Doing Gender/Doing Profession in Finnish working life

D I S S E R T A T I O N
of the University of St. Gallen,
Graduate School of Business Administration,
Economics, Law and Social Sciences (HSG)
to obtain the title of
Doctor Oeconomiae

submitted by

Ella Roininen

from

Finland

Approved on the application of

Prof. Chris Steyaert, PhD

and

Prof. Dr. Ulrike Landfester

Dissertation no. 3474

Schaan, Gutenberg, 2008

The University of St. Gallen, Graduate School of Business Administration, Economics, Law and Social Sciences (HSG) hereby consents to the printing of the present dissertation, without hereby expressing any opinion on the views herein expressed.

St. Gallen, May 14, 2008

The President:

Prof. Ernst Mohr, PhD

Abstract

Societal inequalities are by and large based on economic inequalities. Economic inequalities are based on ordering people in hierarchies, where some categories of people have easier access to the world's economic and other resources, and others are restricted in this access. The gender system, including the gendered organisation of work, is one foundation for such inequalities and touches all of our lives.

This study contributes to the feminist understanding of gender's operation in society by examining how gender differences are created in Finnish working life. Employment markets in Finland are persistently gendered: the public sector work of care and education is numerically over-dominated by women, and the private sector work in technology and production by men. This leads to a number of labour market inequalities, such as significant wage differences.

The study examines how Finnish ICT engineers, acting in an extremely male-dominated field, and Finnish primary school teachers, acting in an extremely female-dominated field, discursively construct gender and professionalism as related to their work contexts.

Twelve different interpretative repertoires are identified; each repertoire works via different rhetorical constructions and/or relationships between subject and object to give meanings to professional practices, so that some function to retain gendered practices in the professions, while others hold the potential to challenge them. The study concludes by suggesting ways in which the findings can help us understand how gendered structures are also created or challenged in other gender-biased professions in Finland.

While studying gendered working life, the researcher takes advantage of different critical and feminist writing practices, and by so doing, explores her own identity as a feminist writer-researcher.

Acknowledgements

Many people have greatly supported and influenced this work. First, I want to thank all the people close to me in Finland and in Switzerland. You encouraged me, took time to discuss and reflect on my ideas and theories, and helped me face my emotions. Sophie, you know that our friendship and discussions brought me into this line of work in the first place. Bernd, you were my rock. It was very important to have you in my life. Isi, you listened endlessly to my thoughts and concerns, and were always prepared to offer good advice or a word of encouragement should I need it. Nelli, I thank you for your happy friendship and many forms of support.

I also want to thank, collectively, all my friends and colleagues at both the University of St. Gallen and the University of Tampere. Anna and Nicola, our discussions were crucial in untangling the loops in my thinking. Julia, you have been a great support to me at St. Gallen.

I also give my heartfelt thanks to the people and institutions that made my project possible. First, a deep thank you to all the teachers and ICT professionals for giving me your time: you provided the very substance of this study. Thanks also to all my guides and teachers for sharing your experience and knowledge. Professors Chris Steyaert and Ulrike Landfester made this work possible by agreeing to supervise it and supported and encouraged me to find my own way. Marja Vehviläinen and the University of Tampere Women's Studies Department gave me access to invaluable insights into and connections to contemporary Finnish gender research. Nina Lykke and the Nordic Research School in Interdisciplinary Gender Studies offered me the wonderful opportunity to participate in their seminars and to meet all the people who studied with me. I also wish to thank all the other seminar and conference organisers and lecturers, for allowing me access to so much knowledge, experience and networking.

Helen Snively, you as the editor were the final part of this process — a very important part with your beautiful finishing touches.

Finally, I would like to thank Bea and Andrea. Your encouragement and flexible management over the years very significantly helped me to achieve my objectives, and at the same time use my learning outside of the research.

There are many other people I met during this journey. You touched me, taught me new things about myself and yourself, and about the construction of our world. Our discussions are written concretely and in between the lines of this work. The journey was about a story called science, but most of all it was about you and me.

May, 2008   Ella Roininen

Contents

Tables and Figures

1. Introduction

As I grew into a young woman, I had a series of forceful collisions with the world. On the one side was this person I had grown up to be, carrying myself and my body in ways that seemed completely self-evident to me. On the other side was the environment, with its ideas of what young women should be like. In some of those collisions, I got run over and dented, and lost dimensions that I had held as part of myself. In others, I kept to my own way, whether or not it would suit the world, and came out barely scratched.

Surely forever and at any given moment countless women and men are experiencing messy crashes between what they feel and think they are and what the world sees in them. And though admittedly the collisions, dents, and devil-may-care ways of moving are most accentuated in youth, they hardly end there. I don't think we ever recognise ourselves in the idealised and omnipresent images about women and men, femininities and masculinities. Don't we always feel different from what is granted by our societal gender status? Doesn't our humanity hold indefinitely more dimensions, both female and male, than those given by our culture?

We are constantly engaged in a process of assessing and negotiating our gender position in our interactions: what we think we are about versus our environment's ideas about us. Our interactions are charged with forces and attempts to present ourselves in understandable units of humanity, in 's*he*'s and '*he*'s that fit in. Often we do "mind the gap": we pick up the different cues that guide us to 'correct' and 'acceptable' gender behaviour. But we can also ignore the gap, and behave radically differently, in ways that may spell collisions but also generate change.

For my part, even with all my bruises I feel utterly fortunate to have been born in an environment and a family that raised me to collide. I have had the privilege of defining myself in a variety of ways. I have had the comfort of deciding where I stand within the frames of 'correct' and 'acceptable'. And I have had the pleasure of gathering pieces beyond those frames to construct other versions of myself.

This present work was triggered by pain and curiosity. The pain comes from knowing that I am one of the more lightly bruised. The curiosity is to understand more about the meanings of gender in society. I felt the motivation to say something different and thus contribute to change in some small way. The final question setting may or may not reflect the full spectrum of intention and desire behind this work. I would be hard pressed to reflect all the understanding I gained along this journey. Yet the years I have invested in this project have definitely helped me to see, to look back and analyse the numerous identities I have lived, within many occupations, organisations and countries. I now see that none of them were without gendered

meanings. They were always connected to my female body, to the meanings that culture and history inscribed into it.

The pain changed too. It did not ease, but it got easier to handle. And yes, every time we learn more about the ways gender defines societal membership, we are involved in generating change.

Points of departure

Society's gender structures influence practically everything that we are and do. Gender regulates economics, politics and religions. Gender is written into science. Gender is broadcast in the media. Gender marks literature, cinema and art. Through an exhaustive complexity, gender intertwines with working life. The smallest of our everyday actions and interactions are not without gendered meanings. Gender is inscribed into the shapes of our bodies, the looks on our faces, the movements of our limbs.

We are mostly like fish in the water within our social settings. We seldom realise the extent to which gender is involved in our lives. Therefore, it seldom occurs to us that we ourselves can be producing gender inequalities. We may note the obvious privileges some people enjoy, or the disadvantages others suffer, but we may not realise that we are part of the process of producing those inequalities. It all happens simply because of the ways we go about our lives as men and women. The persistence of gender inequalities rests on this lack of transparency. The banality of action producing gender hierarchies makes it seem a natural part of the world to us.

It is difficult to tackle inequalities until we make their operation visible. Therefore, an integral part of the feminist project is to map those "social, economic and political orders which produce the current gender differences and how they could be produced in some other ways" (Veijola and Jokinen 2001:224, my translation). Gendered distribution of work connects to all these orders and therefore it is one of the cornerstones of feminist research. There is a never-ending call to clarify how gendered distribution of work affects the lives of people locally and globally. No single feminist issue is untouched by economic inequality between genders. Whenever we talk about the autonomy of the body, family and identity; about gender-based violence, sexual exploitation and trafficking in human beings; about AIDS; about access to the world's material, intellectual and emotional resources; about the effects of war and globalisation; or about the overturned age pyramid and the 'pension bomb' in Western countries, we are talking about power inequalities between people. More often than not, such power inequalities go hand-in-hand with economic inequalities.

Economic inequalities are made possible by fixed ideas about the function and value of different people in society. This is what the gender system is about. In this context, the word 'gender' does not refer to its dictionary definition: a sex category, physical bodies and characteristics of men and women. It refers to a set of socially constructed ideas about people and things. *Gender is a situation where that which is socially constructed as masculine and that which is socially constructed as feminine occupy the opposite poles of the mutual relationship by which they are defined.* This situation is created by society's power relations, and it is characterised by a hierarchy in which the symbolic masculine is above the symbolic feminine.

The construction of the two — and only the two, because this construction does not allow movement within them — genders against one another underlies different political, economic and social inequalities. In the gender system some categories of people have more resources and a wider variety of lifestyle choices at their disposal, while others have to make do with less. Similarly, the 'higher value' categories of people have access to other people's bodies and emotions in a way that people belonging to the 'lower value' categories do not. *The gender system is a socially constructed hierarchical order among different categories of people, which cuts through society and works to naturalise and justify unequal distribution of power.* According to Gherardi (1995), the male/female, masculine/feminine relationship is a dynamic one, in which meanings are processually given by historical and cultural discourses operating in society. Part of this is the action that happens at the level of individuals. This has been called 'doing gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987) and 'gender habitual behaviour' (Veijola and Jokinen 2001). These terms mean we produce conceptions of masculinities and femininities in our everyday life by acting in line with the socially constructed stories about men and women. These stories are layered in our minds and bodies by history and culture, and so they are largely invisible to us. Throughout our lives we constantly, if largely unconsciously, reproduce hierarchical ideas of gender: in the ways we look, talk and walk, in the ways gender underlines our life choices, in the ways we take up physical space among men and women, and in the ways we respond to the heterosexual invitation.

The conceptions of gender evolve and change over time, but at the same time they are deeply rooted in society's institutions and practices (Carabine 2001), for instance in the gendered organisation of work (Acker 1990). This means that the socially-constructed gender roles create a gendered division of work, which leads to status and income inequalities between men and women. The gender roles on which work is established resonate in cultural images of gender and reinforce certain types of gender identities. In work organisations, the gendered distribution of work occurs in interactions between people, in choices about functions, in the distribution of

organisational tasks and in schemes for rewards and promotions, for instance. At the disciplinary level, whole professions may carry gendered meanings according to their origins, input and output, and symbolic value to society.

In Finland, both engineers and teachers are educated at the university level. About 80% of engineers are male, and 80% of teachers are female. The recommended starting salary of a graduate engineer is about EUR 3,200 per month (The Finnish Association of Graduate Engineers TEK 2007). The starting salary of a graduate teacher is EUR 2,300 (Trade Union of Education in Finland OAJ 2006). Engineering is associated with technical artefacts and natural sciences, which are associated with intelligence and learned skills. They are high on society's value scale. Teaching is associated with raising children to become members of society; it is associated with empathy and nurturing, which are thought of as not learned, but internal skills. They are not very highly valued in society.

From an objective point of view, of course, there is no hierarchy between the two domains of action. Engineering is no more valuable an activity than teaching. Intelligence is no better than empathy. These are just ways to conceptualise things; outside the social reality which they describe they could mean anything. But examining the professions as part of the gender system, we can draw a line between two symbolic universes: that of the masculine and engineering, and that of the feminine and teaching. They are marked by a set of socially constructed ideas, and these ideas are the basis for an economic disadvantage between the two professions. This is called the gendered distribution of work.

If we are aware of the fact that engineering is financially one and a half times more valuable than teaching, why do we not change the situation? We can look at the professions and decide that they require the same level of education and a comparable level of effort. We can straighten up the distortion and all is equal. At this point we see what I call gendered practices in our everyday lives, such as our retelling of stories about masculinities and femininities without noticing it. The objective of this study is to help us see these stories, to expose the ways gender operates in high-tech companies and primary schools and so creates economic inequalities between people.

Statement of questions

Finnish employment markets are persistently gendered. The public-sector work of care and education is largely carried out by women, and the private-sector work in technology and production by men. The often heard 'equality slogan', *The Women's Euro is 80 Cents,* accurately reflects the labour market situation in Finland. The clear

numerical domination of women in the public sector and the clear numerical domination of men in the private sector have led to a situation where a certain type of statistical gender equality has been achieved. About equal numbers of women and men are active in the labour markets; they are about equally engaged in full-time employment and to some extent also equally distributed at different organisational levels within their respective gender-segregated fields.[1] At the same time there are intense differences in the valuation and nature of what is considered women's work and what is considered men's work. These are reflected in straightforward salary differences, but also in indirect mechanisms that determine the amount of compensation for work.[2]

Structurally, institutions for care and education provide little opportunity for employees to move upwards, while organisations involved in production and business can offer attractive remuneration and promotion plans. As a result, people working in the former areas (predominantly women) are held back from career progress and consequently from the possibility of significantly improving their income over the years of their work lives. Considering bargaining power, the fields that are populated by men are viewed as important to Finland's competitiveness and thus as valuable to the national economy. The women-populated public-sector fields tend to be placed on the expense side of government and community income statements. Therefore metal, paper and technology unions, for example, have a head start in wage and benefits negotiations with the employer side, as compared to, say, nurses' and teachers' unions.

Finns are proud of their achievements in gender equality. In fact, we like to say we are world class in these matters. To underline the point, we can cite our equally distributed political power: Finland was the first country in Europe to grant women the right of suffrage and the first country in the world to grant women the right to be electoral candidates (Virtual Finland – Your Window on Finland 2007). The current president of Finland is a woman, who just started a second six-year term, and we have the world's first female government with a female majority (Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland 2007).[3]

---

[1] Citing a 1996 figure, 33% of direct line managers in Finland are women. This is the largest proportion of direct line managers of any EU country; the EU average is 23% (Lehto 1999). However, in women-dominated fields the highest leadership positions also tend to be disproportionally in the hands of men. For example in basic education, school principals are 61% male and 39% female. Meanwhile, 75% of teaching positions are held by females, and 25% by male teachers (Ministry of Education Finland 2007).

[2] The wage differences are visible even among students. *Helsingin Sanomat* (18 September 2007) compares internship compensations, concluding that in low-paid, female-dominated fields students are most poorly compensated. For example, engineering students earned EUR 1,470/month during a typical internship period, while nursing students and day care centre teacher students had to do with the national student financial aid of EUR 260/month.

[3] Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen's Cabinet consists of 12 female and 8 male ministers (http://www.valtioneuvosto.fi/hallitus/jasenet/en.jsp).

We can also substantiate our claims to gender equality by talking about the two-gender family breadwinning model: Finnish women's full-time employment rate is the second highest in Europe (The Confederation of Finnish Industry and Employees, 2003); all children under school age have the right to communal day care, and the parental leave legislation is comparatively generous for both mothers and fathers.[4] And if we want to talk about autonomy of the body, several legislative measures have been issued, if not ahead of their time, at least up to date with them: single women gained legal status in 1864, the pill became legal in 1961, and the law on abortion was passed in 1970. In 1994, rape in marriage became a criminal act, as did buying sex from a third party in 2006.[5]

The tension between the highly gender-segregated employment markets leads to the fifth-largest gender wage differential in the EU (Eurostat 2007), and the Finnish (hi)story of gender equality is obvious. How is it that in 21st-century Finland helpers and carers are still mostly women, and the leaders and experts are men? What causes women to keep choosing, and choosing to stay, in low-paid fields? What prevents men from doing the same? What social processes keep one profession invested with masculine meanings, and another with feminine? How do we explain the enduring tie between the value of a profession and gender?

These questions formed the problematic of my PhD project: I wanted to increase my understanding of the social processes which hold professions on their respective side of the gender binary, in either the symbolic universe of the masculine or in the symbolic universe of the feminine. I focus on two extremely gender-segregated professions, ICT engineering and primary school teaching. As already mentioned, the two fields are good representatives of the above discussed tensions in the Finnish employment markets. They hold nearly opposite male-female compositions and are very differently positioned in their valuation, both in remuneration and status. The fields also pose the other typical differences, also mentioned above, between private and public fields.

A further motivation for studying these fields is the international significance and reputation of ICT engineering and primary school teaching to Finland. The Finnish

---

[4] As of 2006, these were the rules on parental leave: "Maternity leave lasts 105 working days. Of these mothers are to use between 30-50 days before giving birth and between 55-75 days afterwards. Paternity leave amounts to 18 days. It can be taken during maternity or parental leave in up to four stages. The paternity leave can be extended by 1-12 weekdays if the father takes the last 12 weekdays of the parental leave. Parental leave lasts 158 working days. It is extended by 60 weekdays per child in the case of multiple births. In the case of a baby born prematurely parental leave is 208 working days. Parents can take their parental leave entitlement in up to two turns of a minimum of 12 days each." (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2006).

[5] The initial proposal was to criminalise buying sex altogether, following Sweden's model, but the Parliament decided this form of legislative move would be enough to combat trafficking in human beings to and through Finland (*Helsingin Sanomat* 20 October, 2007).

system of basic education has consecutively led to students scoring at the top in the annual PISA study (Programme for International Student Assessment) of the OECD.[6] The Finnish ICT industry has been a significant contributor to Finland's repeatedly high rankings in the WEF (World Economic Forum) country competitiveness register.[7] Even though both fields have been of interest to feminist scholars (in Finland e.g. Marjo Vuorikoski studies gender and education, and Marja Vehviläinen gender and technology), little research has focused specifically on the dynamics between the fields, and generally on male and female gendered fields.

