by one manager's observation:

... Most people at this Focal Unit that work in coordinating roles and stuff like that are females, which I found to be surprising.

This male manager have notified a concentration of women in performing certain work tasks, which further indicates that a gender marking could be present at the Focal Unit. Having preconceptions about feminine and masculine task that comes from gender marking are probably reinforcing the gender structure and therefore might withhold women within certain functions of the Focal Unit. Further, in previous research have biological and psychological differences been used to justify the scarcity of women within certain occupations (Rutherford, 2001). A culture that holds preconceptions of that women do not usually work within certain areas and find women working in such areas, like corporate finance, as exceptions is a culture that is exclusionary to women (ibid). Therefore preconceptions held by managers at the Focal Unit could contribute to an exclusionary culture. Further, a female manager has acknowledged that there are differences in the preferences between men and women, but not in relation to professions. It is rather related to the words used in job ads and she rejects the argument of that it is difficult to find competent female personnel.

There are definitely competent women, and there is a foundation of both women and men who are fully competent... What is important when you write an ad, is to write it very general and not push too much on certain words... I usually get about fifty-fifty when I apply.

Van den Brink and Brischop (2014) have acknowledged the importance about gatekeepers and their valuation of gender equality. At this Focal Unit one could talk about two levels of gatekeepers; the executive team and the managers. If the managers were considered to be gatekeepers, not all seem to have the potential to increase the gender equality. Further, at the most common entry gate for new employees of the Focal Unit, the customer service, there is a supply of both men and women. However, it's mostly men who do advance from customer service to other departments according to the managers.

Well, on that departments there are usually newly graduated that works two, to three years and then they fly free within the organization... And I would say that there are mostly guys that have flown free. And with the girls, it is mostly about open up for the opportunities, while the guys already have a goal with where they are going... but I would say that it is mostly men that advance.

If there are mostly men that advance, and from this position in particular, it is likely that the internal recruitment is beneficial for men. If this announced lack of interest from women is real or stemmed from this preconception that this manager has, is hard to tell. However, the advancement of mostly men reveals exclusion of women and less career possibilities for female employees. Further, the advancement of only men could reproduce a preconception, as the one expressed by this manager, that women are not interested in career movement. There is a risk that this perceived lack of interest among women is related to or have occurred from a lack of interest in participating in the after works. The fact that this manager indicates that the women have little knowledge about the possible opportunities, strengthens the argument that knowledge about career opportunities is coupled with informal socializing. However, the manager also expresses that the Focal Unit works with “opening up the opportunities” for women, which could be perceived as an attempt to nurture and encourage women in their careers. Further, the Focal Unit’s planned strategy for structuring the internal career paths will constitute a structural process that counteracts exclusion too.

4.9.3 Top down gender equality work

The Focal Unit has recently initiated its work with gender equality but so far it is mostly about increasing the number of female leaders at managerial positions. The work is said to be in its infancy and have not reached the organizational members in their daily work life yet. Some managers cannot recall the last time they talked about gender equality.

We have monthly meetings where all employees are invited including the ones from the other countries. And then we bring up the subject, but I cannot tell if it is once a year or more often, but something like that.

Today, increasing the number of female employees at leading positions is mentioned as the ultimate goal. Nevertheless, increasing the number of female employees and certainly at higher positions is one of the goals in gender diversity work (Rao et al., 1999:xii). According to Kanter (1977 referred to by Fairhurst and Snavely, 1983), who studied the power relations among the genders, there are percentages at which the power relations change the situation for women. However, according to the cultural perspective it is the occurrence of cultural processes and their characteristics that is important (Rutherford, 2001). Therefore increasing the number of women does not equal an instant change of the corporate culture per se or abandoning processes that have marginalizing effect on women (Wahl, 20014; Skaggs et al, 2012). But increasing the number of female employees, especially at managerial level will increase the chances for the organization to reduce the cultural processes that excludes women (Skaggs et al, 2012; Cohen et al, 1998) such as having mostly organizational heroes.

According to Rutherford (2001) assessing the gender awareness of organizations includes looking at whether there are any equal opportunity policies or overt support for women within an organization. There is a focus on having both genders represented in the recruitment process. Some managers refer to this as having “mini-mes” or successors, where candidates of both sexes should be represented. This could be seen as a policy, but it

is only outspoken as a policy at the executive team level. Among the managers, having employee candidates of both genders is something that the managers strive for according to their own initiative and will of having balanced groups. Some of the managers have been focusing on finding women to employ and have succeeded. Further, there is not any overt support for women in the organization. The heretofore gender equality work does not imply that the organization is gender aware today.

However, one manager has sent a group of employees, of whom almost all were women, to a training course that resulted in certification and therefore potential benefits in further career advancement. He did this to improve the competency of the employees in a certain area of knowledge that he found useful for the Focal Unit. Hence, his motivation was not to support female employees in particular, instead the gender distribution was a result of that women in corporations usually have this type of roles. Even if the actual result of this initiative might improve the opportunities for female employees it does not share the motives of gender equality work. However, it acknowledged an important fact; competences of coordination are valuable by companies and are roles commonly held by women. Therefore actions like these both enhance the knowledge among the women, signals that these women are important, and also might contribute to make them more visible within the organization. On the other hand, the gender distribution within this group and the fact that certain roles commonly held by women may also be a confirmation of gender marked work tasks at Focal Unit.

According to Wahl et al (2011:205) the executive team is considered as important actors for the gender diversity work to be successful. This increases the chances of using resources and implementing a strategy, which could make the employees more gender aware. Further, some managers show an interest in getting knowledge about how they could work with gender diversity in their daily work and some also considers the daily work to be the origin of the issues of inequality.