Gender theorists argue that gender is a structuring element in modern society's organisations. Gender delineates our notions of the professional conducts and identities associated with women, and those associated with men (Acker 1990, Gherardi 1995). There is also a mutually constitutive relationship between gender and disciplinary knowledges, so that gender shapes their priorities, knowledges, artefacts, processes and institutions (Acker 1990). In mapping this relationship, Michel Foucault's (1926-1984) conceptualisation of societal discourses is central. Here the term discourse refers to historically and culturally located interpretations of different issues and topics, which constitute our belief systems and delineate the borders for our social action. A professional discourse, then, is everything that delineates action within and in relation to the profession, such as the professional practices, symbols, artefacts, value systems and institutions.

According to this view, as people train for their profession, they do not just add objective knowledges about their work to their personal stock of knowledge. Rather, as people get their education and then move into their work lives, the profession's practitioners become part of the discourses of their profession. Each person takes a position within the profession's discourses where its versions of events make most sense to them, and by identifying with this position they give meaning to it and accept its rules and regulations, such as the profession's value system (Hall 2001). The professionals start to reproduce the discourse in their daily actions. Engineers, as bearers of engineering knowledge, personify the engineering discourse, and by operating from within its limits they 'do' the engineering discourse. Similarly, teachers are subjects of the teaching discourse who operate from within its limits, so they 'do' the teaching discourse.

Since, according to Acker (1990) and Gherardi (1995), gender derives meaning from and gives meaning to the way we practice our profession, becoming subject to a certain professional discourse would also mean becoming subject to its gendered

---

[6] http://www.pisa.oecd.org/pages/0,2987,en_32252351_32235731_1_1_1_1_1,00.html
[7] http://www.weforum.org/site/homepublic.nsf/Content/Global+Competitiveness+Programme%5C Global+Competitiveness+Report

discourses. If so, it is relevant to talk about 'doing gender' *and* 'doing profession', simultaneously (West and Zimmerman 1987, 1995, Søndergaard 2005). As professionals go about their everyday work, they reproduce the meanings the profession gives to gender and the meanings gender gives to the profession.

Understanding what kinds of meanings gender acquires in the professional context and how the profession's knowledges and practices reproduce those meanings can bring clarity into the profession's gendered positioning. That is, why teaching is persistently considered a female occupation and valued accordingly, and why engineering is persistently considered a male occupation and accordingly valued. To this end, I frame my research question as follows:

> What kinds of gendered practices are articulated in Finnish primary school teachers' and ICT engineers' discursive representations of gender and professionalism, and what implications does this have for the professions' gender biases?

The goal of my analysis is to expose the rhetoric that holds up gender in the particular professions, and to see if other ways exist of doing gender/doing profession, practices that do not perpetuate gender in the professions.

Discourses emerge in a dynamic social and cultural context. This means that it is always possible to reconfigure discourses, as they interact with other discourses in their context. Carabine (2001:278) writes: "There is a continual, uneven, and contradictory process, whereby we as individuals are in a constant process of reassessing, establishing and negotiating our position in relation to the norm". We do not automatically and predictably make ourselves subject to the power and regulation of a certain professional discourse; instead we navigate among a complexity of factors that affect our experience of our professionalism. This is what makes societal change possible.

Even though gender may be deeply rooted in working life and a significant organiser of professional knowledges, it does not necessarily appear and act in them in one fixed and stable way. Instead, gender/profession relations are continuously subject to change and fractures as professions' social realities are renegotiated by the actors in them. Therefore, within any profession, different discourses with different relations to gender can exist. In my work I analyse these different discourses, in order to better understand how gender regulates, or does not regulate, the professional practices. This will help us to better understand how gender regulates Finnish working life, and ultimately moves us a step closer to understanding gender-based economic inequalities with their wide-ranging effects.

Outline of thesis

I study the ways that, in their talk, Finnish primary school teachers and ICT engineers reproduce discourses of gender and professionalism. I analyse interview material gathered in 2005 and 2006, in interviews with 12 ICT engineers and 14 primary school teachers. The set of 26 interviewees includes about equal numbers of male and female professionals working in the southern part of Finland, in different institutions of basic education and technology.

I analyse the data using a discourse psychological tool called the interpretive repertoire. These repertoires are systems of meanings, which build up a representation of a topic or an issue. This representation reflects the discourses which operate in the context, giving meanings to their world views, practices and cultures, for instance. My analysis is founded on the idea that certain interpretative repertoires can be identified across the talk of different people operating in the same social setting. Different teachers, for instance, would use similar repertoires, even when practicing their profession in different schools. The kinds of repertoires teachers use to talk about their work can also indicate a possibly similar organisation of ideas in other, similar types of contexts — such as other professions that are considered 'women's work'. Analysing the use of interpretative repertoires in the context of teaching would then help to make the persistent gendering of professions more transparent.

My dissertation is structured as follows. In the next chapter, I introduce several feminist approaches, feminist research practices and the central concepts of feminist knowledge production. This clarifies my position in the field. In Chapter 3, I describe my conceptual framework. I introduce the discourse theory within which I operate. I talk about discourses regulating our understandings of the world and consequently defining our actions in relation to different topics and issues. This forms the foundation for the gender theories I use in my analysis: gender as a social accomplishment and the gender contract. In the final part of my theory chapter I reflect on my position as a Finnish gender researcher, and discuss the theories of gender as placed in the Finnish context.

In Chapter 4, I introduce discourse analysis as a theoretical-methodological framework. I start with theoretical background on discursive representations of self and professionalism. I then move on to discuss the ways interpretative repertoires can be used as methodological tools for studying this topic. In the second half of Chapter 4, I again talk about the context of my study, now factually about the Finnish occupational scenery as well as the ICT industry and basic education. In the final part of the chapter, I describe and reflect my data collection and analysis processes.

The analysis chapter, Chapter 5, is divided into two large sections that build on one another. In the first half of the analysis I examine the ways the interviewees talk about gender. I identify and name three different interpretative repertoires, which both the interviewed engineers and teachers use to give meanings to different issues related to gender in their professional context. After presenting the repertoires, I apply my conceptual framework to understand more about the rhetoric of the repertoires and how they work, or do not work, to reproduce gendered discourses in the professions.

In the second half of the analysis I examine the interviewees' discursive representations of professionalism. I identify and name six interpretative repertoires, three for each profession, which the interviewees use to talk about good and successful professionalism in their respective fields. I then discuss the effects of the use of these repertoires, applying my conceptual framework as well as the insights I gained in the first half of the analysis: what kinds of gendered professional practices do the repertoires sustain? Are there ways to identify with the work that do not perpetuate gendered divisions in the professions? I conclude the analysis chapter by comparing the ways the repertoires are organised in the interviewees' talk in each of the two professional groups.

In the final chapter, I wrap up the thesis by discussing the practical implications of my findings for Finnish working life. What did we learn from my analysis about doing gender/doing profession that can be applied to the real lives of real people? How does this help us understand and perhaps shatter the gendered structures of working life? I conclude the dissertation by discussing the limitations of my study and by suggesting further research agendas to extend the thematic ideas and the methodological insights. The final section of this work is devoted to my reflections on growing to be a feminist researcher.

2. Mapping feminism

In everyday language, feminism is often referred to as a single ideology and movement. But there is no one "feminism". Rather, the term marks an array of political ideologies and theoretical positions, which both complement and contradict each other. They have one aim in common: to challenge the inequalities that follow from society's power relations. Where the different branches of feminist thinking differ is on the recipes: how to understand the various inequalities and how to tackle them. The history of feminist research reflects this multiplicity, showing a development from quite narrowly framed analyses that record and report gender inequalities, to a multiplicity of theoretical and methodological approaches developed within and across different disciplines. Today, a whole repository of views, tools and practices are available for those who would analyse the gendered social world and propose change tactics.

All the choices we make as social actors are informed by some ideology. No matter how we hide them, certain aspects of our value systems will shine through in our work and in whatever else we do. Feminist ideology can mark a political movement, activist movement, lifestyle, creative work or research practice, among many other things. This may well include a variety of ideas and practices, but it always means a conscious effort to acknowledge and make visible the ideologies that move us. In feminist research the inescapable ideological foundations of human intention are reflected in the situatedness of the researcher as well of their research object. In this chapter, I discuss both the variety of feminist ideas and the feminist approach to research. I first walk readers through a short historical reflection on feminist scholarship, then talk about feminist research and writing practices. Together, these help to clarify the ideology that moves my work, and the positions I take as a feminist person, writer and a researcher.

Feminism: A range of ideologies and analytic approaches

There are different ways of naming and organising feminist thinking, which today is both widely spread and specialised. The categories overlap and alternate when described by different scholars.[8] In the paragraphs that follow, I present my view on

---

[8] Veijola and Jokinen (2001) divide feminist tradition into three branches: liberal, marxist and radical feminism. Calás and Smircich (1996) talk about liberal, radical, psychoanalytic, marxist, socialist, poststructuralist/postmodern and third world/postcolonial feminism. Tong (1998) uses as many as 10 categories to distinguish between different feminisms: liberal, Marxist-socialist, radical (which can further

the development of feminist thinking, organised by the signposts that influence my position. This is not meant to be an exhaustive or exclusive list, but one author's reflection on the many paradigms under the label of feminist studies, to introduce readers to the landscape of feminist scholarship and help locate my work in it.

The early feminist scholarship, liberal feminism, sprang from modernism and Industrialisation. Its intellectual roots evolved within the political theory of the 18th and 19th centuries, which is characterised by humanistic assumptions, including mind-body dualism, language as reflective of reality, the development of humankind, and the equality of all people. Theorists such as Mary Wollstonecraft (*A Vindication of the Rights of Woman,* 1792) and Harriet Taylor Mill (*Enfranchisement of Women,* 1851) argued for gender justice, asserting that women's true potential went unfulfilled because they were excluded from society's decision-making structures. They aimed to make society recognise that women are as fully human as men and should be included in public life. Women would need to have the same possibilities to study, work and vote. Meanwhile, they saw the structures themselves as needing not so much a revolution as a reform, which would incorporate women into them (Tong 1989).

Women's basic political rights — suffrage and the right to run for office — can be considered products of liberal feminism. Liberal feminist research on women and employment has been valuable in drawing attention to the gendered distribution of work and to gender biases in work organisations. In this vein, one milestone is Moss Rosabeth Kanter's *Men and Women of the Corporation* (1977), which examines how organisational stereotyping works to control women. Its insights are still relevant when examining how women are cast into gendered roles in today's organisations.

Radical feminism arose from the women's liberation movement. Radical feminists launched the idea that patriarchy is a system of oppressive relationships, and looked for alternative models to organise society (e.g. Ann Ferguson's *Androgyny as an Ideal for Human Development,* 1977). The French radical feminist Simone de Beauvoir (*The Second Sex,* 1949) described stereotyping the Other, offering insights that continue to influence feminist views on patriarchy and the omnipresent male norm. De Beauvoir claims that in patriarchal societies stereotyping organises groups lower in the hierarchy in relation to groups higher in the hierarchy. Race, class and religion can be used as a basis for stereotyping, but nowhere is stereotyping emphasised more than with sex, with men's "othering" of women.[9] Men oppress women, because this provides them with many benefits. In particular women's sexual

---

be divided into liberalist and cultural-radical feminism), existentialist, postmodern, multicultural and global, and ecofeminism.
[9] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radical_feminism, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/De_Beauvoir

oppression — tying women to motherhood and family caretaking — is a fundamental of patriarchy (Veijola and Jokinen 2001).

Radical feminists view women's experiences in society as being overlooked, marginalised, or even invisible. They claim that holistic female-centred knowledge is possible outside of patriarchal structures, and therefore they work to validate womanhood as distinct and unique (Calás and Smircich 1996). Equality starts from acknowledging the narrow role women are given in modern society, at home, in workplaces, and sexually. Hélène Cixous' *The Laugh of the Medusa* (1975) celebrates womanhood and female sexuality that is not bound by patriarchal limitations. The women who burned bras and attended the consciousness-raising groups of the late 1960s and early 1970s were members of the radical feminist movement. In organisation theory, radical feminists have contributed by detailing feminist organisational practices that aim at equal, instead of hierarchical decision-making, which is associated with male forms of power (Calás and Smircich 1996).

Radical feminist ideas also inspired thinking that is perhaps best called cultural feminism. Another French feminist, Luce Irigaray (*This Sex Which Is Not One,* 1985) talks about the phallocentrism and masculinist ideologies that underlie language. For Irigaray, the female sex is not an Other or a lack, as de Beauvoir claims, but it cannot in the first place be represented by the "masculine signifying economy" (Butler 1990:11). Irigaray (*I Love to You,* 1996) also talks about the need for a womankind identity and conceptualises a fruitful gender difference, a condition where both men and women can be loyal to their own gender and live together equally and in harmony (Veijola and Jokinen 2001).

Similarly, socialist feminism arose from ideas about patriarchy's systematic oppression of women, but the analysis and the proposals for change focus on the economic system. This branch of feminism extends the Marxist critique on capitalism to gender, which is viewed as a class condition and thus part of the capitalist machinery (e.g. Christine Delphy 1984). Through marriage and through controls on their entry into employment markets, women are tied economically to a higher class: men. By reproducing and caring for new labourers, women fulfil their function in the production chain. Men, in turn, are tied to male hierarchies, which Heidi Hartman (1981) claims to be materially powered networks of social relations, in which sexism keeps up solidarity and dependence between men. Joan Acker's (1990) *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations* is the central publication in analysing the different ways gender structures organise life according to men's productive and women's reproductive capacities. Acker further demonstrates how the gendered organisation of work is kept up via organisational culture, theories and symbolism, and in expressions of identities.

Nordic theorists (Yvonne Hirdman 1990a,b, Liisa Rantalaiho 1994, Irma Sulkunen 1987) extend the critique on oppressive economic models to analyses of what they call patriarchy by the state. These analyses view the Nordic social democratic models of governance as organisers of gendered labour. This means that government takes the place of the patriarchal head of the family and defines what is good for its citizens. The state, as the patriarchal father, distributes rights, which ensure women their economic autonomy, but at the same time women work primarily in state-run public sector care institutions. In this way, women continue to fulfil their function in the employment contract between the genders, albeit not regulated by a heterosexual marriage, but by women's societal motherhood.[10]

As feminist scholarship matured and specialised, it began to heed criticism that its ideas about female identity were universalistic and often ethnocentric. This gave rise to what in the United States is called "third wave feminism".[11, 12] Various authors pointed out that it is not realistic and intellectually grounded to place all women under one and the same category of "woman", regardless of their social, ethnic and cultural circumstances. There are different configurations of privilege and oppression, which depend on a complexity of social determinants. Postcolonial feminists picked up on the point of locality of knowledge, asserting that the feminist campaigns for women's liberation had been campaigns for 'truth' lived by Western, white women. While the campaigns indeed may liberate these groups of women within their particular backgrounds, at the same time they can work to marginalise the needs and beliefs of other women in different cultural, ethnic, class and racial conditions. One of the most famous works in this area is Bell Hooks' (1981) *Ain't I a Woman*, an equality manifesto for African-American women.

---

[10] This concept is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. Societal motherhood was one of the strongest arguments to drive political changes when Finnish gender equality was negotiated in the course of Modernisation (1950-60). Women used motherhood as an argument for gender difference as they worked to rationalise and gain status to those spheres of society's work that are an extension of the kind of work women traditionally do at home.

[11] Whishnant (2007:4) distinguishes among the U.S. schools of feminism as follows: "The feminist movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which focused most centrally on women's rights in marriage, and then later on the right to vote, is usually called the 'first wave'. The radical women's liberation movement of the 1960's and 70's, and to some degree into the 80's, is called the 'second wave'. Starting in the early 1990's, some young feminists began to identify as part of what they call the 'third wave'." At the same time, Whishnant criticises this model for downplaying important feminist work, especially that of women of colour cutting across these waves. Whishnant also claims the model is simply generational.

[12] Queer theory, coloured women consciousness, womanism, post-colonial theory, critical theory, transnationalism, ecofeminism, and new feminist theory are normally considered to belong to third-wave feminist theory. Third-wave feminists often focus on 'micropolitics', forms of gender expression and representation that are less explicitly political than those of the first and second waves. They also challenge the second wave's paradigm as to what is or is not good for women. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third-wave_feminism). Whishnant (2007) picks up the latter point and elaborates on the contradicting views between third and second wave feminists' views of expressions of sexuality and pornography.

In fact, throughout the field, feminist ideas on the constitutions of identity and gender difference had developed towards more and more processual and discursive views. Liberal, radical and socialist feminists all talked about sex as an essential characteristic, but the views on *gender* evolved. Whereas liberal feminists understood gender as the socialised behaviour of sexed human beings, radical feminists understood it as a social construction to ensure that women would be subordinate to men. Among socialist feminists the focus shifted towards the process by which gender is constituted through the experiences and ideologies of capitalism and patriarchy (Calás and Smircich 1996). The postmodern and poststructuralist turn, taking inspiration from French poststructuralist critiques of knowledge and identity, completely decentred the rational, self-present subject of humanism. Michel Foucault's (1926-1984) work on power, knowledge and discourse has since been widely applied in feminist theorising. The critical turn completely decoupled gender and body from essentialism: all claims for truth and justice, including gender, became understood as part of a discourse of our social and cultural order.