So there is nothing I can see is considered in the daily work... But in essence, it is what happens in daily life that does matter and that is exactly what is difficult!

This indicates that some of the managers have reached a certain level of gender awareness. According to Andersson et al (2009, referred to by Wahl et al. 2011:206), the middle managers do constitute important roles for enabling the gender diversity work. Hence, how they define and think about gender equality is therefore important for how the executive team's initiatives are received and to what extent the organization is gender aware or can become gender aware. The empirical material indicates that there are large differences among the managers of how gender equality is recognized.

4.9.4 The managers' feelings about gender equality and gender equality work

Some managers have expressed views of gender equality that is related to structural issues. These viewpoints are; creating equality by prohibition of gender discrimination, gender equality equals affirmative actions, having equal payment, and having equal gender distribution to the extent that is possible considering the labor market. However, there are also managers who relate the subject of gender equality in organizations to cultural issues:

... There is nothing that you could change over a short period of time; it is something that you have to build into the culture. You have to build it into the minds...

... All studies show that in a forum, the men talk more, at the meetings, and such things. That is where you have to make a difference. And how to change that? How to change the things that happens, such as men are better on recruiting their friends when there is a position free, while women are not good at that. Changing that difference might contribute to a change in the long run.

It is clear that gender is acknowledged in organizations in different ways by these managers. Some of these viewpoints such as gender equality is about prohibition of discrimination or about affirmative actions and that gender equality could be limited by the labor market, could act against further gender equality by failure to acknowledge the problem. If the problem is not acknowledged, then the gender equality work could be viewed as irrelevant and therefore be discouraged. Further, a culture that hides the problems, as mentioned earlier, is exclusionary to women (Rutherford, 1999 referred to by Rutherford, 2001). Contrary, acknowledgment of cultural issues and homosociality among the managers show gender awareness and could contribute to cultural inclusion of women.

The managers express a positive attitude towards having mixed groups. Mixed groups contribute to better discussions and therefore to better results as well as have a funnier and nicer climate. Further, some managers have also acknowledged that there is a different sort of respect among the members of a mixed group:

But there is another, another respect when it is mixed. I do believe that our job meetings would be much better too. There is a certain balance and you... Exactly what it depends on is nothing that I know, but I have been within balanced groups, and it is different, it is better.

Acknowledgement of benefits with mixed groups among the managers is an opener for cultural inclusion of women. Anyhow, the transition towards a mixed group is considered as complicated from many aspects among the managers. This could be related to what was discussed about the conversations and conversation topics in chapter 4.7 *Language and communication*. In gender mixed groups, what is politically correct to talk about is taken into consideration. Further, for mixed groups the managers describe that being a token is considered as unattractive and being the majority that takes consideration to the token in discussion processes is considered as strenuous. Which gender that is considered as a token is also of importance for some managers. Kanter (1977 referred to by Wahl et al. 2011: 81) has received critics for her theory about tokens because if there is a single man in a group of women, other researchers say that the theory of tokens do not apply for that man. One manager has a theory that is congruent with the critics towards Kanter. It is believed that if a man is included in a group with women, he will be able to have too much power and ability to set the norms:

... If a guy joins a work group with only women, it is not going to be good. Preferably, there should be more than one guy in a group of only women, otherwise a single guy could mess up the whole balance. Girls tend to move around in a different ways when guys are present. Further, a single guy in a group of women might give one or two girls most attention based on their prettiness. That is not good.

Having acknowledged issues regarding a transition towards mixed groups could of course signal a will of keeping groups homogenous to avoid potential problems, but should not be regarded as particularly negative. The acknowledgement of the issues is a sign of gender awareness that in turn is an enabler for cultural inclusion of women (Rutherford, 2001). Together with the general opinion that mixed groups are something positive, the

acknowledgements of potential issues is therefore a contributor to cultural inclusion for women.

Female managers have also expressed that affirmative action is a difficult subject related to gender equality. One is afraid that she has been subject to affirmative action but she is also worried that the men might be scared:

And who would dare to ask the CEO: Does this mean that I will lose my job?

This female managers' behavior could be seen as an act of heterosociality. According to Wahl et al. (2011:123) women can express heterosociality through loyalty expressive actions towards men, such as seeming worried about how gender equality initiatives will impact male colleagues as in this case. Heterosexuality is not contributing to cultural inclusion of women. However, women being skeptical about affirmative actions is not uncommon nor is it unwarranted since it could contribute to eliminating the glass ceiling (Ohlott et al, 1994). Ohlott et al (1994) argue that if a woman is promoted for affirmative reasons, the company may be setting her up for failure because she may be unready and unprepared for the appointed job and that may result in confirmation of prejudices and the glass ceiling may become legitimized. Another female manager elaborates on this opinion in general and proposes a quite gender aware perspective of organizations:

... No one wants to be a subject of affirmative action... It should not be despite that you are a woman or because you are women, you will be included, but we actually think that it is shit that you are woman, but then we have filled our quotas... That is not something that you want, you want to work in an environment where both perspectives are equally important... And that it is what is tricky with the question. And even for others, no one wants to have a colleague in the executive team that one thinks might be there due to affirmative action... And that is what you have to work with because I think that sometimes we might be harder in our evaluation of women, there is certain suspiciousness, "what if I am here due to affirmative action" and "Are one equally good or did one get this job because one is a woman?" If there are two candidates left in a male dominated branch, then you might pick the women despite her not being the best, she was a women so you took her anyway. And that, well, that kind of stamp might be something that we have to live with until the society is completely gender equal. And that is the hard part.

This statement shows that gender awareness exist among the managers, which could contribute to female cultural inclusion.