Now the entire ontology of the conversation shifted; gender was no longer examined as part of the existing world, but as a social construction contributing to our understanding of the world. The gendered reality is understood as created by language use, which is the very means of structuring society in hierarchies. Judith Butler (2006) claims not to be a poststructuralist but rather a queer theorist.[13] Still, her *Gender Trouble* (1990) must be mentioned in any discussion of postfeminism.[14] This is the landmark publication analysing gender performativity. To Butler, the social existence of gender — that is, its naturalisation as part of our physical world — is made possible through articulation and repetition. To Butler even the physical bodies that mark manhood and womanhood are manifestations of gender performance. We see and experience them as male- and female-gendered because this is how they have been constructed in our social world. Another groundbreaking publication of gender as a social practice is West and Zimmerman's (1987) *Doing Gender*. They develop a theory of gender as a "routine accomplishment established in everyday interaction"

---

[13] Queer theorists are another influential group in today's feminist landscape. Their focus is especially on sexualities, recognition of queer people's rights and deconstruction of heteronormativity. This complements the postfeminist idea of liberating gender from the physical body and social conventions. The patriarchal capturing of the sexual act within a nuclear family heterosexual reproductive partnership works to control bodies and desires. Queer theorists and queer activists have done valuable work in breaking this conservative encoding and challenging bipolar thinking about male and female sexualities. Visible examples of this work are such actual equality measures as legislation to allow same-sex marriages and lesbian women's right to artificial insemination.

[14] Throughout this dissertation, when referring to the poststructuralist and postmodernist view on gender, I talk about postfeminism. This is a simplification, which may not do justice to the rich scope of theorists and theories represented by the label. At the same time, however, it captures what I understand to be the central epistemological and ontological theses of the critical turn i.e. that which above is called third-wave feminism.

(p.125). What they call social accountability invites and demands individuals to behave in a manner consistent with their sex category, on which different institutional arrangements are based.

These conceptions of gender have been revolutionary for the feminist understanding of how to dismantle the gender system (Deutsch 2007). What started as ontological debates in the late 1980s and early 1990s have developed into multi-sided analyses of how gender and oppression are produced and sustained by different political, cultural and social acts and identities. Intersectional studies focus specifically on capturing this multiplicity of oppression. They examine oppression as a multidimensional, dynamic bundle of different social positions a person can occupy within their context.[15] Intersectionalists often seem to synthesise radical/socialist feminist ideas of oppression with postfeminist ideas of discursive identity construction, but these studies work well in providing insight into different configurations of disadvantage. For example, Patricia Hill Collins (1998) analysed intersections of gender, race and nation-family, Kimberle Crenshaw (1994) intersections related to violence against women of colour, Dorte Marie Søndergaard (2005) intersections of gender, age, professionalism and power, and Ingun Moser (2006) intersections of gender, disability and class. The studies conclude that oppression comes about via a variety of subject positions a person occupies, determined by different societal discourses and consequently by different advantages and disadvantages.

To me, the multiplicity of feminist views is the engine that makes it possible to examine gender inequalities from different angles. The different theories do not need to compete with one another, but can instead facilitate a multi-dimensional examination of the complexities of gender and oppression. The process of drafting and articulating a change proposal becomes more informed, the more receptive we are to different perspectives, and the more fluently we can evaluate their potentials and limitations.

I am inspired by all the different takes on feminism expressed in this chapter. The total fluidity of sex and gender that Butler (1990, 1993) endorses still remains outside my thinking, but two of the postfeminist aims — to denaturalise the fixed identities and deconstruct the oppressive discourses resulting from society's power relations — are the cornerstones of my feminist change agenda. I find the intersectional analyses of the heterogeneity of subject positions and their combined social meanings to be especially relevant to practice, when we need them to understand how these socially

---

[15] This comes close to Calás and Smircich's (1996) interpretation of socialist feminist conception of gender: "Gender is processually and socially constituted through several intersections of sex, race, ideology, and experiences of oppression under patriarchy and capitalism" (p.220).

constituted positions of advantage and disadvantage lead to material effects in the real lives of real people. Socialist feminist thinking strongly influences my ideas about gender, work and organisation. Its perceptions help me understand why gender biases continue to exist in work and political life, although women seem to have equal opportunities to participate in these activities.

Having said this, radical feminist scholars have also inspired my views on the controlling capacities of patriarchal power. I see this power demonstrated in the world economic and political arena, and in the exploitation of intimate relations between men and women. Radical feminism also contributes to my commitment to make women's experience visible and valuable. Finally, even though liberal feminist ideas are largely being lived out in Western societies, on the global scale an urgent need remains: to record inequalities and to pursue the equal representation of women, even if it means returning the discussion to the essentialist gender binary.

These are the junctures where I stand and from where I journey out to explore. In my view, each feminist needs to construct her own feminism: the one that feels to her like the most promising recipe for understanding and tackling inequalities. This view is closely connected to standpoint feminism and feminist knowledge production, on which I elaborate in the upcoming paragraphs.

Feminist knowledge production

Listen to a woman speak at a public gathering (if she hasn't painfully lost her wind). She doesn't "speak", she throws her trembling body forward; she lets go of herself, she flies; all of her passes into her voice, and it's with her body that she vitally supports the "logic" of her speech. Her flesh speaks true. She lays herself bare. In fact, she physically materialises what she is thinking; she signifies it with her body. In a certain way she inscribes what she is saying, because she doesn't deny her drives the intractable and impassioned part they have in speaking. Her speech, even when "theoretical" or political, is never simple or linear or "objectified", generalised: she draws her story into history.

<div align="center">

Helene Cixous, The Laugh of the Medusa

</div>

When I write, I try to meet readers at eye level. This means making myself visible as a researcher and an author. It means letting my vulnerability and the vulnerability of my knowledge show in the text. This kind of subjectivity and reflexivity is characteristic of feminist knowledge production (Lykke 2005). The more traditional way of presenting research reports is to hide the presence of the author. This can be done via writing styles, such as using an objective tone and a passive verb construction to add authority to the text (Martin 1990). Or it can be done via argumentation styles, such as closure, which minimises the author's exposure to criticism and the research results'

exposure to speculation. These 'tricks', then, ensure the researcher and their text epistemological and narrative security (Brewster 2005).

In feminist knowledge production it is important to disrupt the traditional structures of knowledge production. It is important to say that science is a genre of fiction and to ensure that readers can see where the researcher is coming from, and can speculate on what else could have been said. That is, feminist knowledge production acknowledges that all science performs a particular social construction of reality, whether or not it explicitly states that (Ahl 2002). There is no one universal truth, just different ideologically powered stories, which constitute what is called science. No matter how well one uses grammatical or textual practices to hide oneself, a researcher is always part of their text, examining the phenomena via their take on reality. To illustrate this I like Taylor's (2001) analogy of a researcher's doomed attempts to verify 'the truth' about a topic. It is like being trapped inside a house whose windows are all made of distorting glass. One can never really see how it looks outside, because from each window the view is distorted and can only be checked against a view from another, differently distorted glass. We will always find some ideology informing our perspective. To be open about the partiality of our own science, then, it is wise to reveal right away who "I" am and what my ideology is. That is, to reveal my standpoint.

Standpoint is "a social location from which one observes, relates to, and socially constructs, interprets and enacts, oneself and others" (Martin 2001:592). Harding (1997) conceptualises the social world as a kind of natural experiment that enables us to observe and explain patterns in the relations between social power and the production of knowledge claims: "The kind of daily life activities assigned to different genders or classes or races within local social systems can provide illuminating possibilities for observing and explaining systems of relations between 'what one does' and 'what one can know'" (Harding 1997:384). When I speak, read and write, I act from within my particular standpoint. In this standpoint at least my gender location of "woman" features crucially; it includes my physical being, my location within the socially-constructed gender institution, and my current and past experiences as a female member of society. Other things that influence my standpoint include my family and cultural background, my age, education and profession, and all the people who have meaning in my life.

Feminist knowledge production recognises that all research comes from a particular standpoint. Since it is impossible to conduct an impartial analysis, it is better to show the circumstances within which the knowledge is created: how my standpoint situates my knowledge. So to be true to my epistemological views I need to show and reflect, explicitly and implicitly, my subjectivity. I need to keep the situatedness of my

knowledge and intention in mind when I study other authors' texts, when I analyse my own research data, and when I present my views and findings. This means constantly asking questions of myself: why am I led to this particular interpretation, not some other? What makes me include this idea or person in my study, and exclude some other? Why do I think this idea or interpretation is true and adds value to my research?

Reflecting the work in this way is unlikely to reduce the distortion through the windows. What it does is shift the researcher's narrative position, so that one does not automatically settle into the positivist 'knower' place. This is what Lykke (2005) calls a "God trick"; she compares it to Tolstoy's style of writing. The narrator takes a position from which they have access to all characters in the story. A *media res* position, which Lykke compares to the style of Dostoyevsky, is more true to feminist epistemologies. In it, the narrator has no greater privilege than the other characters in the story. When I make myself visible as the author of my research report, I aim to stand on the same level with other people involved in my knowledge production, such as the people who commented on my study, or participated in it, or those who read and interpret my work. By making the situatedness of my knowledge transparent, I invite these people to make their own conclusions about it. This does not mean that I would not trust the validity of my voice. Quite the opposite. Letting other people join your inquiry takes more courage than hiding behind closed doors. Showing what your voice is made of pushes you to trust it.

But there are some traps to be avoided when consciously bringing subjectivity into a text. First, one needs to be careful that the "I" that is talking does not become a mere grammatical construction. When that happens, a researcher's orientation to writing becomes 'objective', and the intention to exercise authority and closure become more apparent in the text than the researcher as a subjectified, situated person. This misplacement of the narrator cannot be totally avoided. One can never write all one's reflections in a research report — that would throw too much irrelevant information at the readers. In addition, as I will explain later, feminist knowledge production recognises writing not only as a mental activity, but as a full-body activity. In this all of us, including emotions and sensations, are present.[16] Few of us, even the bravest and the most candid, would risk such exposure.

On the other hand, of course, I risk misusing the privilege of subjectivity. Subjectivity is a privilege, not only because of my discipline, but also because of my social position. Brewster (2005) points out that using the first person singular, making oneself visible in the text, can be considered another incarnation of white privilege.

---

[16] Readers may experience a conflict between this chapter's conceptions of personhood and those of the discourse theories presented in the later chapters. I take the liberty of leaving the conflict as it is, to underline my shifting theoretical position. This, of course, is in line with the view that science is nothing but stories competing for validity.

Because of my background as a Western, white, middle-class woman, in an individualistic European culture, I have the possibility of speaking with 'my own voice'. And then it can happen that instead of simply making myself visible, I make myself particularly important. Therefore, in my writing I need to be careful not to tip the balance, from meeting and greeting the reader to becoming the focus of the party.

Other complications also arise when one moves from objectivity to subjectivity. I already mentioned that the feminist approach to knowledge production views bodies as important resources for research and writing. Harraway (1991) helps to clarify this point. In Harraway's view, we should understand science just as we understand story telling. Since we are not telling the objective truth in any case, we should accept that we are writing "poetic truth". The production of poetic truth would include all of ourselves: our feelings, our bodily passions and pains (Lykke 2005). Instead of subscribing to the humanistic mind-body dualism, a feminist writer should listen to the entire spectrum of mental and bodily experiences. All these experiences would then guide the work.

This can mean, for example, recognising my feelings of attraction, apprehension or indifference towards my informants, and reflecting how these feelings affect my interpretations of the interviews. The experts on positivist research methods whose work I read earlier in my career would view this as unprofessional and would therefore restrict the resources I can use for my knowledge creation.[17] But when doing this discourse analysis, as I will describe later, I had to learn not to observe my informants as persons, but as users of discourses. In this sense, the practices of feminist knowledge production simultaneously liberate us and burden us. They encourage us to consider the whole range of sensations that are unavoidable when dealing with people. Yet, just as soon as I felt ready to do so, I realised I cannot write my analysis from these starting points.

However, this does not mean I am not writing poetic truth. In other passages I can let my sensations guide me. Writing poetic truth also means taking seriously the "small voices" inside us, such as messages from my dreams, intuitive realisations and bodily sensations (Lie 2005). It may be helpful to reflect on such messages when planning a theory or drafting a conclusion. In this way, part of the practice of feminist knowledge production is being conscious about everything that I feel and think while conducting a research project. Therefore, in the end, it is an enormous resource to be encouraged to reflect on my expression and perspective. It allows me to examine the work, the interpretations, the emotions and bodily feelings in a way that positivist-

---

[17] For example, mainstream leadership and organisational theories assume that interaction between people is neutral, that is, not influenced by gendered or other societal subject positions.

oriented research would forbid. It invites a production of science in ways that are not tied to strict formalities, to illusions of objectivity and rationality.

At the very best, this leads to multiple ways of generating knowledge. To realising that knowledge production is not a 'memorise-analyse-write up the report' process, but one that comes as much from the inside as from reorganising what we learn from the outside:

> I write because I want to find something out. I write in order to learn something that I didn't know before I wrote it. I was taught, though, as perhaps you were, too, not to write until I knew what I wanted to say, until my points were organised and outlined. No surprise, this static writing model coheres with mechanistic scientism and quantitative research.
> (…)
> The model has serious problems: it ignores the role of writing as a dynamic, creative process; it undermines the confidence of beginning qualitative researchers because their experience of research is inconsistent with the writing model; and it contributes to the flotilla of qualitative writing that is simply not interesting to read because adherence to the model requires writers to silence their own voices and to view themselves as contaminants. (Richardson 1997:6)

In Richardson's model, writing is part of the process of creating knowledge. At the same time, it is a form of resistance to the dominant conception of science.

Even with all this reflection, I must choose the window I look through as a researcher. It may not give a more accurate representation of reality than any other window in the house. The view is just different. My choice of a window is a value-based choice; it is about what I am as a person. This is also reflected in the findings: "What you look for and how you look affects what you see and there is no way to get around this" (Ahl 2002:30). As a feminist researcher, I am allowed to be this person, to embrace all my multiple resources of knowledge production. I can acknowledge my subjectivity — indeed I have the responsibility to do so — and I can use it to its full power.

My feminism in the context of this work

I have discussed how feminism as an ideology and a research practice covers a variety of views. They all recognise gender-based disadvantages in society and attempt to improve the situation, but the proposed theories and tools may differ greatly from one branch of feminism to another. By describing and combining these approaches, I have

demonstrated my approach to feminist research and writing practices. I now conclude the chapter by adding some more dimensions to feminism that are important to me.

Feminist research is not a single discipline. It is not only about creating a range of feminist theories and methodologies, but also about applying these in different disciplines, to help understand how gender is excluded or concealed in their practices. Therefore, feminists are not a distinct group of people acting in their own institutes, but researchers scattered around academia. Interdisciplinarity is one of the decisive characteristics of feminist research. Also my work combines theories of philosophy, sociology, psychology, management and technology, on which feminist theories are applied. Indeed, feminist resources provide a toolbox, which helps to examine the situatedness of knowledge in any discipline. Learning about different disciplines' gendered practices can also be called gender mainstreaming.[18] This means making gender a visible part of a discipline's practices and production of knowledge.

Another dimension to my feminism is that it is not limited to inequalities between women and men. Looking at the world's history and its current situation, it is obvious that women as a group are in a less advantageous position than men as a group. Even though Western white middle-class women may live relatively comfortable lives, the stock of sex-based inequalities in the world is simply enormous. Because of their gender, masses of girls and women face tragedies which are almost too ugly to consider. These are also the kinds of tragedies that do not sell well in mass media or as casual discussion topics. Without forgetting these issues, I also think that the disadvantages produced by the gender system must be 'mainstreamed' so they apply to all those who are controlled, limited or invalidated as full human beings by society's power relations.

I believe this for two reasons. First, binary constructions are not representative of what people are about; gender roles both isolate people from experiences that are part of humanity, and force people, on false premises, to engage in behaviours and experiences that have nothing to do with their wants and needs. This applies to both sides of the binary: to that which is named feminine and that which is named masculine. Second, the patriarchal power equation creates disadvantages on many different fronts. A disadvantaged subject position may stem from one's gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, age, physical condition, or even species (humans vs. animals).

---

[18] "Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality." (United Nations, Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997. A/52/3. 18.9.1997, p. 28. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gender_mainstreaming)

Therefore, the issue exists not only between men and women, masculine and feminine, but everywhere that the world is organised into strong and weak, winners and losers.

To add one more dimension to feminism: it is both a conduct and a life style. A feminist lives in consciousness about the consequences of her actions: how her choices impact society's gendered setup. Let's call this gender mainstreaming our actions. Sometimes it is a balancing act to integrate feminist views into one's life and work: how can I enjoy my womanhood without enforcing the gender roles? How can I earn my money in a trade I think is patriarchal? Or, on the other hand, how can I view things and ideas without always seeing gendered meanings in them? At other times applying my feminist principles is simple: I can choose not to view a film or read a book that I think is sexist. I can choose the kind of people I want as companions. I can watch my language for stereotypes. Thus far, of course, my greatest feminist act has been to write this dissertation. By doing this, I commit to thinking, saying and doing what I want to, even if it differs from what other people may think, say and do.