4.9.5 Summary Gender awareness

There is no general feeling of being treated differently due to gender among the female managers of the Focal Unit, which some managers considers being a situation unlike the one at other companies. The equality in treatment is related to potential blindness for unequal treatment that comes with age and experience, to the Focal Unit's culture, to having a female boss or to be working in a more equally gender distributed constellation, where the two latest options are close to observations made in previous research (Cohen et al, 1998, cited in Skaggs et al, 2012). However, this implies that the perceptions of treatment could be varying within the Focal Unit's functions and examples of such, by condescending forms of addressing women, is provided. The influence of senior female managers on gender equality and inclusive culture are beneficial for the female managers, while conscious or unconscious ignorance of gender inequality is not. A historically male culture, like the cultures in banks, which denies gender differences hides gender inequality

and are exclusionary to female managers (Rutherford, 1999 referred to by Rutherford, 2001). Additionally, if the managers have become immune against a different treatment or fail to notice such, it could impact the working climate and career possibilities for female employees. Anyhow, the female managers in general, did not admit being immune against the male culture that has historically dominated the finance sector. Further, insecurities about being subject of affirmative action or about equal payment exist. These issues are related to the organizational structure but do impact the organizational culture, according to the relationship between the culture and the structure presented by Wahl et al. (2011:206-208). They could be indicators of a potential unsuitability for women at managerial roles, but the heterogeneity of the managerial responsibility does probably impact variations in payment.

There are indicators of that a female managerial norm is being present and that deviations could create feelings of exclusions. This is congruent with the discussion about the dress code for female managers presented in chapter 4.8 *Sexuality*. According to both Wahl (2014) and Fletcher (2004) female managers are left with lesser space of deviating from the leadership norm considering behavior. The empirical observation might indicate that this non-acceptance of deviation has embraced physical attributes as well. Further, being a woman could also be used as a benefit. However, this could indicate liminal gender awareness, which is considered as a potential hinder for gender equality (Martin, 2003).

The managers see their possibilities for career advancement to higher positions within this company as being small, instead sideways advancement is seen as an option. There is, however, a risk that the Focal Unit's emphasis on entrepreneurial work impacts the possibilities to move internally, which then would affect female managers to a greater extent since they are concentrated within one non-entrepreneurial function. However, the female managers are comfortable with expressing their wishes to superiors and that it actually results in career advancement according to one's own definition of sideways career advancement. The actual internal career advancement of female managers could be interpreted as creating a symbolism of that female managers advance within the Focal Unit, which contributes to cultural inclusion.

The CEO has employed several women and these women in turn have employed more women. Further, the managers indicate that the women that are employed have been employed from certain networks. In this case, the process might be considered as mobilizing femininity through gatekeepers as discussed in chapter 4.6 *Informal ways of socializing*. However, a cultural segmentation between corporate members as a consequence of external requirement and therefore even segmentation possible related to gender is mentioned. A potential cultural segmentation within the organization could create an exclusion for the female managers.

Recruitment of women to certain roles at levels below the immediately reporting managers is found to be difficult. There is a tendency in explaining the underlying reason for the low supply of women to that women are interested in other occupations. This indicates a preconception of gender marking of certain positions and tasks that could withhold women from receiving such positions. Further, a culture that holds preconceptions of that women do not usually work within certain areas and find women working in such areas, like corporate finance, as exceptions is a culture that is exclusionary to women (Rutherford, 2001). Therefore, the preconceptions held by managers at this company could contribute to an exclusionary culture. If the managers would be considered as gatekeepers, not all of them will be mobilizing femininity and hence could result in gender inequality as well as

negatively impact women's career possibilities. Further, the Focal Unit's "entry gate" of employment is open for both sexes but from there mostly men advance. Therefore, internal recruitment from lower levels are probably excluding to female employees. Further, this process is coupled with informal socializing. Work with structuring the career paths and work with "opening up the opportunities" for women, could improve the career possibilities for female employees by structural and cultural processes.

The gender equality work within the organization is so far mostly a focus on increasing the number of women and female managers in particular, which not directly creates female cultural inclusiveness (ibid). But increasing the number of female employees, especially at managerial level, will increase the chances for the organization to reduce the cultural processes that excludes women (Skaggs et al, 2012; Cohen et al, 1998) such as having mostly organizational heroes. According to Wahl et al (2011:205) the executive team is considered as an important enabler for the gender diversity work to be successful, therefore could the executive team members' initiatives contribute to future gender awareness and equality. Further, according to Andersson et al (2009, referred to by Wahl et al. 2011:206), the middle managers do constitute important roles for enabling the gender diversity work too. The empirical material indicates that there are differences among the managers of how gender equality is recognized. Some managers have expressed views of gender equality that is related to structural issues. These are; creating equality by a prohibition of gender discrimination, gender equality equals affirmative actions, having equal payment, and having equal gender distribution to the extent that is possible considering the labor market. A failure in acknowledging the cultural aspects impact on women contribute to exclusion of women from the corporate culture and hinder gender equality work (Rutherford, 1999 referred to by Rutherford, 2001). Female managers have expressed that affirmative action is a difficult subject related to gender equality. Assimilate gender equality work with a fear of affirmative action could be interpreted as heterosociality (Wahl et al., 2011:123) or a fear of getting to big shoes (Ohlott et al, 1994), where the first hinders cultural inclusion and the latter actually could prevent it in the long run. Further, there are also managers who relate the subject of gender equality in organizations to cultural issues and have acknowledged homosociality, which could contribute to inclusion of women through gender awareness.

There is a positive attitude towards having mixed groups because mixed groups are considered to contribute to better performance, be funnier to work within, and to have a nicer and more respectful climate. However, the transition towards a mixed group is considered as complicated from many aspects. Being a token is considered as unattractive and being the majority that takes consideration to the token in discussion processes is considered as strenuous. The acknowledgment of the issues is a sign of gender awareness that in turn is an enabler cultural inclusion of women (Rutherford, 1999 referred to by Rutherford, 2001). Together with the general opinion that mixed groups are something positive, the acknowledgments of potential issues is, therefore, a contributor to cultural inclusion for women.

5. Conclusions

This chapter presents the answers of the two research questions, the contribution of theoretical knowledge, managerial implications of the study as well as proposals for future research. The research questions are answered by two separate sub-chapters each concluding with a summary table of the findings.

By interviewing the managers at the managerial level below the executive team it was revealed that cultural processes impact both female managers and female employees in ways that create cultural exclusion as well as inclusion and impact their career possibilities negatively as well as positively. The additional capture of exclusion and inclusion at employee-level compared to previous research (Rutherford, 2001) is most likely related to the Focal Unit's corporate culture that is influenced by different level organizational members. Further, it was also found that some structural processes impact these cultural processes which is a consequence of that the corporate culture and the structure are closely related. The structural processes are discussed in the text but only their cultural correspondence is presented in the tables. Further, some structural processes do indicate a certain subculture hold by the top-management. Hence, three levels of organizational culture's effects on women; managerial, top-managerial, and employees' are captured through the perspective of the interviewed managers.

There are several cultural processes related to each cultural constituent and these processes are discussed in the text and presented in Tables 3 and 4 based on their excluding or including affect and negative or positive impact on career possibilities. When a process is mentioned to be affecting women, both female managers and female employees are affected. Moreover, the cultural constituents' effects are not presented separately for the second research question; instead the cultural processes are discussed from their impact on the career possibilities for female managers, female employees or both (category: Women) at the Focal Unit. The names of the cultural constituents are bolded in the text answering the first research question to enable the reader to distinguish some separation between the cultural constituents.

5.1 RQ1: How do cultural processes related to the constituents create cultural exclusion or possible inclusion for women?

Modernity, non-hierarchy, and a culture that repudiates from old traditions, such as the traditions of the financial service companies (Rutherford, 2001), in a way that create inclusion of women are expressed by both the managers and by the physical artefacts. Accordingly, the organizational background of striving to be an IT-company means leaning towards a young industry that is considered to provide the labor with great opportunities and interesting jobs (Davies and Mathieu, 2005:12-22). On the other hand, the IT-industry is male dominated and gender practices do exist (ibid), which could create a cultural status quo. The lowest female distribution within all corporate functions is found in the IT-function, which therefore could risk in having a male dominated subculture. There are some male dominated departments within the Processes and Transactions functions as well. The brokerage, trading and risk departments are considered as traditionally having a male dominated culture. Such culture could, if it is close the extreme work within finance (Renemark, 2007:247), marginalize women. Further, the gender awareness indicates that there is a preconception of certain positions and tasks being female gender marked. A culture that holds preconceptions that women do not usually work within certain areas and find women working in such areas, like corporate finance, as exceptions is a culture

that is exclusionary to women (Rutherford, 2001). On the other hand, the Focal Unit has managed to include more business related work in the potentially female gender marked functions compared to Swedish financial industry peers (Renemark, 2007:9), which is a step towards gender equality and does probably contribute to a general inclusive culture for women.

The women work concentrated within the Processes function, a part of the organization that is considered as non-entrepreneurial and potentially female gender marked. Therefore, could the entrepreneurial focus exposed by the organizational background, also verified by the physical artefacts, impact the cultural valuation of work that could marginalize the female managers abilities to make oneself heard and to make decisions. The association of masculinity with entrepreneurial work stated in previous research (Bruni et al., 2004) could further impact the female marginalization. The lack of received appreciation of the managerial work could also be related to not working with the entrepreneurial core business, and hence related to gender. The entrepreneurial focus is related to the concept of the monoculture of instrumentality (Rao et al., 1999:21), which could be a hinder for inducing new perspectives and acknowledging the value of all processes. However, the current focus is said to be changing, which then is considered as positive for the female managers. This could both contribute to reducing the importance of valuing the masculine traits that are associated with entrepreneurship (Bruni et al., 2004) and to erasing potential practical barriers such as career barriers.

The children friendly environment expressed by physical artefacts creates a culture where women are included and where family responsibility is no cultural hinder to be a female manager and a mother. Further, this cultural implication could release potential pressure on women. The organizational background reveals that pregnant women have been hired, which also creates cultural inclusion for all women. On the other hand, histories about female managers not returning to their previous position after parental leave exists, which could put pressure on female managers to be present during their parental leave. It could also contribute to cultural values that merging motherhood and managerial roles are not manageable, which creates a cultural exclusion for female managers. Further, the physical artefacts through the open offices could enhance daily networking and, therefore, compensate for the women who do not participate in after hours' activities.

The more feminine post-heroic leadership style is highly valued at the company, but such valuation does not have any effect on how female managers are perceived (Fletcher, 2004; Eagly and Carli, 2007: 810 referred to by Baxter 2012). On the other hand, there is probably a colonization of the feminine within management at the Focal Unit. This could be seen as a step towards gender equality in management but might mostly be beneficial for individual female managers and not the gender as a whole (Wahl, 2014). There are also indicators that female managers have lesser space to be different in their leadership styles compared to the male managers, which is congruent with previous research (ibid). This lesser space might even stretch to the norm of female managers' dress code and therefore expressed sexuality, but not in the same way that has been found in previous research where female managers dress to avoid male attention (Rutherford, 2001). Further, not displaying the feminine traits but displaying masculine traits could also narrow the space of freedom by making the double bind (Holmes, 2006 referred to by Baxter, 2012) noticeable among the female managers of the Focal Unit. Being limited in the accepted leadership style marginalizes female managers (Wahl, 2014) and deviations from the norms could result in cultural exclusion as was indicated at the Focal Unit. On the other

hand, the senior managers that are physically portrayed as heroine-istic through the physical artefacts, could be perceived as role models that create inclusiveness for female managers. Further, being a woman in management position could also be used as a benefit. However, this could indicate liminal gender awareness, which is considered as a potential hinder for gender equality (Martin, 2003).