As a feminist researcher I have come to live, through conscious effort and as a habitual part of my character, all these dimensions of feminism. They are inscribed in my thinking and actions. Sometimes I have to re-evaluate them, or recognise my inconsistency in applying my own principles. But the point, I think, is to be reflective about them. And maybe sometimes to give yourself a break: one person cannot change everything.

Let me return for a moment to the idea of mainstreaming feminist consciousness. In this dissertation, I wanted to talk about sex-based inequalities. I could not have included all the other disadvantages in my study and still make it meaningful. The project is about gendered relations between men and women, masculine and feminine. Ultimately, this dissertation is of course an effort to make a contribution that counts, using the opportunities, and being confined by the limitations, I have described. From my standpoint I try to find new and different ways of seeing, understanding, and saying — and I hope I will inspire readers to do the same.

3. Conceptual framework and previous research

In Chapter 1, I outlined my research problem and the premises for this study. In Chapter 2, I discussed different approaches to feminism and thus arrived at my standpoint feminist position. The purpose of this chapter is to define the conceptual framework for my analysis. The theoretical grounding of my research is my title: "Doing Gender/Doing Profession". I use this phrase to refer to discursive constructions of gender and professionalism by Finnish ICT engineers and primary school teachers, which can be taken to represent professional practices that sustain and reproduce, or challenge, gendered discourses being conducted in the professions.

Michel Foucault's conceptions of socio-cultural discourses set the frames within which I operate. Within these frames, central to my study are theories on socially constructed gender difference, the gender contract, and discursive possibilities for resisting them. I bring into my discussion a range of approaches that build on one another, created within the North American and European research traditions. Further, I introduce theories that have been applied in the Finnish context, and provide some facts about gender in Finland.

As noted earlier, the concepts underpinning my study overlap and build on one another. They cannot be clearly separated into different subchapters. Within these constraints, however, I try to structure the flow of discussion so that the concepts follow one another logically. Since the theoretical background is fairly multi-dimensional, I have decided to review previous research relevant to my study, also multi-dimensional, where it best applies to the concepts I discuss. Therefore the following chapters contain both theoretical discussions and a review of relevant research in the area.

Since discourse analysis is not one research method, but rather a theoretical-methodological framework, I continue the conceptual discussion in Chapter 4. There I also lay out the methodological foundations for my analysis of interpretative repertoires, which requires me to expand on the potential of discourse theory to explain social phenomena.

Discourses and their regulatory effects

One concept provides the foundation for all the others in this work: *socio-cultural discourse*. Therefore, before going into the actual theories on gender, I must first explain how I understand and make use of this argument that is so fundamental to discourse theory. The theorists who interpret Michel Foucault's work (e.g.

Archaeology of Knowledge, 1969), such as Brewis (2001), Burr (1995, 2003), Carabine (2001), Hall (1996, 1997, 2000, 2001), Mills (1993), and Rosenau (1992), describe discourses as historically and culturally located interpretations of human existence which operate in our lives and constitute our belief systems. They delineate the boundaries of our social existence and action.

Throughout history, discourses have evolved by contesting and interacting with other discourses, so that now some discourses indicate intellectual ascendancy and others are marginalised. The former mark out their society's power relations and institutions. They are the dominant discourses in society, those which people most often believe to be true and accurate representations about the world, about different topics and issues connected to their lives. Other discourses are marginal and silenced voices and ideas, with alternative truths about the topics and issues they describe. They can disrupt and challenge the dominant discourses. In our everyday life, we rely on various discourses as we go about our routine ways of being in the world. Discourses define our attitudes and actions towards different topics and issues, at both the individual and the societal levels. Through our actions, we constantly reproduce discourses, so we repeatedly contribute to the configuration of power relations in society.

Carabine (2001) writes that a discourse consists of a group of related statements about a topic or issue. They are the ways that a topic or issue is spoken of, in talk, in texts and in any other form and practice of cultural representation and social interaction. These ways are not preset, they are not 'the way things are'; instead, they are socially constructed understandings of reality. Though they have no substance, no materiality, discourses cohere to produce both meanings and effects in the real, material world.

In combination, our ways of speaking about a topic build up a representation of it, which enables us to act appropriately in relation to it. For instance, the discourse of modern medicine operates to produce a particular version of the human physique, of what we understand as health, illness and medical treatment. Since this is the dominant discourse operating in Western societies, most of us accept it as the most accurate representation of the ways illnesses are treated. To us it *is* the truth: we take the means of modern medicine as the most reliable way to treat illnesses. Any other means of treating illness, like alternative medicine or Voodoo, which can be taken to represent discourses marginalised by the discourse of modern medicine, does not hold the same credible status in our system of meanings. We become subject to the modern medical discourse. In our society it is the powerful representation of treating illnesses, so we consider other discourses on the topic to be suspect.

Thus by prioritising one truth, we create a hierarchy between different representations of topics and issues. This makes it possible to invalidate the alternative meanings that can be given to them. We then act according to these beliefs; for instance, we shop in a pharmacy instead of going to a homoeopathist. Further material effects of the modern medical discourse are the medical profession, the pharmaceutical industry, and national health care systems.

Carabine (2001) writes that discourses are fluid and often opportunistic. A discourse about a certain topic or an issue may utilise, and be mediated by, other discourses about other topics. Discourses hook, so to speak, into normative ideas and commonsense notions that are beneficial to them. To continue my hypothesis on modern medical discourse, one could suggest that it draws on gender discourses — on our notions of gender stereotypes, reproduction and female sexualities — to produce a certain kind of representation of women. This could be, for example, that women are driven by their production of female hormones. This representation then creates further commonsense notions and material effects to follow them: when a female manager disciplines a sluggish subordinate, that person might laugh it off by suggesting the manager is in "that time of the month".

In this way, the different discourses can combine to disadvantage women, constitute them as the Other, and justify marginalising practices. Expressed differently, women become objects, not subjects, of the modern medical knowledge; their hormones are examined against the standard human being who is not driven by hormones. The gender discourses and the modern medical discourse utilise one another to give us shortcuts into ideas about women's bodies, reproduction, emotionality and professionalism; thus, again, they affect real lives in the real world.

This example shows that discourses, different socially and historically constructed 'rules', work to normalise certain knowledges and behaviours, policies and practices. They make it possible to compare, and differentiate between, people; through this process they indicate the standards against which all individuals, including those lacking, should measure themselves. The discourse of modern medicine designates to certified doctors the authority to treat illnesses, to politicians the power to allocate the health care budget, and to medical researchers the authority to define the parameters of a 'normal' person. People outside these categories are the laity when it comes to the medical discourse and the discourses that connect to it. The laity has limited possibilities for action within the parameters of the discourses. In Burr's (1995:64) words, normalised knowledge brings with it "the potential for social practices, for acting in one way rather than another, and for marginalising alternative ways of acting". Knowledge constitutes power and knowledge is constituted as an effect of power.

Michel Foucault (1926-1984) analysed power and the relationship between power and knowledge in what he called genealogical analyses. That is, he examined the development of different discourses throughout the history of Western thought. Foucault was interested in how that which is considered 'true' and 'normal' in society came about, and how this reflects and sustains power relations in society (Hall 2001). Foucault studied different power/knowledge relations in his *Discipline and Punish* (1977) and *The History of Sexuality* (1981), for instance. He developed theories on how Western notions of psychiatry, biomedicine, sexuality and criminality have evolved, and how they have been used to control people. That is, how have the holders of the knowledge, on the one hand, used disciplinary power, and how have the objects of the knowledge, on the other hand, exercised control over themselves via "self-surveillance" (see Vaz and Bruno 2003).

While Foucault examined these specific practices, the same concepts about discourses and their *normalising power* can be applied to any topic or issue. The discourses most relevant in this study would be those related to the professions and to gender. As shown by the above example of the modern medical discourse, the knowledges they represent consist of a number of connecting ideas, which work to sustain different practices and power relations within their context. That is, they are normalised knowledges that create "the potential for social practices, for acting one way rather than another, and for marginalising alternative ways of acting" (Burr 1995:64).

I am especially interested in how discourses of gender — such as the characteristics designated to what the patriarchal gender dichotomy names masculine and feminine, and to gendered distribution of work — appear within the discourses of the professions I study. That is, how does gender intertwine with the professional discourses operating in the fields of ICT engineering and primary school teaching in Finland, and what kinds of normalising practices does this interaction make possible.

I will provide an example for this point by showing one author's version of how the discourse of computing has developed. Because it is a relatively new academic and professional field, with immense societal and cultural effects, and one that has evolved into a very gendered field of action, the discourse of computing has inspired much interest among feminist researchers (e.g. Clegg 2001, Faulkner 2000, Vehviläinen 1997). Clegg (2001) studied computing as an academic discipline, to trace how its masculine connotations came to be acknowledged as *the* computing knowledge. Clegg describes how the production of knowledge on computing has been "controlled, selected, organised and redistributed" to arrive at its concurrent representations (Ahl 2002).

In the text box below, I present Clegg's (2001) standpoint feminist interpretation of how computing as an academic field became an *object of our knowledge,* and how certain types of people became known as the authorities in the field. "There was nothing inevitable about this", writes Clegg (p.315), referring to the ways that representing knowledge about computing developed, so that certain rules now govern the ways we can talk about it meaningfully. That is, what do the physical processes taking place inside the machine mean to us and why are these meanings organised the way they are.

Text box 3.1   Gendering the discourse of computing

Clegg (2001) describes the historically contingent nature of the relationship between gender, education and computing. Clegg starts from Adam's (1998) notion that computing entails gendered meanings at every point of its history. Gender-computer relationships are not outside the technology; they are what make the technology what it is, from the design of the keyboard to the graphical interface. In the beginning, the development of computers was mostly funded by the US military (Edwards 1990). So from the start computers carried meanings connected to machismo, along with all-American images of the industrial military complex. Home computers were designed and marketed for male hobbyists (Kirkup 1992, Weinstein 1998). As a result, computers, just like cars and other forms of hardware, became a naturalised part of male heterosexual identity. This continues to resonate in the iconography and visual language of computer games and other software (Millar 1998).

In this discourse, women have more often been low-paid end users than active participants (Durndell and Lightbody 1993, Siann 1997). In the beginning, however, some female programmers were prominent, including Adelle Goldstine, one of the developers of ENIAC (the first US computer designed to compute ballistic tables for targeted bombings) and Grace Hopper, whose work was instrumental in developing COBOL (Common Business Oriented Language) (Adam 1998, Kirkup 1992). But the ways that computing developed and was institutionalised marginalised women. The design and marketing of computers drew on the available masculine concepts and in this way computing became affixed to the existing gender system, with women ideologically positioned as outsiders.

Schools and universities, as sites of production and reproduction of meanings, shaped computer technologies and at the same time reproduced gendered expectations about their use and capacities (Mahony and Van Toen 1990). When computers and computing entered into schools in the 1970s, they were already loaded with gendered meanings. Not surprisingly, then, science and mathematics teachers (who are mostly male at the primary school level while the rest of the teaching staff are women), or hobbyist enthusiasts took the responsibility for purchasing and maintaining the machines. This established the association between computing and men and served to further marginalise women from its realm.

Even though computing counts as one of the engineering disciplines, it cannot be considered an extension of mathematical thinking or an applied science (Berman 1993, Kukla 1994). In addition to material capacities, technology is about multiple kinds of know-how, socially constituted sets of practices that largely rely on practical experience: "'Doing computing' is different from understanding the underlying physical laws which make computers work, in much the same way as singing is different from understanding the underlying physiology which makes voice production possible. While the physical capacities of computers rest on the natural kinds of abstract sciences, computing knowledge is not reducible to them" (Clegg 2001:310).

A different story applies to the development of computing science at universities. Heavy emphasis was placed on formal and mathematical methods of teaching and on Artificial Intelligence research, promoted by particular socio-political conditions and heavy funding by the US Department of Defence (Berman 1993, Edwards 1990). Furthermore, argues Kukla (1994), the characterisation of computing as an abstract science correlates with the perceived high status of natural sciences conceived within the positivist framework. These images resonate with notions of rationality and power, which are discursively projected as masculine.

> Consequently, computer science is discursively represented as a series of macho practices. Its problems conflate intelligence with ideals associated with middle-class masculinity (Adam 1998). Thus, in computer education, women are awkwardly positioned in relation to the over-determined descriptions of computing as formal methods and mathematics-based science (Clegg and Trayhurn 1999, Stepulevage and Plumeridge 1998). The dominant discourse of computing is shaped by social practices which have institutionalised the power of experts (mostly men) to define what counts as 'proper' computing (technology) and to regard end-users (often women) as not serious professionals (Grundy 1996, Perry and Greber 1990). There is no technologically determined logic to any of these historical or current gender positions. However, the power relationships, as they have evolved with the discourse of computing, make it difficult to contest these meanings.

Source: Clegg (2001)

Apart from the kind of historical genealogy Clegg describes, there are other ways to organise and examine different elements of disciplinary discourses. Hall (2001) lists six elements of a discourse, valid at any historical moment: 1) statements, which provide a certain kind of knowledge about a topic or issue; 2) rules, which prescribe certain ways of talking about the topic/issue and exclude other ways of talking about it; 3) subjects, who in some ways personify the discourse, with the attributes we would expect them to have; 4) the 'truth of the matter', the ways by which the knowledge about the topic/issue acquires authority; 5) the practices and institutions that regulate and organise the subjects' conduct; and 6) an acknowledgement that a different discourse will arise at a later historical moment, producing new conceptions of the topic/issue and the power to regulate social practices in new ways.

To get a second perspective on the discourse of computing, we can examine it using these six elements from Hall (2001) to organise its ideas. In the table below, I show different elements of the discourse of computing, which are familiar to me from different professional and cultural contexts.

Table 3.1   Different elements of the discourse of computing

Element of the discourse of computing	Example
Statements about computing that give us a certain kind of knowledge about it.	"Computing revolutionised commerce." "Boys are more interested in computing than girls." "Bill Gates is the world's richest man." "Software engineering is a safe occupation."
Rules which prescribe certain ways of talking about computing and exclude other ways; they govern what one can say/think about computing.	There are certain things we can say about computing that people accept as true: "Computer technology makes life easier". There are some things that people find silly to say about computing: "Computers do not add to the quality of life".
Subjects who in some ways personify the discourse, with the attributes we would expect them to have.	Nerdy software engineer: an introvert guy always tinkering with technology End-user: person who uses computer for work and recreation, and is not interested in the technology Teenage user: constantly hanging around in chat galleries and on YouTube
The ways the knowledge about computing acquires authority; a sense of embodying the 'truth' about it and constituting the 'truth of the matter'.	Conceptualising computing in the field of natural sciences instead of social sciences. Separation of experts from end-users. Prestige and capabilities associated with establishments such as MIT and IBM. The wealth associated with NASDAQ.
The practices and institutions for dealing with the subjects, whose conduct is regulated and organised according to the above ideas.	Technical university Hard/software industry PC magazines The game industry MediaMarkt, Inter Discount (mass markets)
Acknowledgement that a different discourse or episteme will arise at a later historical moment, which will supplant the existing one, and produce new conceptions of computing, new discourses with the power and authority to regulate social practices in new ways.	Shifts in the object of the discourse from military equipment to business machine to the commerce-driven internet. Shift in the focus of technology companies from production of technology to a utility type supply of technology services.

When we learn about computing at school, when we use the Internet as a research tool or when we process data in our work, we are part of the discourse of computing. We accept its rules and by acting from within them, reproduce the discourse. Furthermore, being part of the discourse, we share a common identity with similar people doing similar things. For example, during their university education, technology students not only learn to put ideas about software engineering into practice; they also acquire a common identity with other software engineers. The acquired expert identity allows them to regulate the conduct of people who are not initiated into software engineering or who are initiated, but do not carry the characteristics required to be a 'legitimate' expert.

The discourse of computing presented here is just one example of a possible development and elements of a discourse. Similar types of analyses can be made about any other discourse and its positioning of people, ideas, institutions and practices. For feminist researchers, analyses of the development of different discourses have been helpful for understanding the operation of gender in different contexts. Carabine (2001), for example, analysed policy documents, parliamentary debates and other sources of political decision making to determine which discursive strategies were used in drafting the New Poor Law in 19th-century Britain. Carabine describes how different discourses interacted in the legislative process to normalise what was considered acceptable sexuality. This ordered people in a hierarchy with regard to their marital status, which further resulted in a hierarchy among poor relief recipients. Men held a rather neutral position, but among women, married mothers held the highest status, then widows, then single mothers. In this way, claims Carabine, power/knowledge networks operating in the legislative bodies created notions that are still features of the British social security system.

Ahl (2002) analysed discursive constructions of female entrepreneurs in research publications on entrepreneurship. Using a feminist perspective, she examined how the texts speak of female entrepreneurs, what epistemological assumptions, theories, research methods and rhetorical devices they entail, and how the researchers arrived at their conclusions. Ahl argues that gendered discourses are operating in entrepreneurship research and that these discourses can work to marginalise female entrepreneurs. Ahl further demonstrates how the field's writing and publishing practices reinforce the gendered discourses, for example by presenting highly context-dependent research results as universally applicable.