The male managers show a tendency to relate and socialize more with male colleagues and male superiors, which could be interpreted as homosocial behavior (Lindgren, 1999 referred to by Wahl et al., 2011: 120) with the risk of being excluding to women. Further, women should adhere to management techniques used by men, which emphasizes that the male standard could be perceived as constituting the norm in a way that marginalizes women and exclude them from setting cultural standards (Wahl 1998, 2001; Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2001 as referred to by Wahl, 2014). The female managers of the Focal Unit might rely on their performance to a great extent for the ability to make oneself heard while male managers possibly prefer their relationships to others for that purpose. Hence, taking into account informal socializing activities and the culture of celebrity that is male dominated, it is possible that male managers are in an advantageous situation compared to their female colleagues regarding making oneself heard or getting through one's suggestions.

Most of the Focal Unit's heroes, known for skills, formal position or leadership style, are men. Except symbolism, the celebrities also have an impact on decision-making and cultural inclusion. Therefore, being excluded from these male dominated groups could impact daily work and the mental well-being. However, there are female informal leaders that are well known too. Therefore could the informal leaders actually constitute a potential open community of celebrity for women to exert power and to be included within.

The long hour culture impacts female managers' private lives in a way that is considered as manageable but has sometimes resulted in bad-consciousness among the female managers. However, the long hour culture is discouraged at the executive team level and also questioned by some managers, which constitutes cultural processes contradictory to the long hour culture. This could release some potential stress, further enable the female managers to identify with the managerial role and hence contribute to inclusion of women within the managerial culture.

The work ideology is challenging the private and public divide on the behalf of the public sphere through the availability demands from corporate mail culture. This stressful mail culture could be assumed to replace the visibility at the office space (2001:265 referred to by Ottoson & Rosengren, 2007) of the cultural constituent the long hour culture with a pressure to be visible online instead. Therefore is it possible to say that this process, the mail culture, defined as a work ideology process because it merges the spheres, shows a need for a redefinement of the constituents: the long hour culture and the work ideology. Hence, the mail culture and, therefore, the work ideology could in a way be merged with the concept of the long hour culture by its creation of a long hour online visibility. Further, the mail culture is being discouraged, which both is positive for female managers and reveals the severity of this culture. The discouragement of the mail culture is a process that counteracts potential cultural exclusion of female managers.

Further, the work ideology is at the same time challenging the public sphere by the Focal Unit by providing possibilities to work from home during office hours and to bring children to work. Through welcoming the children, the Focal Unit encourages a merge between the two spheres that creates cultural inclusion for women. Meanwhile, the geographical flexibility is not extensive and is mostly provided for men. Not treating women differently due to preconceptions of that household is a woman's responsibility means that the perception of a mummy-track (Brunett et al., 2010) is not included in the culture's values, which is positive for women and do not create cultural exclusion for the female managers. Anyhow, when flexibility has been used by both female and male managers, the ideology behind it could be discussed. There might be a risk that women will use the possibility to perform more household work and, therefore, reinforce the creation of different private identities (Wajcman and Martin, 2002).

Informal socializing during informal activities or corporate activities creates networks among the Focal Unit's members. The stated flatness of the Focal Unit is probably impacting the socializing activities and networks. The concept of managerial networks described in previous research (Rutherford, 2001; Linehan, 2001) might need to be transformed to mixed networks and socializing among employees of several levels, to suit the Focal Unit's culture. Cultural exclusion from informal socializing is not experienced in general, but non-participation in informal socializing is unbeneficial due to missed opportunities. Participation enables information sharing that could be used for agenda setting or beneficial in other ways for work performance, creation of positive feelings among those that participate, networking with well-known and most likely influential people, and career advancement. This is congruent with Rutherford's (2001) findings. Further, women do participate to a lesser extent in the after hour activities compared to men. The possibility of creating a network without participating in the after work activities, the need for a private life, and family responsibilities are the main reasons for managers choosing not to participate. Informal socializing during work hours by participation in training or socializing during lunches could constitute the main networking activities for the female managers. It is also possible that male and female managers at the Focal Unit participate in informal socializing and networking with different intentions, as was proposed by van den Brink and Benschop (2014). Further, since many men participate in the informal socializing, asking for an invitation could probably create uneasiness. Such male networks could be assumed to withhold the sexual construction (Hearn and Parkin, 1987: ch 6, reviewed by Konrad, 1988), which embodies women with lesser power. The network activities could also be seen as opportunities for acts of homosociality and even if the female managers do not experience exclusion from informal socializing, it could exist (Rutherford, 2001).

A quite informal and relaxed language is characteristic for the Focal Unit at all organizational levels. If one is recruited from a strict financial background, like several recruited female managers at the Focal Unit are, there might be a process of accommodation but once accommodated the language creates feelings of inclusiveness. The managers spontaneously use sports metaphors, which are common metaphors in leadership theory (Hearn, 1089) and could be exclusionary to women (Rutherford, 2001). Further, the spontaneous use of sports metaphors despite one own's dislike of those could indicate that women in senior positions feel that balancing professional and gender identities are a struggle for senior women as declared by Schnurr (2009, referred to by Baxter 2012). Sport as a conversation topic occurs in male dominated and in mixed groups in the daily work life of the Focal Unit as well as during socializing activities after hours. It has been acknowledged as potentially excluding which is congruent with Rutherford's

(2001) findings that women could be excluded from communication systems by men's lengthy sport discussions (ibid).

Sexualized jokes and inappropriate language are indicators for a female excluding sexualized culture (ibid) and do occur at the Focal Unit as well. Further, gendered jokes despite being innocent indicate that cultural differentiations between the sexes are present at the Focal Unit. This could contribute to an acceptance of cultural exclusion of women and in a long-term perspective it might contribute to hinder further gender equality at the workplace. Moreover, the occurrence of romantic relationships at the Focal Unit could strengthen the typical gender distributions, due to its similarities with a heterosexual relationship that are found in organizations (Hearn and Parking, 1987 referred to by Konrad, 1988). Meanwhile, the Focal Unit's acknowledgment of homosexuality could according to previous research (Rutherford, 2001) have a positive impact on women and contribute to cultural inclusion. Further, the no-tie culture does not provide any dressing guidance for women. It could be interpreted as the general dress code is defined by the male norm, as corporate sexuality does constitute an arena of male domination (Walby, 1990 referred to by Rutherford, 2001). These male guidelines could act exclusionary against the women and leave them outside the cultural building process of belongings within the IT-sector as expressed through the dress code. Thus, the female managers have created their own dress code, which deviations from could create feelings of uneasiness.

The variations in recognition of gender equality span from structural to cultural aspects of organizational gender issues and, therefore, do the gender awareness vary. Assimilation of gender equality work with a fear of structural affirmative action could be interpreted as heterosociality (Wahl et al., 2011:123) or a fear of getting to big shoes (Ohlott et al, 1994), where the first hinders cultural inclusion and the latter actually could prevent it in the long run. However, a failure to acknowledge the cultural issues creates a culture of ignorance that is exclusionary for women (Rutherford, 1999 referred to by Rutherford, 2001), while the found acknowledgement of cultural issues and of homosociality could contribute to women's inclusion.

Further, mixed groups are considered positive for performance as well as for the working environment but the transition towards mixed groups is considered as complicated. Being a token is considered as unattractive and being the majority that takes consideration to the token in discussion processes is considered as strenuous. The acknowledgment of the issues among the managers is a sign of gender awareness that in turn is an enabler for female cultural inclusion (Rutherford, 1999 referred to by Rutherford, 2001).

The current female distribution in the executive team revealed by the organizational background is higher compared to peers (Oliver Wyman, 2014; Ingenjören, 2013). This could indicate that an inclusive culture for women is present, which is congruent with the perceptions of that the Focal Unit treats women more equal than other companies as revealed by the Focal Unit's gender awareness. Despite already being above average in female leader representation, there is still a focus on increasing the number of women and female managers through gender equality work at the executive team level. That is a structural process that not directly contributes to further female cultural inclusiveness (Rutherford, 2001). However, it indicates both a female including top-down discourse as well as enhances the same cultural implications that the current higher female leadership representation has. Increasing the number of female employees, especially at managerial level, will increase the chances for the organization to further reduce the cultural processes

that exclude women (Skaggs et al, 2012; Cohen et al, 1998), such as having mostly organizational heroes. The senior female managers have been interpreted as possible heroines and role models, which is possible results from the structural process of external recruitment. The main practical top-down gender equality work is thus external recruitment of female leaders. On the other hand, the perception of a cultural segmentation between corporate members as a consequence of external recruitment could, therefore, result in segmentation possible related to gender. A potential cultural segmentation within the organization could create an exclusion for the female managers.

There is no general feeling of being treated differently due to gender among the female managers of the Focal Unit. The equality in treatment is related to a potential blindness for unequal treatment that comes with age and experience, to the Focal Unit's culture, to having a female boss or to be working in a more equally gender distributed constellation, where the two latest options are close to observations made in previous research (Cohen et al, 1998, cited in Skaggs et al, 2012). The influence of senior female managers on gender equality (ibid) and inclusive culture are beneficial for the female managers, while conscious or unconscious ignorance of gender inequality is not (Rutherford, 2001). If the managers fail to acknowledge women being treated differently it could impact the working climate and career possibilities for female employees. A historically male culture, like the cultures in banks, which denies gender differences hides gender inequality and are exclusionary to female managers (Rutherford, 1999 referred to by Rutherford, 2001).

Table 3 summarizes the found cultural processes and to which of the cultural constituents they relate to.

Cultural Constituent	Excluding processes	Including Processes
Organizational background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uneven gender distribution with functional female concentration • Strong entrepreneurial focus do not coincide with female concentration and potentially female marked functions • Histories of unfortunate parental leaves • Possible gender related cultural segmentation due to external recruitment • Employment despite pregnancy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young, modern organization that creates feelings of inclusiveness • Higher female leader representation than peers • Cultural processes such as heroine creations are induced the GE work of further increasing the number of female leaders by external recruitment • More business related work is included in potentially female gender marked functions • The entrepreneurial focus is changing
Physical artefacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthens the valuation of entrepreneurial work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Welcoming of children • Heroine-istic display • Enables informal socializing and networking
Management style	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lesser space for female leaders to be different 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Colonization of the feminine • Senior female leaders could