A number of North American feminist discourse analysts were influential in the late 1980s and early 1990s, using what they called deconstructions of regular and "taken for granted" appearances of leadership and management texts, speeches and theories. The deconstructionists 'read' these texts in a way that revealed different

gendered discourses operating through their apparently neutral appearance. In this vein, Bristor and Fischer (1993) deconstructed the concurrent consumer theory, suggesting that it contains epistemological assumptions and practical implications that reproduce gender in the field of marketing. Calás and Smircich (1991) deconstructed leadership literature, arguing that their representations of leaders are connected to the ideals of hegemonic masculinity and "homo society". Mumby and Putnam (1992) deconstructed the concept of "bounded rationality", suggesting that much economic theorising and organising are based on this narrowly defined concept, which creates an artificial split between intellect and emotions and body. These theories then work to maintain hierarchies in organisations.

More recently, feminist cultural theorists have used film material to explore the cinematic reproduction of gender discourses. Mendick (2005) deconstructed representations of natural science expertise. Using, for example, the film *A Beautiful Mind* (Ron Howard 2001) as material, Mendick showed how images of hegemonic masculinity intertwine with images of science ingenuity. Finlay and Fenton (2005) analysed representations of female sexuality in currently daring hit films such as *Basic Instinct* (Paul Verhoeven 1992) and *Disclosure* (Barry Levinson 1994). The scholars conclude that the films connect unconventional or unrestrained female sexual expression with destruction.

But as suggested by Carabine (2001) and Hall (2001) above, discourses are not fixed. They evolve constantly, so that new kinds of discursive formations develop over time, with new understandings of topics and issues, and new kinds of regulatory power. In this way, even though discourses pose controlling intentions, they do not necessarily result in successful and complete regulation (Carabine 2001). Discourses develop within certain social, cultural and historical circumstances. This context is not stable, but dynamic. This allows cracks to form in discursive formations, and new discourses to gain ascendancy, providing different 'scripts' by which people can order their conceptions of the world. These lead to new kinds of interactions among different discourses, and further reconfigurations of knowledge and their normalising effects. Norms and truths change, alongside our understandings of topics and issues and our lives.

Good examples of this kind of change of script are the discourses regulating male and female sexualities. They have evolved greatly within a relatively short time span. Holloway (1984) describes three discourses connected to heterosexuality, which grant different positions for men and women, including rights and obligations and possibilities for action. Widely available for men is the "male-sexual-drive" discourse, which centres on the idea that men's sexuality is driven by a biological need to conceive as many descendants as possible. This discourse is not uncommon in talk

about rape or prostitution, as it objectifies women and grants to men a certain amount of aggressiveness and emotional detachment as part of their nature.

The discourse most widely available to women is the "have/hold" discourse, in which reproduction and emotions are central to women's sexuality. Women are oriented towards bearing and raising children, and hence they need to be able to engage in long-term committed relationships. This discourse heavily regulates women's sexual behaviour by social control and by self-surveillance: being declared promiscuous is an ever-present threat. The have/hold discourse positions men according to their willingness or unwillingness to engage in an intimate, committed relationship with a woman, but does not regulate their sexual conduct as much as it does that of women.

It is no exaggeration to say that the have/hold discourse is influential in nearly every position available to women in society. But the two sexuality discourses have also been contested by other discourses of sexuality, such as the "permissive" discourse. This is a less bipolar and more liberal view on sexual interaction among people. Granted, the birth-control pill is the pioneer in creating cracks in the two initial discourses of male and female sexualities, but these cracks opened the possibility for different discourses to interact and via this interaction to start redefining sexualities. Such discourses could for instance be those that normalise forms of living other than in a nuclear family, enforced in different social (divorce legislation) and cultural (popular culture) sites. Within this interaction of discourses evolved the permissive discourse on sexuality, with new implications for what different people can do and claim for themselves.

To add another example, earlier I presented some possible versions of the computing discourse. In them, conceptions of computing had shifted from a military tool to a data management tool to a retailing tool to a communication tool, and yet new uses and conceptions of computing technology emerge and modify the discourse. An example taken from working life is the virtual workplace. This has entered our experimental space and redefined places and styles of working. Some of the material effects of this shift in the computing discourse, linked to discourses of working practices, are that companies can commit less of their workspace to employee offices, that child care practices at home may change, that people may spend less time commuting, and that employees can — or are even expected to — work at any hour of the day.

To conclude, instead of being objective and progressive knowledges about their topic, discourses are socially constructed ideas and practices that outline certain parameters for our action. Discourses develop and gain dominance within society's power relations, and they legitimate and marginalise practices, statuses, institutions

and artefacts. These can change meaning over time, but at the same time some discourses are so deeply seated in our society that they are nearly impossible to recognise. For this reason, understanding discourses and their effects is essential to challenging the value of knowledges and to questioning the validity of conventions and everyday practices. In my analysis, this primarily relates to how discourses acting in the professions of teaching and engineering invite gendered ways of being and doing.

Gender as a social accomplishment

I have watched boys take off. I've seen them on bikes, skateboards, motor scooters, sliding on a piece of waxed cardboard. They fly down the middle of the street, cars going fast uphill, downhill, do they care? The direction of a boy is straight out of the door, down the hill, out of the neighbourhood, into the world. No second thought at leaving people behind, leaving them to fend for themselves as he takes off, hellbent for his own future without them.

I've seen girls on skateboards and girls on waxed cardboard, but I have never seen a girl who did not look back and wonder. Not ever. Because there is always someone standing at the door, someone waiting for you to come home, someone who will be happier when they hear your key in the lock. Girls are always aware of this and boys are not.

Women, especially mothers, know in every moment who is waiting for them to get back home, to call in, to fetch them; this knowledge is what it means to be a woman. Therefore the fate of a girl, the future she is definitely growing into, holds the certainty of restriction. But for a boy, as I have often observed, there is little danger becoming a woman. He can be as reckless, as ruthless as he pleases, as carefree, devil-may-care as he likes, breaking his mother's heart, casting off the girl who's waiting for him in the garden. The guy has got to go to sea, and so he's off.

Even if a boy stops being a boy (and this is not inevitable), the man he becomes will have no more impulse, in being a man, to fret over the people he left behind. This ease is never possible for a girl. Even if she went from girl to woman in her father's house, she'd be thinking about the people downstairs, for whom she is not baking while she is writing poetry.

<div align="center">

Kim Chernin, My Life as a Boy

</div>

Discourses of gender are intrinsically involved in everything we do and are. They are among the most, if not *the* most, prevalent and influential discourses in society. In the previous section, I spoke about the power of discourses to regulate our beliefs and actions. In the next part of this chapter, I look specifically at those historically and culturally located interpretations of human existence, operating in our lives and constituting our belief systems, which delineate the borders of our social existence and action as *gendered beings*. I review theories on the social construction of gender to cast light on why it is possible for Kim Chernin's "boy" to go head-on into his future, why the "girl" would look back and wonder.

To specify my position, I draw particularly on four complementary theoretical views: *doing gender* by West and Zimmerman (1987) and West and Fenstermaker (1995), *gender habitual behaviour* by Veijola and Jokinen (2001), gender as a *dynamic relation between the symbolic universe of the masculine and the symbolic universe of the feminine* by Gherardi (1995), and *gendered organisation of work* by Acker (1990). In this chapter, I primarily discuss the first two conceptualisations of gender; in the next chapter, I talk about the symbolic universes and gendered distribution of work.

In everyday language, the term gender normally marks men and women and their biological differences. The theoretical term gender, in turn, refers to socially and culturally created notions of what it *means* to be a man or a woman, and what the differences between men and women *should be*. The ways men and women look, behave, and relate to each another in society are considered to be predetermined not by biology, but by patriarchal views layered on our bodies and histories. These beliefs, and the different practices that follow them, keep up oppressive relations between people: the gender system.

If, on the contrary, gender is understood as predetermined by biology, then gender-specific characteristics should equal bodily characteristics. That is, male-bodied people would have a male way of doing, being and wanting, while female-bodied people would have a female way of doing, being and wanting.[19] The male/female dichotomy and the gendered ways of doing, being and wanting would follow from nature. But gender and sexuality are not unambiguously equal to our biological bodies. As Butler (1990) elaborates, nothing in our physical bodies predicts our social behaviour and our experiences of the world. There is no single and stable way of being a man or a woman; it is always situational, tied to the time and the place and the person's particular circumstances. Any attempt to pin down a firm set of characteristics for a woman or man fails because of its absurdity, and reveals only the variation of ways of being, doing and wanting among human beings.

This is easily illustrated by comparing my Finnish way of being a woman to my Sri Lankan neighbour's way of being a woman. Of course we are both labelled "woman", we look like women, we tick the box "female" on official forms, and other people relate to us as women in social interactions. Nevertheless, there are probably many more differences than similarities in our ways of being in the world. I do not need to look far to name many men who seem more like me in their ways of doing, being and wanting than does the Sri Lankan woman.

---

[19] West and Zimmerman (1987) point out that different medical conventions are used to name a body as "male" or "female". There are also certain cultural conventions for naming a person "man" or "woman", which do not necessarily correspond to the medical conventions. For instance, a person in a suit may look like a man, but this does not necessarily mean they were diagnosed a man at birth.

Even though there is no reliable way of defining gender difference, even though there is no way to determine *exactly what* this difference is, the line drawn between men and women works to justify and reproduce relations of power in society. The performance of gender persists for the very reason people and their actions are labelled gendered (see Poovey 1988). The social articulation of the polarised categories male/female and masculine/feminine makes them part of our realities (Butler 1990). Over and over again this process grounds gender-based inequalities in society, such as the gendered distribution of work.

Theories on the social construction of gender have been influenced particularly by two views, which have both generated huge amounts of theoretical and empirical work: Butler's (1990) gender performativity and West and Zimmerman's (1987) doing gender. More recent movements in the field include intersectional theories on doing gender/doing difference.[20] I focus on West and Zimmerman, and only briefly touch on the ideas of Butler and the intersectionalists. These are useful as background knowledge, but Butler's focus on identity display and the intersectionalists' focus on the dynamics between different social subject positions are not directly relevant to my conceptualisation of doing gender/doing profession in the context of this thesis. I do, however, include in my conceptual frame the discussion by Finnish gender theorists Veijola and Jokinen (2001) on gender-habitual behaviour. This concept has helped me to expand West and Zimmerman's (1987) ideas to discursive representations of gender in professional life.

Butler (1990, 1993) theorises that our entire social existence as gendered people is an epistemological illusion. The naturalisation of gender as part of our physical world is made possible through articulation and repetition, and just like our behaviour, our physical bodies are also manifestations of the gender system. We experience and present ourselves and our bodies as male- and female-gendered, because this is how they have been constituted in our social world. Butler (1990) further introduces the possibility of parodying gender and thus subverting its stability in our social understanding.

Intersectionalists, such as Moser (2006), Søndergaard (2005) and Staunæs (2005), largely leave aside any discussion concerning body and identity, and instead focus on how gender becomes socially reproduced and gains relevance as a function of a person's different social subject positions. Intersectionalists focus not on how gender is socially produced and sustained, but on how gender and other socially constructed subject positions intersect in our social interaction and social positioning, and work together to disadvantage or privilege people. For example, Staunæs (2005) studied

---

[20] West and Fenstermaker titled their (1995) publication "Doing difference".

how intersections of gender and ethnicity/appearance create conceptions of appropriate sexual behaviour for teenage girls.

Not long before Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990), West and Zimmerman (1987) published their groundbreaking *Doing Gender*.[21] In it, they developed a theory of gender as "routine accomplishment established in everyday interaction" (p.125). What West and Zimmerman call "social accountability" invites individuals to behave in a manner consistent with their sex category — and demands that they do so. It is instrumental to society's institutional arrangements that our interaction take place in such a manner.

West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that we reproduce discourses of gender by "behavioural displays" of our "'essential' male or female identity" (p.142). Doing gender means engaging in a set of socially guided perceptual, interactional and micro-political activities (e.g. ways of relating to other people, ways of walking and talking, ways of gesturing, and ways of dressing), that confirm our own and others' understanding of gender differences. In fact, we engage in these behavioural displays of gender identity so convincingly that they seem to be natural expressions of masculinity and femininity.

The point of West and Zimmerman's theory is that gender is not a property of individuals but a necessary feature of social situations. Gender is not something we are, but something we do. It has to be socially reconstructed on a continuous basis, determined by the prevailing conceptions of men and women. These normative conceptions may vary across time, ethnic group, and social situation, but the requirement and the opportunity to behave as men and women is ever-present. That is, even though there is a world of difference between me and my Sri Lankan neighbour, we both engage in a methodical accomplishment of gender. Our competence as members of society is held hostage to the presentation of appropriate gender behaviour:

> If sex categories are potentially omnirelevant to social life, then persons engaged in virtually any activity may be held accountable for their performance of that activity as women or as men, and their category membership can be used to validate and discredit their other activities. This arrangement provides for countless situations in which persons in a particular sex category can "see" that they are out of place, and if they were not there, their current problems would not exist. (West and Fenstermaker 1995:22)

The reason our social credibility, even existence, is dependent on gender-appropriate behaviour is that it supports society's power structures. Those structures function

---

[21] The article has been cited 634 times (Deutsch 2007).

properly only when discourses of gender difference are appropriately reproduced. We do gender because the distribution of privileges in society requires that men be men and women be women:

> It also allows for seeing various features of the existing social order — for example, the division of labour (Berk 1985), the development of gender identities (Cahill 1986), and the subordination of women by men (Fenstermaker, West and Zimmerman 1991) — as "natural" responses. These things "are the way they are" by virtue of the fact that men are men and women are women — a distinction seen as "natural", as rooted in biology, and as producing fundamental psychological, behavioural, and social consequences. (West and Fenstermaker 1995:22)

Deutsch (2007) suggests that the most revolutionary point of the West and Zimmerman theory is their perception of gender as a dynamic that changes over time. Gender is not a role we can 'play' to prove our social suitability. Doing gender comes about *in social interaction*, *because of interactional requirements*: "It is individuals who do gender, but it is a situated doing, carried out in the virtual or real presence of others who are presumed to be oriented to its production" (West and Zimmerman 1987:126).

Earlier socialisation theories on gender assumed that people internalise the gendered norms of their environment when they are growing up. The doing-gender model assumes that people respond to changing contemporary norms (Deutsch 2007, Thorne 2002). This highlights the potential of the doing-gender approach with regards to change. When gender is not considered as individual property or a role a person has been (permanently) socialised into, the change is not a long-term project that would take generations, but a matter of making our doing of gender and the social structures that demand and support it transparent, and then acting on this knowledge.

I have the possibility of leading a life that is radically different from my mother's; I also have the possibility of leading a life radically different from women of my age who have made different choices. The doing-gender approach suggests that change is possible within a relatively short time span. I include the doing-gender approach in my work — and even in the title of my work — precisely because it presents this potential for change. Even when structural conditions produce gender differences and gender inequalities, these are mediated through social interactions that always contain the potential for resistance (Deutsch 2007).

If gender is constructed in interaction, then it can also be deconstructed. Gendered rhetoric can be exposed, gendered institutions challenged, and the social interactions that support them made transparent and undone. As Andersen (2005) puts it, this

revolutionary potential of human agency is the most important contribution of the doing-gender approach.

Veijola and Jokinen (2001) also talk about the social accomplishment of gender, but from a slightly different perspective. To capture the multiple ways that gender difference can be produced, Veijola and Jokinen suggest speaking about gender as habitual behaviour. While West and Zimmerman focus primarily on gendered micro-level activities (such as gestures), Veijola and Jokinen focus on those gendered experiences and ways of being that in our society are considered usual to men or to women. Even though, as discussed earlier, there is no way to determine what is genuine and original womanhood or manhood, in any given society and culture there are men's lives and experiences, and women's lives and experiences. Over time, these have become frequent elements of being a man or a woman.

Some activities and ways of being are socially marked feminine: women have historically engaged in them and do them frequently today, either of their free own will or because of social pressure. Nursing or doing the emotional work in relationships, for example, can be called female-habitual behaviour. Similarly, some activities and ways of being are socially marked masculine. Enjoying tinkering with mechanical devices or being competitive in team sports could be named as male-habitual behaviours. The social marking of nurturing as feminine behaviour and mechanical tinkering as masculine behaviour upholds the gender dichotomy, as divisions of labour and other divisions in society follow these social markings. Even though individual women or men might have nothing to do with nursing or tinkering, the ideas that they are male behaviour and female behaviour affect the lives of all women and men (Veijola and Jokinen 2001).

Hence, we can talk about feminine or masculine ways of being, acting and wanting, or not-being, not-acting and not-wanting, without assuming that all women and men share the same particular ways (see Heinämaa 1996). Of course, gender-habitual behaviour is not connected to male and female biological characteristics, nor is it necessarily about individuals' choices. Our lives are immersed in different stories about femininities and masculinities, and so everyone who differs from what is considered 'normal' is accountable for their deviant behaviour (see West and Zimmerman (1987) and West and Fenstermaker (1995) above). For example, a woman cannot just decide not to have children; she must reflect on that decision at different levels, both individually and with other people. At the very least, the choice must exist as a socially feasible (if not habitual) way to be a woman.

Like the approach of West and Zimmerman (1987), that of Veijola and Jokinen suggests that gender is a set of fractional and dynamically changing compositions that are created within our social life. For this reason, the idea of gender-habitual behaviour

also suggests a possibility for change within a relatively short time span. Even though no one can go through a lifetime without others commenting on her or his gender, it is possible to take a stance on the behaviour expected because of one's gender. People are not predetermined to subscribe to what is considered 'normal'. Indeed, many individuals do not. This is what creates the possibility for expanding our conceptions of what is appropriate gender behaviour — actions that can further fracture and change society's gender divisions. There are countless examples of changes in the conceptions of what ways of being, doing and wanting are appropriate to men and women, even during my lifetime.

This refers back to my discussion in the previous section on fracturing discursive formations. I used as an example discourses of male and female sexualities. The inventor of the contraceptive pill created the potential to fracture the one-dimensional discourse on female sexuality. Women had the possibility to have sex with men without becoming mothers. This created possibilities for new socially acceptable ways for women to behave in relation to sex. This, in turn, created a wave of changes in female-habitual behaviour: women no longer needed to marry young and spend their lives raising children. It became more usual for women to earn an advanced degree and postpone starting a family. Women had the possibility of buying their own property — which created further fractures in female-habitual behaviour. The shift in the discourse on female sexuality shifted a whole set of discourses on womanhood.

In sum, the concepts of doing gender and gender-habitual behaviour help us understand how change can take place as a result of people changing the scripts of manhood and womanhood. In my study this is relevant because routines and habits of gender are connected to styles of and choices about working. It is female-habitual behaviour to engage in nurturing occupations, and male-habitual behaviour to study engineering. The requirement that one be socially accountable affects the practices of both men and women in the workplace.

My purpose is not to analyse how femininities and masculinities are produced in interactions or in the lives of individual professionals, but to examine how, in their talk, professionals articulate the socially constructed gender, and so can be taken to reproduce discourses of gender in their work: *What are the parameters for the reproduction of gender in that particular social condition*?

Before reviewing some of the vast literature on the area at the end of the next section, I now continue with my theoretical discussion. For the time being, to conclude and to summarise: if gender inequalities are constituted on rhetoric, if they are maintained and reproduced by our gendered ways of being and doing, then exposing the rhetoric can expose the practices that are involved in maintaining the gender

system. This can help open new ways of thinking, in which terms are not fixed along the lines of gender — or any other dichotomy for that matter.

The gender contract

Thus far, I have introduced the idea that socio-cultural discourses delineate our beliefs and actions with regard to different topics and issues. I then spoke about gender as a social accomplishment, by which we reproduce discourses of gender in our ways of being and doing. I now expand the discussion, focusing specifically on the operation of gender in working life: how the socially constructed concept of gender grounds divisions of labour. I then review research relevant to both this section and the previous one. I continue with the review in the section to follow, in which I talk about the possibilities for reconfiguring oppressive discourses.

Gherardi (1995) writes that because of their "multi-individual dimension" and "supra-individual duration", the categories male and female seem to be an authentic social structure. Yet every interpretation of gender is temporary: the male and the female are a dynamic social relationship, in which meanings are processually given within society and by individuals. Both men and women are prisoners of gender, says Gherardi, albeit in different ways and in asymmetrical situations of power.

As already discussed, it is fundamental to the gender system that gender differences can be asserted over and over. This organises the mutual relationship between what is considered masculine and feminine in society. Two principles are significant to the continuity of the gender system: 1) women and femininity must be clearly distinguishable from men and masculinity, both in practice and in theory; and 2) in all cases men and masculinity are more valuable than women and femininity. Man is the prototype of abstract humanity; it defines normality, against which women/femininity is measured and lacking (Hirdman 1990a, Rantalaiho 1994).

Theorists of gendered organisations explain how the social construction we call gender operates in the distribution of work in society. According to Gherardi (1995), the gendered organisation of work is founded on the dynamic relationship between the masculine and the feminine, on the "sexual contract". Patriarchal societies rest on this gender order, where the symbolic universes of the male and the female are separated, and where whatever is affirmed by one is denied by the other. The distribution of work in society reflects this dynamics of the two symbolic universes.

The male and the female are socially organised to complement one another. This fact is well reflected in sociological-psychological indices of sex role stereotypes, which list traits typically considered masculine and feminine, such as the Schein Descriptive Index, SDI (Schein 1973) and the Bem Sex Role Inventory, BSRI (Bem 1981). Bem, for instance, theorises that people tend to process behaviours based on sex-linked associations that constitute the gender system. This sex typing is a product of the socially constructed gender dichotomy (Bem 1981, Hovdesven 2006). To see

how this operates we can simply look at the first five alphabetically ordered items in Bem's masculinity scale — *act as a leader, aggressive, analytical, assertive* and *athletic —* and compare them with the first five items on the femininity scale: *affectionate, cheerful, childlike, compassionate,* and *eager to soothe hurt feelings.* Even though Bem's index was first published more than two decades ago, its associations between men and the masculine traits and women and the feminine traits continue to reflect the complementary and contradictory ways in which women and men tend to be described and related to. The index is still frequently used in psychological research today (Holt and Ellis 1998). In this sense, these kinds of indexes can also be useful starting points for a critical analysis of gender: they show how the meanings given to the male and the female in the gender system settle out within the socially constructed dichotomy.

This dichotomy is a fundamental one for organising work in society. It creates the frameworks for the gender contract (or the sexual contract, to Gherardi 1995), which designates women in certain forms of labour and men in others. Women, with their reproductive capacities, 'feminine traits and skills', are discursively positioned to work in functions where their sexualised bodies are linked to the type of work they do. Examples are homemaking; nurturing occupations like nursing, teaching and elderly care; hospitality services like cooking, cleaning and customer care/service; and organisational support functions like administrative work, Human Resources and communications. Not only are these characteristics connected to women; they also subordinate women to men, as they often mean that the women are serving the latter, and that economic disadvantages are involved.

Men who enter 'women's occupations' are easily held accountable for their choice (see West and Zimmerman 1987). They need to negotiate for themselves a subject position — that is, do masculinity — which provides a fit between their masculine gender and the feminine positioning of the work. A good example of this is Cross and Bagilhole's (2002) study of men who took up cleaning and nursing, that is, traditional women's occupations. To find a credible professional identity, the men attempted to maintain a traditional masculinity by distancing themselves from their female colleagues, and/or partially (re)constructed a different masculinity by identifying with the occupations in a way that gave them a sense of higher status as compared to their female colleagues.

Casual observations show that this kind of shift in status is also evident in other woman-dominated professions. For instance, in the hospitality sector the head of the kitchen, the master chef, is likely to be a man. In schools, the majority of headmasters

are men.[22] Because the feminine-signed occupations are not on a continuum with the discursive positioning of masculinity, these dynamics are required to sustain the gender contract. Once the status shifts when the cooks change from being females to male, or the teachers from female to male, the disruption in the gender contract becomes corrected. With the man the leader and the expert, the 'original' higher status of masculinity is repaired.

Furthermore, Rantalaiho (1994) writes that it is more culturally acceptable for women to enter a predominantly male field of work than for men to enter a field that is discursively positioned as feminine. That is, because maleness is the norm, it is the standard for human beings: even those who are somehow lacking can try to achieve it. Maleness is culturally valued, while femaleness is considered unimportant. A good example of this hierarchy is professional sports, where women's tournaments attract far less attention than men's.

While men need to negotiate their masculinity when taking up women's work, for women cleaning, cooking and nurturing fall naturally into the gender contract. This is a societal arrangement, which initially worked to position women within the private sphere of life and men within the public sphere (Burr 1995). Women are to be at home taking care of the household and the children, while the men are to be outside the home, engaged in working life, politics and science. In fact, the 'public sphere men's work/private sphere women's work' division is so deeply engraved in society's discourses that not only are women assumed to be good at handling household tasks, emotions and children, but those tasks have actually become part of their gender-habitual behaviour (Veijola and Jokinen 2001). Women routinely think, feel and act in the interest of others. That is considered part of being a woman. Those who do not display these qualities tend to be held accountable for their 'deviation', even to the point of social punishment. For instance the expression 'corporate bitch' reflects this kind of social punishment.

These practices of doing femininity and doing masculinity start in adolescence, when girls share secrets about lives and relationships in close and empathetic friendships, or engage in emotionally loaded hobbies, such as riding horses.[23] Boys, in contrast, learn to do masculinity by playing games and team sports.

Edley (2001) studied schoolboys' discursive representations of intimate relations, concluding that their talk about relationships is oriented towards action and sexual

---

[22] In Finnish basic education, 61% of school principals are men, and 39% women. Meanwhile, 75% of teaching positions are held by female teachers, and 25% by male teachers (Ministry of Education Finland 2007).

[23] In my teen years I used to be very involved with horses, and looking back to the emotions that were involved in the hobby, it was really about 'training' for intimate relationships with people, including not only relating to the animal emotionally and caring for it, but even writing out those feelings in the form of love poems.

exploits. Meanwhile, intertextual representations of the discourses on femininity 'train' girls to a very different gender routine.[24] For example, many young women's magazines exude relationship guidance. Articles like "Are you crazy or smart in love?" (*Glamour*, September 2007) or "You are making me crazy: 8 ways to fight better" (*Olivia,* June-July 2007) teach women 'psychological skills' to reflect their relationships with partners, family members and colleagues. In recent years, some of the media directed to the male (heterosexual) target group have picked up similar kinds of editorial content, for example in *Men's Health,*[25] but apart from this, men's media is typically oriented towards news or action.

Giddens (1992) argues that the private sphere of life requires the use of "intimate power". To be able to manage the private domain, people need to be able to talk about emotions and relationships. Men, lacking practice in intimacy, habitually approach human relations differently than women. For example, unlike women, they view relationships as separate from the rest of their life, work and hobbies. Goffman (1977) talks about the "emotional office", the private and emotional sphere of life which women dominate. Men's "office" is the public sphere of life. According to Goffman, men and women can enter each others' offices only through the opposite gender. This kind of organisation of gender discourses demands heterosexuality; only together can both genders become complete human beings (Veijola and Jokinen 2001). Women can access the public life of economics, politics and intellectual achievement through men, and men can access the private life of emotions and caring through women.

When this order is disrupted, for instance when women become political leaders or men decide to stay at home taking care of children, they experience socio-cultural pressure to correct the wayward discourse. A good example is Finland's presidential couple. Especially after the first election, the street press often referred to Tarja Halonen, the first female president of the Republic, as "Moomin Mama", after a popular Finnish cartoon character.[26] Her husband, an established university professor and a Councillor of State, was depicted as tied to her apron strings.[27]

---

[24] The term intertextuality of representation applies when a discourse is reproduced in different forms in different cultural sites. Hall (1997) writes that representational practices repeat from one site of representation to another; they accumulate meanings across different texts and images, one meaning referring to another or having its meaning altered when read in the context of others. This range of visual and textual effects, the repetition of the discourse's versions of reality, all contribute to its materiality in our action.

[25] "Men's Health Magazines and Men's Health Books publish information that is vital to the physical, emotional, spiritual, and mental well-being of today's health-conscious man. We believe that an active and healthy sex life, based on mutual consent and respect between partners, is an important component of a happy and fulfilled life." Part of the Mission Statement of Men's Health Books (http://www.sexamansguide.com/uof/sexamansguide/home/mission.html).

[26] "Moomin Mama: Moomin's mother, she is always prepared and completely unflappable, even when faced with trees growing out of her cellar and children attacking each other on little white clouds. She seems to be continually baking and serving dinner... probably explains why the moomintrolls are so

Therefore, the gender dichotomy, the heterosexual marriage contract and the gendered organisation of work are all part of the same 'deal': they are based on and reproduce the gender contract:

> The symbolic order of gender presupposes that women are female and men are male; that the former are private, the latter public; that the former are employed in reproduction, the latter in production and so on. Since organisations are public sites of production, they are necessarily male. (Gherardi 1995:14)

Socialist feminist analyses have gone so far as to analyse the marriage contract as part of the capitalist production. In Hartman's (1981) analysis, heterosexual marriage is a production site for labour, similar to the way that, say, paper mills are production sites for paper. This is the sort of production where women's input is considered to follow not from financial remuneration, but from love for their families (Burr 1995).

The work involved in the production of labour is about taking care of the family's physical and emotional needs. This tends to be repetitive, physically and emotionally demanding work: cooking, cleaning, washing, soothing the children, taking care of the elderly, being available for sex and — in areas without sewer systems — emptying potties and carrying water. That women should primarily take care of these tasks demands that women's gender characteristics be discursively lined up with them. It also demands that women's gender status be lower than men's. The service work must appear natural:

> This characterisation [of private/public spheres] tends to exaggerate the differences and occlude the similarities between the two spheres. For example, it directs attention away from the fact that the household, like the paid workplace, is a site for labour, albeit unremunerated and often unrecognised labour. Likewise, it does not make visible the fact that in the paid workplace, as in the household, women are assigned to, indeed ghettoised in, distinctly feminine, service-oriented and often sexualised occupations. Finally, it fails to focalise the fact that in both spheres women are subordinated to men. (Fraser 1988:37)

Patriarchal capitalism functions as long as the domestic work that women perform remains economically unrecognised. From the heterosexual marriage contract we can draw parallels to the shadow economies of unreported domestic labour and to the

---

rounded... she's easily recognisable by her little stripey apron, which she always wears." Character description on BBC website (www.bbc.co.uk/dna/h2g2/A639010). It was the president's way of carrying a purse on a state visit to Sweden that initially earned her the nickname.

[27] "Tarja's faithful arms- and luggage-bearer, who time and again must stop the spouse from crashing a TV set broadcasting content critical of the President of the Republic." Description of Pentti Arajärvi (the First Man of Finland) character in a popular political satire (www.itsevaltiaat.fi/flash/fullscreen.html, my translation).

Scandinavian system of state patriarchy. In the latter, the government has taken the place of the patriarchal father and the work in public sector care institutions is predominantly performed by low-paid women (Rantalaiho 1994).

Even though the divide between privately acting housewives and publicly acting men may to some extent be outdated, it is important to consider the gender contract when examining the gender segregation of employment markets. When women are objectified and described as handy around the household and at relationships, it follows that in their work lives they will also be expected to think, feel and act in the interests of others (Wager 2000). This pattern shows in the horizontal segregation of labour: men do men's work and women do women's work. It also shows in the vertical segregation of work within organisations: the upper part of the organisation is male, the lower part is female (Gherardi 1995). People characterised as having feminine attributes — being caring, compassionate and emotional — are subordinates rather than leaders. They are dependent on other people. Leadership characteristics are more in line with masculine attributes: aggressive, analytical and independent. This dichotomy is reflected in organisational dynamics, even to the extent that in some occupations women act not only as subservient assistants to their male superiors and customers, but also as objects of their sexual desires — hence the sexy secretary stereotype or the sexy attire of flight attendants.

Conceptualising masculinity and femininity in this way leads to consequences that governments are trying to address: how to legislate parental leaves and allowances, how to legislate child care? In working life the complications that follow from associating women with family and children and men with working life fall primarily onto the territory of women. Women may not be recruited as easily as men, since employers shun the prospect of maternity expenses. Women may also find more difficulties in keeping their job and advancing in their careers. In Finland, 50% more women than men work on fixed-term full-time contracts (The Confederation of Finnish Industry and Employees 2003). Also domestic responsibilities demand absences from work, whether longer (e.g. maternity leave) or shorter (e.g. staying home to care for sick children). And quite apart from the conditions at work, many women suffer from the so-called double burden: even though they work full-time outside the home, at the same time they are not free from their responsibilities as mothers, wives and caretakers. The expression "double shift" quite accurately describes the situation when women work full time: they first labour a full eight hours or more at paid employment, then start a second work day with the household chores.

Regardless of the (political) effort to encourage men to share childbearing responsibilities and employers to distribute the parental costs among both sexes, change is slow. A good example of these discursive paradoxes was a proposal by the

Finnish government to pay higher compensation for parental leave to fathers (80% of salary) than to mothers (70% of salary) (*Kansan Uutiset,* 25 October 2006). The collision between the imperative for change and the discourses on male and female-habitual behaviours can result in these kinds of absurd attempts to balance family responsibilities between the genders.

The most influential theorist of gendered organisations is the North American Joan Acker (e.g. 1990). The main thesis of her theory is that gender is the organising factor in modern organisations. The socially constructed gender roles create a gendered division of work, which leads to status and income inequalities between men and women. The gender roles on which organisations are established resonate in cultural images of gender. These reinforce and reproduce certain types of gender identities.

Acker looks at gender, body and sexuality as part of the processes of control in organisations: "Advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine" (Acker 1990:146). She details five interacting processes in organisational life that produce their gendered social structures. In Table 3.2, I have listed the five processes from Acker (p.146-147) on the left side. On the right side, I exemplify the concepts using research literature and my own experiences in working life.