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heroes dominate • Potential homosocial behavior • Women should adhere to men's IMT 	<p>function as heroines</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heroines exist within the community of informal leaders
Long hour culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could contribute to guilty conscience 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discouragement of the long hour culture
Work ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The mail culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discouragement of the mail culture • No extra flexibility for women indicates no preoccupations of their private responsibilities • Children friendly ideology
Informal ways of socializing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-participation in informal socializing is unbeneficial • Women participate to a lesser extent in informal socializing after hours' • Male participants in majority: barriers to entry, homosociality, and retention of the sexual construction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No exclusion experienced in general • Informal socializing during training and lunches could constitute beneficial networking for women
Language and communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potential phase of accommodation • Sport metaphors: masculine and potential ill fit with gender identities • Much sport and football in conversations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relaxed language
Sexuality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sexualized jokes and inappropriate language exist • Gendered jokes withhold perceptions of gender differences • Relationships could strengthen the typical gender distribution • The general dress code is defined by the male norm 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledgement of homosexuality
Gender Awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potential gender marking of tasks and positions • Potential liminal gender awareness by considering 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceptions of more equal treatment of women compared to other companies • No general feeling of being treated differently among the

	<p>it to be beneficial to be a woman</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledging of only structural issues • Not being vigilant toward potential difference in treatment due to gender • Different treatment of the genders exists 	<p>female managers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledgement of cultural issues and certain levels of gender awareness • Appreciation of mixed groups • Top-down discourse • Influence from senior female managers
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Table 3: The nine cultural constituents' excluding and including processes

5.2 RQ2: How do the cultural processes affect women's possibilities to advance?

The managers see their possibilities for career advancement to higher positions within the Focal Unit as being small, instead sideways advancement is seen as options. Having the female employees concentrated within certain functions and that these functions are considered as non-entrepreneurial, could limit female managers' and women's internal movement because of possible perceptions of unsuitability for different tasks and because of possible assimilation of lower valued non-entrepreneurial work with gender. Further, insecurities about being subject of affirmative action and about equal payment could express cultural perceptions of unsuitability for women at managerial roles. However, the female managers are comfortable with expressing their wishes to superiors. Further, the actual internal career advancement of female managers could be interpreted as creating a symbolism of that female managers advance within the focal unit, which contributes to cultural inclusion. Moreover, the physical artefacts create possibilities to bring children to work, which reduce potential cultural prejudices about women as not being suitable for managerial work. This could be beneficial for female employee's career advancement to managerial level.

There are no officially drawn career paths within the Focal Unit, which is a common characteristic for the IT-industry (Davies and Mathieu, 2005: 12-22). Internal recruitment is an old organizational tradition that is coupled with networking and thereof informal socializing and particularly common when advancing from lower levels. Further, receiving potential beneficial education for internal advancement is probably related to informal socializing as well. Informal socializing through participation in after works has the most significant impact on internal movement at lower levels. Due to women's lower participation in after hours' activities and after works in particular, together with the fact that mostly men advance from the company's "entry gate", the after hours' activities could be considered as exclusionary and marginalize female employees' career advancement. In the long run could the after works contribute to a supply of male manager candidates. However, the expressed ambition with "opening up the opportunities" for women, could be perceived as attempt to nurture and encourage female employees in their careers, which is a gender aware method to create inclusion of women (Rutherford, 2001). Hence, this ambition is a cultural process that will counteract the unbeneficial cultural processes of informal socializing and positively impact the career possibilities for female employees. On the other hand, the expressed perceptions among the male managers of certain professions being male gender marked as a reason to why external recruitment of women to positions below the immediately reporting managers is difficult, indicates that mobilizing femininity

(Van den Brink and Benschop, 2014) at this corporate level will not occur to a greater extent. This could then counteract the female's career possibilities. Further, the acceptance of the impression management technique (Broadbridge, 2004), and when more used by male employees, could further enhance the female employees' exclusion from career advancement by the occurrence of informal career paths.

The CEO's discourse of gender equality and of having women at leading positions have been practically exemplified by the employment of women that in turn have employed more women. This external recruitment has resulted in an increased number of female managers at positions that is considered to be powerful. However, Wahl et al (2011:115) have acknowledged the correlation between gender marking of organizational functions and women in charge for those functions. Accordingly, the leading positions held by women at the Focal Unit are related to the female concentration and from that perspective the leading female managers' positions might be considered as expected. Further, the recent increase of women at leading position could be an example of recruitment from an external network as well as an example of feminine mobilizing. Therefore could the potential gatekeepers (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2014) at this company be perceived as both powerful and with ambition of creating gender equality, which diminish the importance of participate participating in after hours' activities for female managers.

The long hour culture could have a marginalizing impact on women's career possibilities due to its connection to the identity creation of an unencumbered worker (Acker, 2012) that works long hours and manages the decision-making structure. Further, the requirements and expectations induced by the mail culture could be assumed to act exclusionary for female managers to their careers, according to Rutherford's (2001) observations about the long hour culture of organizations. The long hour culture's marginalizing effect on women is related to how much responsibility they take on for children and household work (ibid). The female managers perceive their partners to be gender equal and they have in some cases taken help in their private life, which are two things that enable them to take on a leading role. Moreover, the long hour culture, as well as the mail culture, are discouraged by managers and senior managers in a way that could impact women's career possibilities positively. Lastly, a gendered language such as a sport influenced language could impact women's abilities for progressing to more senior roles (Baxter, 2012).

Table 4 presents how the career possibilities for the female managers, female employees or both could be negatively as well as positively impacted by the cultural processes. In Table 4 does the category women refer to both female managers and female employees.