Table 3.2   Processes leading to gendered social structures

The process	Example
Constructions of divisions along the lines of gender: of labour, of allowed behaviours, of locations in physical space, of power etc.	Managers' decisions often initiate gender divisions and organisational practices maintain them (Cockburn 1985). Sauna evenings. These are part of the Finnish organisational culture. Since it is customary to go to sauna totally naked, normally the evenings are organised so that men have their own turn. If one woman attends, she can choose to join the men or go alone before/after them. If a group of women attends, they are scheduled a turn of their turn. Heavy use of alcohol tends to be an integral part of the event. Sauna evenings are problematic for women: if they join the men, they have to give up bodily intimacy and may end up being sexualised. By staying outside, they risk missing the team spirit and any possible inside information that is regularly shared in sauna discussions.
Constructions of symbols and images that explain, express, reinforce or oppose gender divisions, expressed e.g. in language, ideology, popular culture, dress and media.	Male workers carry images of masculinity, which link their gender with technical skills (Cockburn 1985). To desexualise the occupation, hospital staff is provided new work attire: from now on all nurses, men and women, wear trousers.
Enacting and enforcing gender divisions in interactions between men and men, women and men, women and women.	Interruptions, turn taking, and setting the topic of discussion recreate gender inequality in the flow of ordinary talk (Acker 1990). On a coffee break, the discussion turns to the company Las Vegas event. Male colleagues savour their visit to a strip bar. A cook reprimands a waitress for "being fussy".
Production of gendered components of individual identity by the above processes.	Choice of appropriate work, language use, clothing and presentation of self as a gendered member of an organisation (Reskin and Roos 1987). A female graduate applies for an assistant position, a male graduate for a manager position.

Gender is the basic constitutive element in the processes of creating and conceptualising social structures; gender is embedded in organisational logic and in the underlying assumptions that construct most work organisations (Clegg and Dunkerley 1980).	Gendered conceptions underlie academic theories and practical guides for managers, and are reproduced daily in work activities (e.g. Calás and Smircich 1991, Mumby and Putnam 1992).

Mainstream theories of organisation, such as the Contingency Model of Leadership (e.g. Fiedler 1967), Transformational Leadership (e.g. Bass 1990) and theories on organisational culture and Complexity Management (e.g. Gharajedaghi 2006), examine work organisations as gender-neutral structures. But instead of gendered attitudes and behaviours being external to organisations, dependent on the behaviour of individuals, they are fundamental to the functioning of modern organisations. In Acker's theory, gender is enmeshed in the structures of organisations; organisations are sites for production of gender relations.[28]

Here we again run into the public/private divide. Acker (1990) theorises that in organisational logic, "job" is an abstract concept. It floats in a vacuum, where people have no private life: the concept of the job is completed by a disembodied worker, who exists only in terms of the work. This reveals that the abstract worker must be male gendered, a man who structures his life around full-time employment. This picture totally ignores domestic life and therefore women, who implicitly, in the background, take care of the worker's children and other facets of personal life. A female-gendered person cannot be the abstract worker, since her female body demands other functions and obligations.

In this way, "worker" and "job" are inherently gendered concepts. They encompass the gender-based division of labour into the public and the private spheres of life. Gendered hierarchies in organisations materialise when males, who are discursively positioned as fully committed to employment and so more suited for responsibility and authority, are promoted. Women, who are discursively positioned as outsiders to the organisations' core functions, stay in the lower ranks, whether by their own choice or that of the management.

Acker (1990) concludes that since organisational logic disqualified women at the outset, it remains difficult to fit them into the 'proper' functioning of organisations. Women's bodies are suspect, easily declared either unusable or sexualised. Meanwhile, male heterosexual masculinity plays an important part in legitimising organisational power. This shows up, for example, in organisational language and

---

[28] Hearn (1998) analyses similar structures as related to class and race.

51

metaphors that resonate with male sexual imagery (see Bristor and Fischer 1993 on marketing terminology and McDowell 1997 on investment bankers' styles of talking). It also shows up in stereotypical articulations of women's professional identities, like Kanter's (1977) infamous Iron Maiden, Mother, Pet and Seductress. In these ways, argues Acker (1990), both men's and women's bodies can be used for control and exclusion in organisations.

These ideas about women being incompatible with the organisation of work in society have generated much interest in research about women's professional identities. Gherardi claims that the structural arrangements which place people in low-interest jobs in organisations become a self-fulfilling prophesy for behaviour:

> While resisting an over-simple determinism between gendered positions and gendered behaviours, we may nevertheless assert that patterns of work identity, either female or male, depend as much on the job as the person. Jobs with little autonomy, responsibility or interest, with few or no career prospects, are likely to display patterns of so called 'female work behaviour': instrumentality, low commitment, investment in life outside work, and so forth. (Gherardi 1995:15)

Ferguson (1984) makes a similar point about the way that organisations create the identities they need. Ferguson claims women are not powerless because they are feminine, but that they display feminine behaviour because they are powerless. This is a way of dealing with the requirements of subordination. (I might add that to me this position seems a bit radical and outdated in terms of Finnish working life, but not completely untrue.)

We must also remember that much of an organisation's influence on its employees' identities depends on the discourses of the particular organisation and profession, and the discourses affecting a person's diverse social subject positions. Considering all this, one can begin to appreciate the complexity by which gender, culture and power are intertwined in organisations and in society. According to Gherardi (1995), this complexity is especially difficult to tackle because of three elements: the "pervasiveness" with which gender and culture perpetuate language, thought, social structures and organisational facts; the "elusiveness" with which gender, culture and power relate to the difficult definition of 'nature'; and the "ambiguity" of the criteria defining the symbolic universes.

Katila and Meriläinen (2002) write that alien to organisational logic, women easily face stereotypical articulations of their professional identities, which work to reproduce relations of power. Moreover, writes Hall (1997), people who are significantly different from the majority (such as women in a male-dominated environment) are frequently exposed to forms of representation in which their

characteristics tend to be polarised into binary extremes, such as good/bad or ugly/beautiful. Again, Kanter's (1977) categories of roles designated to women in organisations — the Iron Maiden, Mother, Pet, Seductress — illustrate these kinds of polarised representations.

Much has been made of these roles since the 1970s, and more recent studies tend to focus on how people compose and enact their gendered professional identities. For instance, Holmer-Nadesan (1996) describes strategies such as "compliance" and "counter-identification" by which women work around — or actually in line with — professional stereotyping. Good examples of both strategies appear in McDowell's (1997) study of merchant bankers in the City of London. McDowell describes how "rampant male libido" was celebrated in the culture of the brokers and how female bankers responded by playing with stereotypes, even adopting what McDowell calls "parodic forms of femininity"; others attempted to entirely neutralise their gender in the work setting.

Martin (2001) describes how power differences in organisations are reinforced when people who fit into the ideal of hegemonic masculinity actively differentiate themselves from other organisational members in order to secure power. Thus, as described by Acker (1990), privileged organisational subject position is a function of the status and power that accompany a particular identity and a function of the ongoing social relations that reproduce notions of gender identity (see also Wicks 2002). Some of the women in McDowell's study seemed to have deliberately tailored their identities to fit into the frames of a powerful organisational subject. These women attempted to circumvent the power imbalance by neutralising their gender. They spoke of a separation between their "workplace selves", which they customised to the requirements of a successful career, and their "real selves" outside the work.

Marshall and Wetherell (1989) also discovered that law students actively differentiated their professional "masculine identity" from their perceived "base identity", which they connected, unproblematically, to the private realm of life. Marshall and Wetherell conclude that this combination of identities actually contributes to ideologies that marginalise women:

> Women, through these constructions, are fixed into a certain place, with certain characteristics, and this place is put at a distance from the site of perceived prestige, power and interest. A general discourse is developed which understands structural inequalities in terms of sets of essential sex-linked characteristics, tied to a system of values in which identities defined as masculine are prioritised. The only site where women or the feminine are unproblematically seen to belong is the family, a position which is simultaneously devalued. (Marshall and Wetherell 1989:124)

When women differentiate between their professional selves and the areas of life that are constructed as feminine, they leave the oppressive constructions untouched and unchallenged.

Miller (2004) examined the effects of the male-dominant oil industry on women engineers, who used what she called a "muted" strategy. This means that a person assimilates and adapts to the dominant, masculine culture without being aware that the context is masculine in nature — or aware that they are themselves reinforcing the system. The female engineer would have undergone a process of acculturation starting from professional training and continuing in the work setting, and would have learned that being an acceptable organisational subject means accepting the traditional male values. This may involve contradictory elements. A person may, for instance, deny the salience of gender but nevertheless adopt strategies to avoid sex stereotyping: avoid showing emotions/empathy, dress carefully to mask sexuality, and so forth.

In Miller's (2004) study the women also admitted to a general understanding that in the organisation there are "female roles", such as those in Human Resources, and "normal" roles; that in general the organisational rules are slightly different for women (e.g. a woman should not speak first in meetings); and that it is fairly difficult to tread the line between deliberately behaving as a man would, and at the same taking care to be acceptable as a woman. This reflects what Martin (2000) describes as women's added difficulty in organisations. The qualities women need to acquire in order to succeed in organisations are male gendered, but although they are valued in men, they tend to be viewed negatively when displayed by women. This once again shows how the symbolic universes of the masculine and the feminine need to remain opposite, and if this opposition should be disturbed, the disruption needs discursive restoration.

Wager (2000) studied academic women in Finland. She describes the women feeling contradictions between professional success and being a woman, but in reverse to the findings of other studies. The women experienced the contradiction less in their occupational lives and more in relation to their conceptions of traditionally feminine values, like care for others and self-sacrifice in the private realm of life. This uneasy relationship revealed itself in the women's insistence on independence: they made a point of being able to work things out on their own and being in control of both their private and professional lives. Wager concludes that this is one way that the relational construct of gender may place conflicting demands on identity: women may be so burdened by the traditional definitions of womanhood that they see compliance with those definitions as a threat to independence.

Parallel to these ideas is the study by Erwin and Maurutto (1998) on the effects of a gendered university environment on women students. They conclude that the conflict between female science students' "feminine identities" and "scientific

identities" (see Hughes 2001) appeared to increase during the students' years at university, as well as their perceptions that a science career is incompatible with having a family.

The conclusions of all these studies come together to describe how the gender system effectively retains the gender division by flexibly regrouping itself along the symbolic universes of the male and the female. Even when the women being studied were active and successful participants in both their workplaces and universities, they had to juggle two sets of values: those reflected in the public domain, and others reflected in the private domain. In this way, women continue to be the Other in professional life.

Gender in Finland

The Nordic model has been characterised as woman-friendly, compared to the other Western welfare states. In general, Nordic gender researchers interpret the relationship between women and the government differently than their Anglo-Saxon and Central European colleagues, and these interpretations are necessarily founded on the researchers' own experimental frames. While a British or a German gender researcher might speak of the government as a patriarchal oppressor, the Nordic one sees the government as at once a public patriarch, a national home that supports everyday life, and an arena for women's action.

Liisa Rantalaiho, my translation

People around the world regard Finland as one of the emancipated Nordic countries. As such, it offers a fruitful context for a feminist research project: how far has women's active participation in politics, working life and cultural production — Finnish women received the right to vote exactly 100 years ago — really blurred its citizens' conceptions of gender? How does this influence the Finnish ways of doing gender? And what about Finnish ways of researching gender?

Catherine Hall (2000) writes that one part of the feminist project is to make national experiences visible. At the same time, these experiences cannot be understood unless we cross national borders. National history has to be placed into a larger context to make it understandable. My understanding of gender relations is created in contrast to the time and the place I come from. The gender theories, mostly of Anglo-American origin, that I have discussed thus far have made my background and my experiences more visible to me. So have my seven years in Switzerland and many more elsewhere outside Finland. Together these help me as a researcher to understand what I am studying. In this section I try to do the opposite: to help readers understand where I come from, how gender relations are constructed in Finland.

As expressed by Rantalaiho (1994:9) above, Finnish conceptions of gender relations are quite distinct from those in Central Europe and the Anglo-American realm. Finland has a long tradition of women being active subjects in the labour market and in political life, albeit from their own feminine gendered place. There is little convention of women as housewives, dependent on their husbands for access to public economic, social and cultural life. This is also reflected in, and of course a result of, certain legislative actions. The legislation has significantly influenced the development of Finnish gender equality, and is best described by showing some of the most important milestones on the road towards gender equality in Finland:

Table 3.3   Milestones on the road towards gender equality in Finland

Legislative action	Year
Citizenship rights for unmarried women	1864
General education (6 years) for both girls and boys	1865
The same inheritance rights for women and men	1878
Access to universities for women	1901
General voting rights and eligibility in governmental elections, for both men and women	1906
Same rights and pay for female and male teachers in public schools	1916
Women allowed to work without spouse's permission	1919
Marriage law: both parents have the same obligations and responsibilities with regards to children and property, women released from the duty of caring for their husbands	1929
Maternity support	1937/49
Schools to provide free meals	1943
Ratification of the ILO agreement (1952) on equal pay for men and women	1962
Maternity leave allowance of 54 days, later of 170 days	1964/74
Fathers can share their parental leave with mothers[29]	1978/82
Child home-care allowance[30]	1985

[29] Parental leave in 2006: "Maternity leave lasts 105 working days. Of these mothers are to use between 30-50 days before giving birth and between 55-75 days afterwards. Paternity leave amounts to 18 days. It can be taken during maternity or parental leave in up to four stages. The paternity leave can be extended by 1-12 weekdays if the father takes the last 12 weekdays of the parental leave. Parental leave lasts 158 working days. It is extended by 60 weekdays per child in the case of multiple births. In the case of a baby born prematurely parental leave is 208 working days. Parents can take their parental leave entitlement in up to two turns of a minimum of 12 days each." (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2006)

[30] Child care subsidies in 2006: "Parents can choose to place their child in a day care centre run by the municipality, look after their child while receiving child home care allowance, or choose private day care allowance and make their own arrangements for child care. The allowances are payable from the end of the parental allowance period (or any extended paternity leave) until the time the child starts school." (The Social Insurance Institution of Finland 2006)

Subjective right to day care for children under 3 years and later for all children under school-going age[31]	1990/1996
Separate paternity leave	1991

Sources: Ministry of Social Affairs and Health (2006), Virtual Finland (2007)

The table includes many markers that suggest the development of gender equality. They show the role of women expanding from the private spheres of life towards increasing opportunities to participate fully in society. The more recent years also show the role of men expanding from the public sphere towards increasing participation in domestic life.

However, these developments may look more positive on paper than in real life, considering the strong horizontal and vertical gender segregation of Finland's employment markets. The Finnish gender wage differential is the fifth largest in the EU, at about 20%, although employed men and women are in the same age bracket and have the same levels of educational qualifications. Even when industries and occupational qualifications are included in the analysis, the unexplained difference remains at about 50% of the gross differential (Vartiainen 2002).

The average wage difference between men and women in the EU is 15%. The difference is smallest in Malta (4%), where less than 40% of women work outside the home. The EU statistics also show that the gender wage difference is smallest in the age group under 30, and largest in the age group 50-59 years. The higher the educational level and the years of service, the greater the wage difference; in the poorly-paid service sector the gender wage gap is 'only' 10% (Eurostat 2007, Kaihovaara 2007). To add another dimension to these statistics, in Finland 50% more women than men work on fixed-term full-time contracts (The Confederation of Finnish Industry and Employees 2003). The current trend of "chaining" fixed-term contracts (having one contract after another) has been found to mostly affect women working in the public sector (*Aamulehti,* 28 January 2007).[32]

---

[31] Day care in 2006: "All children below school age are entitled to receive municipal day care either at a day care centre or in a family day care unit. Day care costs are calculated according to the size of the family and the income. They range between EUR 18-200 a month. The costs start to decline with a second child in day care. Day care services are free for low-income families." (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2006)

[32] *Aamulehti* (28 January 2007) interviewed a clinic nurse and a hospital assistant, who had signed 88 and 98 consecutive fixed-term contracts, respectively, before their national health care unit offered them permanent positions. The nurse had worked for three years in elderly care without one day vacation. Both women's employment had continued throughout the years, but their contracts were arranged so that they left out the benefits that were normally part of an employment contract, such as health insurance and yearly vacations.

These and other structural problems result in the income differences between men and women. Table 3.4 shows the numbers of men and women working in different income groups:

Table 3.4   Women and men by income group in Finland

Income in €	Women	Men	women/men ratio
– 3,500	203,000	197,000	1.03
3,500 – 5,000	77,000	48,000	1.60
5,000 – 10,000	513,000	310,000	1.65
10,000 – 13,500	301,000	201,000	1.50
13,500 – 20,000	413,000	310,000	1.33
20,000 – 35,000	574,000	637,000	0.90
35,000 – 50,000	90,000	227,000	0.40
50,000 –	38,000	138,000	0.28

Source: Statistics Finland (2004)

These figures are especially disturbing considering that only 10% more men than women are employed full time (The Confederation of Finnish Industry and Employees 2003).