The cultural processes areas of impact	Negative impact on career possibilities	Positive impact on career possibilities
Female managers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potential impact of mail culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comfort with expressing career ambition • Symbolism of female cultural inclusion induced from internal career advancements • Top-down discourse of increasing the number of

		female leaders <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potential higher level networks created externally • Potential feminine mobilizing and powerful gatekeepers • Gender equal partners and private sphere help • The mail culture is discouraged
Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The female employees are concentrated to the non-entrepreneurial function • Insecurities about different treatment could at some level indicate perceptions of unsuitability for women in managerial roles • Informal socializing during after-hours activities • Women in charge of potentially gender marked functions • The long hours culture's relation to identity creation • Sport language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The children friendly environment could counteract potential perceptions of unsuitability of women at managerial positions • The long hour culture is discouraged
Female employees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Receiving education might be coupled with informal socializing • Mostly men advance from the entry gate • Expressed perceptions of gender marking of tasks • Acceptance of IMT when mostly used by men 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ambition of opening up the opportunities

Table 4: The cultural processes impact on female managers', female employees' and on women's career possibilities.

5.3 Contribution of theoretical knowledge

The gender theoretical research has a tradition of conducting research within the financial sector (Halford et al., 1997 referred by Linghag 2009). Previous research has provided insights of cultural processes impacting female managers within the financial sector (Rutherford, 2001) and of the daily life of female financial workers in Sweden (Renemark, 2007). Other researchers (Davies and Matthieu, 2005:12-22) have studied gender practices within the Swedish IT-sector. This study investigates how cultural processes impact

women in a corporate setting where characteristics both from the Swedish financial and IT-sector are present.

A generic theoretical framework (Rutherford, 2001) for a cultural exclusion of female managers is used and cultural processes that impact women on additional organizational levels are also found. It is the flatness of the Focal Unit that has resulted in the extension of including employee level perspectives, defined at the managerial level, of the culture and career possibilities. The perspectives of the female employees' situations constitute a knowledge contribution compared to what has been found by only interpreting the female managers situations in previous use of the framework (ibid). Further, the findings do provide knowledge of how this framework could be applied in the present corporate environment of an actor that operates in the Swedish IT and financial industries. For application in this setting, two adjustments to the framework are proposed. The constant connectivity provided by today's technology proposes a more interlinked relationship between the long hour culture and the work ideology than what is proposed in the generic framework. This adjustment is probably generalizable and applicable for most of today's companies. Further, an extension of the cultural constituent Informal ways of socializing at management level (Rutherford, 2001; Linehan 2001) is proposed to incorporate several hierarchical levels to be applicable for young and less hierarchical actors, which IT companies often are known to be.

5.4 Managerial implications

Rutherford's (2001) model is explained as useful for practitioners and consultants who want to develop a diversity inclusive culture. Therefore could the findings in this study be valuable for the Focal Unit as a foundation for further organizational gender equality work. The findings are probably also useful for other financial service organizations with extensive internal and external use of IT-structure, in Sweden as well as internationally. Such organizations could have similarities in the valuation of work, have similar potential perceptions of gender marking and a similar gender distribution. Hence, they could face the similar challenges for gender equality as the Focal Unit does. Further, the positive effects on inclusion that some constituents of the Focal Unit's culture and some practices have, could function as examples for other organizations that would like to transform to a more inclusive corporate culture.

5.5 Implications on sustainable development

Organizations with inclusive cultures increase the well-being, job satisfaction, and job commitment among organizational employees (Findler et al. 2007). Thereof could the findings of exclusionary processes from this study, if used as a base for improvements at the Focal Unit as well as at other companies, contribute to further well-being of the organizational members and hence the members of society. Further, cultural inclusion positively impacts women's career possibilities (Rutherford, 2001) which could lead to a higher female representation at leading positions. Several studies (Carter, Simkins and Simpson, 2003; Pathan S & Faff R., 2012; Mateos de Cabo, Gimeno and Nieto, 2009) have showed a positive correlation between high level of women in leading positions and the wealth of companies. Therefore could an inclusive culture within corporations contribute to economic well-being of the society.

Cultural inclusion and thereby sustainable business in the case of the Focal Unit, would mean a growth of an organization that has less energy intensive tangible assets in its business model due to its extensive online-based services. Thereof is it even possible to

claim a certain positive impact on climate and energy consumption in the society through the potential growth of this company.

The wage gap between genders is an issue that has been publicly debated in decades, but effective remedial policies are still lacking. On the other hand, the IT industry is on the edge with high salaries while the finance industry has always been amongst the prestigious ones regarding employee benefits. The findings of this study may provide the International Group an opportunity to become a model for women integration at higher managerial levels within finance and IT industries. Hence, the labor landscape in these industries might change and be reshaped and perceptions such as “as soon it became prestigious, it became masculine” (Wahl, 2014) would cease to exist. Thus, women would be in a better suit to negotiate equal pay for equal work in the long run.

5.6 Proposal of future research

Based on the research design limitations it could be proposed to conduct a study in the same corporate setting but with a use of an extended method such as including questionnaires for increased validity in some more individual related cultural processes. This is proposed to be done with the same purpose and could result in a greater generalizability for the cultural processes that are present in organizations in both the IT and Financial industries. Further, either by incorporate more methods or adjusting the purpose of the study compared to this, subcultures by a divisionalized analysis could be investigated and might contribute with important knowledge about cultural exclusion as was proposed by Rutherford (2001).

Based on the findings of this study the impact of availability due to new technology and its impact on cultural exclusion and career possibilities for women could be further investigated. This could provide more insights on how visibility within the long hours culture and work ideology is changing and what that change means for women. Further, the impact of flexibility possibilities on cultural exclusion could be researched to find more knowledge under what conditions it creates exclusion or inclusion. Lastly, entrepreneurship and gender have been researched but entrepreneurial organizations and gender have seemingly not been researched to the same extent. The findings of this study indicate that the relationship between the gender and the cultural entrepreneurial focus is of significance for the women’s possibilities to make oneself heard, get through with decisions and to move internally. More research of these relations and implications of them are proposed.

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