The employment markets are also characterised by a clear division between women's fields and men's fields. To illustrate this, Figure 3.1 shows the gender distribution in Finnish universities:

Figure 3.1   Gender distribution in Finnish universities by field of study

Arts and sciences, and
education

Travel and hospitality

Social work, health
and sports

Culture

Social sciences,
management,
administration

Natural
resources and
environment

Natural sciences

Technology and
logistics
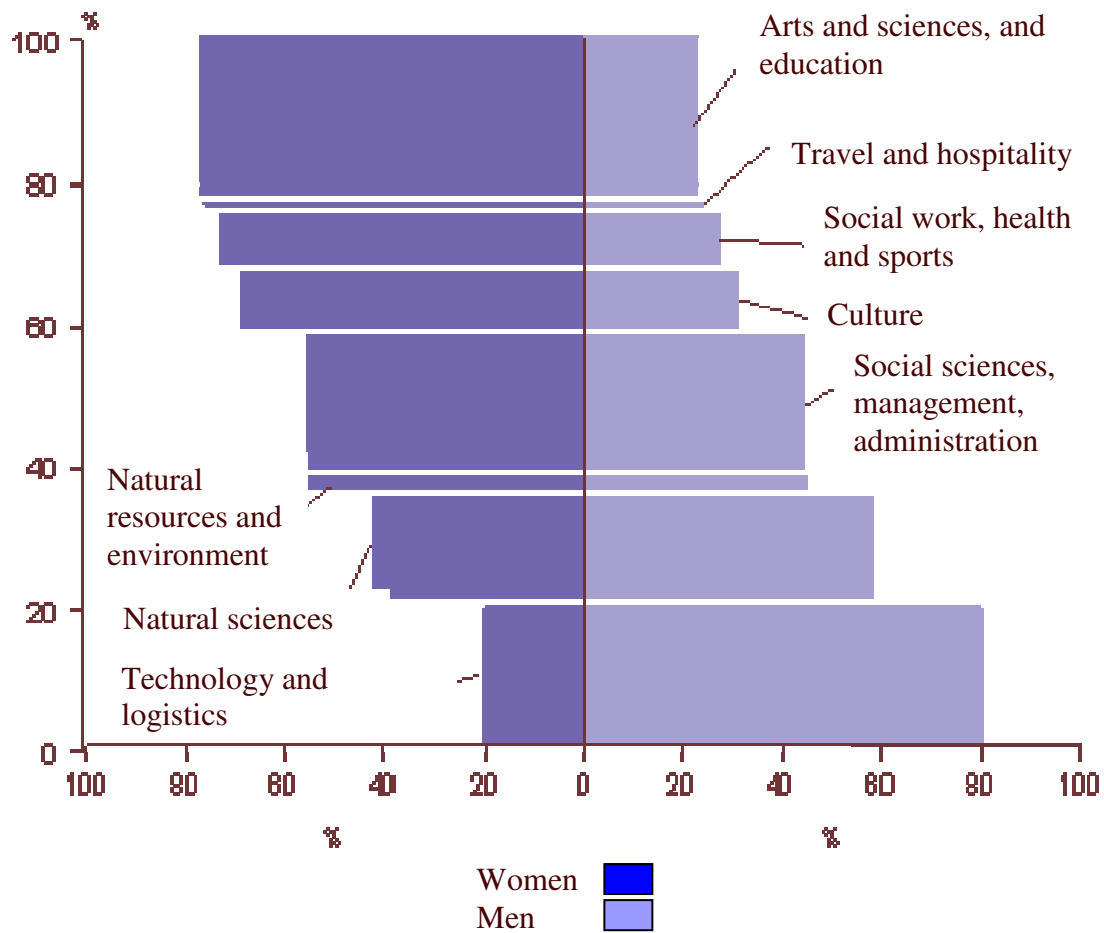
Women ▮
Men ▮

Source: Ministry of Education (2003), my translation

In Finland, men and women apparently participate in higher education at equal rates and Finnish women have the second highest full-time employment rate in Europe, after Denmark (The Confederation of Finnish Industry and Employees 2003); still, most the higher-level management positions are largely held by men. The business elite are a particularly gender-homogenous group, as shown in Figure 3.2:

Figure 3.2   Gender distribution of Finnish managing directors
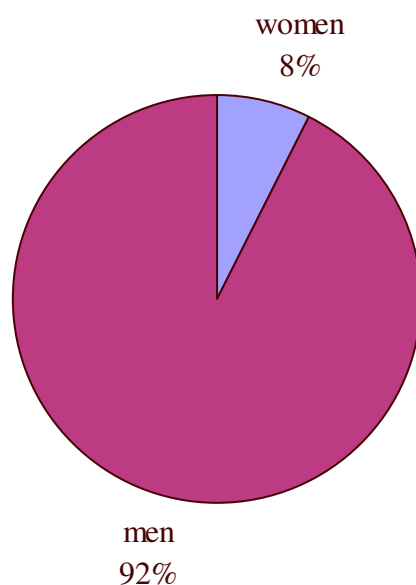
Source: *Helsingin Sanomat,* 25 September 2007 [33]

Figure 3.2 follows the logic of Figure 3.1, which showed the fields with the most female/male students, but here they are out of proportion. The education, health care and social services sector has the most 'equal' ratio of female and male managing directors (35% women, 65% men), followed by the hospitality sector (19% women, 81% men). The least gender-equal ratios of male and female managing directors occur in machine manufacturing (2.3% women, 97.7% men) and the energy and construction sector (2.5% women, 97.5% men) (*Helsingin Sanomat,* 25 September 2007). Turning to a slightly different group, the Finnish boards of directors are somewhat more gender diverse, but again the diversity is not proportional compared to the overall educational level of Finnish men and women, or to the gender composition of political decision-making bodies (see Figure 3.3). [34,35]

---

[33] Enterprises with more than 10 employees in 2003.

[34] In 2007, Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen's Cabinet consisted of 12 female and 8 male ministers (http://www.valtioneuvosto.fi/hallitus/jasenet/en.jsp).

[35] Some sociologists, such as Professor Raewyn Connell (2007), suggest that the persistent resistance in business life to female leaders and the simultaneous visible entry of women into high-level political positions go hand in hand with society's power relations. According to Connell, Western economies are increasingly organised around neoliberal ideologies and as a result, societal power is shifting to corporations and other economic institutions. At the same time, state politics are losing their influence in society and, as a result, become more and more accessible to women. In this way, society's most influential institutions continue to be led according to patriarchal ideologies.

Figure 3.3   Gender distribution on Finnish boards of directors
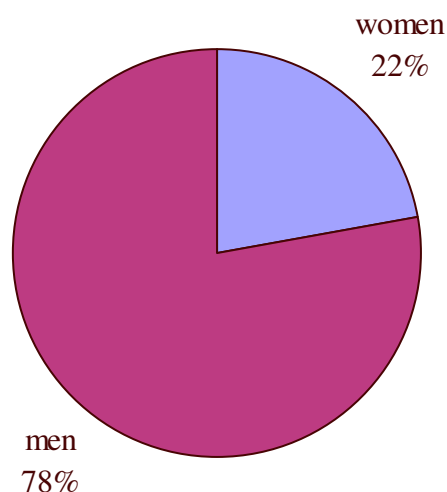
Source: *Helsingin Sanomat,* 25 September 2007[36]

These statistics clearly indicate the paradoxical nature of gender relations in Finland. Statistics show that women have quite a strong societal foothold. In Finnish society, the social position 'woman' extends well beyond 'wife' and 'mother'. It still continues to be marked by gendered discourses and so is not equal to the social position 'man'.

A quick look at Finland's gender history can offer insights into the current situation. To build a picture of Finnish gender relations today, I read Rantalaiho's (1994) article *The Gender Contract and the Finnish Model* (my translation), which describes how the historical development of gender relationships in Finland affects today's gender discourses there. I follow this with a discussion of how gender operates in contemporary Finnish professional life.

To first reflect a bit on my own position, I draw on Lempiäinen (2002). She writes that Finnish women have typically been studied in relation to how well they manage compared to men, never the other way around. This is typical to gender research, which by default studies the gender system, in which by default men occupy the standard position towards which women aim. Therefore, descriptions of a nation's gender discourse development necessarily consist of more details about the development of women's role in society than about men's. Of course the male and the masculine is the other half of the gender system and men have their gendered places in it. At the same time, the system makes this look universal, to require no explanation (Rantalaiho 1994).

To reveal another blind spot in my perspective on gender in Finland, I should reflect on exactly what I mean by Finnishness. At least until recently, inside Finland

---

[36] The figures are for the year 2003.

the historical term "Finn" has signified the indigenous Fenno-Ugrian Finn. Of course, any criterion of Finnishness, whether applied to research or lived life, is much more than that. Take for instance a Thai-origin woman who becomes Finnish by marriage, and ends up working in a massage parlour due to the collapse of their multicultural marriage (*Helsingin Sanomat*, 26 August 2007). This woman is also a Finn, even though it is hard to find any point of contact between her and the idealised subject position "gender-equal Finnish woman".

Gordon thinks along the same lines, suggesting that it is useful to stop and think about Finnishness before writing about it, unless one wants to start from the assumption that a Finnish woman is "white, evangelical Lutheran, heterosexual, Finnish-speaking and either working or middle class, and originating from the countryside" (p.89, my translation). Gordon expands on this point as follows:

> A Finnish woman can also be Swedish-speaking, upper-class, lesbian, and a Roman, Sami, Tatar or Jew. A Finnish woman can come from Russia, Somalia, England or Helsinki. It is misleading to construct one consistent Finnish womanhood, whether 'strong' or 'weak'. (Gordon 2002:89, my translation)

I recognise that Finnishness is a much larger concept than one might take for granted in a society dominated by a homogenous tribe of people. Yet for the purposes of this chapter, I need to reflect the gender history of Finland — that part of it that is most visible and relevant to me. This applies to the role of women in the labour markets and in politics. Drawing on a historical outline for this reflection helps to make visible the many gendered positions women and men occupy in today's Finnish society, for gender discourses are something that all Finnish women and men must comment on one way or the other, regardless of their particular way of being a Finn.

To defend more my possibly generalising view on Finnishness, I refer to my interview data, which is collected from a very homogeneous group of interviewees. These closely, if not invariably, correspond to Gordon's (2002:89) Finn, being "white, evangelical Lutheran, heterosexual, Finnish-speaking and either working or middle class". (I describe the interviewees' characteristics more specifically in Chapter 4.) Understanding the background of this group of Finns will help to reflect my analytic claims.

In the text box below I summarise Rantalaiho's (1994) historical reflection on the development of gender relations in Finland.

Text box 3.2   Development of gender relations in Finland

Finnish gender relations arise from the country's difficult conditions. Until the 2nd World War, Finland was a poor and sparsely populated agrarian society. The area is large, but the climate harsh. Almost everyone, apart from a small upper class in the cities, garnered a living off a small family-owned farm. Family farms were shared enterprises, where a husband and a wife worked for a common goal. The couple spent their little spare time within the walls of their isolated dwelling, instead of men gathering together in public places like cafés, pubs or clubs, or women gathering together in private homes (Pohls 1990).

The conditions demanded a strong partnership ideology, a gender contract based on the work ethic. Both parties had to be present and reliable. Partners were exposed to each other's "breach of contract", if one side did not do their share. Marrying a drunkard husband or a lazy wife was the biggest misfortune a person could face. Conflicts had to be avoided and while the partnership was completely dependent on the heterosexual family model, the physical exertions de-eroticised the male-female relationship. (I might add that even today the idealised Finnish masculinity is more about being reliable and having a strong work ethic than being charming (which is associated with unreliability), rich (which is associated with dishonesty) or intellectual (which is associated with physical weakness). The idealised Finnish femininity is about being strong, autonomous and equal, not about being dependent (associated with laziness), ornamental (associated with vanity and lack of practicality) or a passive sexual object (associated with lack of autonomy and stupidity).

The late and radical modernisation of the country affected the development of the Finnish gender contract. When general and equal voting rights were implemented in 1906, they were immediately extended to include all women and all men. Finland was the first country in Europe to grant voting rights to women, but it was comparatively late in extending voting rights to all men.

The move from an agricultural to a modern society was quick and tidy. Whereas this process took the other Nordic countries 50 to 80 years, Finland went through it in two decades (1950-60s). The society skipped almost directly from a farming orientation to a services orientation, without a long period of industrialisation. Women's labour input shifted from family farms to hospitals, schools and homes for the elderly, consistent with the content of the feminine nurturer subject position.

Education was one of the central strategies by which a common Finnish identity was created. This was needed to sustain the autonomous Finnish nation state (under Russia until 1917) and later the independent Finland (Alapuro and Stenius 1987, Pulkkinen 1987). In the modernisation process, education was extended to all social levels. Both women and men were well-educated and they valued education (Korppi-Tommola 1990, Nätkin and Kyllönen 1985). The quick modernisation ensured that the model of female housewife/ male breadwinner could never be fully established in Finland. Women were always involved in the public spheres of life, and their contribution was needed more in the employment markets than in private homes.

In political discourse women positioned themselves as societal mothers in order to carve out a place in the welfare society's institutions. Gender was articulated for the first time, when equality was negotiated via gender difference: women and men have their own roles in society. In the agrarian society, gendered division of labour merely followed people's physical capacities. Women worked around the house to nurse and keep an eye on the children, while men engaged in tasks that required physical strength. The new discourse drew on this distribution of work and subsequently presented women as societal mothers, whose role is to care and to nurture.

Society became a sphere of motherhood, "a home for which women must take the responsibility" (Rantalaiho 1994:22). In this maternalistic discourse, the well-being of mothers and children were tied together and brought into the political forum (Nätkin 1994).

In the 1960 and 1970s, after the advent of abortion rights and the contraceptive pill, women were no longer considered responsible to have children. Giving birth became a choice and the centrality of the mother in children's lives was replaced by a more gender-neutral idea of shared parenthood. "Working mother" became the strongest ideological definition of womanhood in political discourse, because the gender difference embodied in motherhood could be used as an incontrovertible argument to rationalise the value of feminine spheres in society. This proved to be an effective political strategy, as societal motherhood helped to build women's alliances across party lines, even though men, in line with the logic of gender, remained higher in the hierarchy. The strength carried over to women's professionalism: educational strategies ensured that women became qualified in their segregated fields, becoming experts in matters concerning the society's home-making.

That the gender hierarchy was not touched when societal motherhood was constructed speaks to the historical avoidance of conflict between the genders. For example, Nätkin (1994) describes how the abortion question was framed as a concern of regional and health equality, not as a feminist issue. As Julkunen (1999:99) recaps it, "The Finnish gender accord includes the idea that gender is not made controversial, but people live with it in harmony. In some sense everyone supports gender equality, but most think of it as a fact that requires no fuss". Even today, the impetus toward gender harmony is reflected in Finnish discussions on gender.

Societal motherhood is still a significant emblem in societal discourses. The male discourse works within corporate power arenas; it is about work and capital, economics, secure employment and financial rewards. The female discourse is about government bureaucracies, women's professions and care, family, nurturing and equality. The latter, being a feminine-signed, reproductive discourse, is lower in status than the former, productive discourse. Often it is simply invisible, as only in times of economic crises can the rhetoric of the male discourse bring the welfare state and the public sector to the centre of attention, blaming them for the problems (Allén, Heinonen and Pantzar 1992).

So, in fact, the Finnish welfare state is composed of two welfare state discourses: "the male one, which guarantees a steady working environment and social security in case of any problems; and the female one, which guarantees services and helps in organising everyday life" (Rantalaiho 1994:26).

Source: Rantalaiho (1994), all quotes my translation.

Lempiäinen (2002), who examines the production of nationality and gender in sociology texts, claims that Finnish texts on gender history and development typically contain constructions of Finnish femininity as women succeeding next to men. She also suggests that Rantalaiho's (1994) article produces certain kinds of Finnish female subject positions which could ultimately be applied to any other national context without losing their credibility. Of course Rantalaiho's article is just one version of reality and can be criticised for its performativity. Applying the mostly Anglo-American gender theories to the Finnish context, I tend to agree with Lempiäinen's

point that culturally-produced gender positions can be rather general and those of different countries could be quite similar. However, the benefits of Rantalaiho's analysis to this study outweigh its defects, as it exposes some of the important characteristics the Finnish context casts on gender. This context is significant and unique to my particular study; it requires some explanation, even though such an explanation can never be exhaustive.

As seen in the summary on gender equality legislation as well as in Rantalaiho (1994), working motherhood and the duality of the Finnish welfare state are the most apparent features of the Finnish gender discourse. As discussed in the earlier section, in modern societies the gender contract is closely tied to working life and work organisations. Production and reproduction are separated so that they take place in differently gendered universes. This can only happen in terms of the abstract worker; in reality, individuals are needed to ensure that production continues, by reproducing and raising children.

Rantalaiho (1994) argues that women's paid and unpaid employment aligns with the conflict between paid employment and reproduction. When women are employed along the lines of their feminine gender position, in feminised occupations or feminised organisational positions, production and reproduction continue to mark the labour markets. This follows what Acker (1989) calls a "silent compromise": while women have the right and the responsibility to paid employment and independence, their gender places them second in employment hierarchies. By accepting the male hierarchies, female salaries and male rules, women recognise and accept this position. In this way, women's paid employment is normalised in line with the gender contract.

The phenomenon has also been termed "state patriarchy" (Sulkunen 1987). This means that the state takes the place of the patriarchal head of the family and distributes rights, which ensure women their economic autonomy, for example via maternal leave and the subjective right to day care. At the same time, the public sector runs care institutions, schools, elderly homes, hospitals and day care centres, which primarily employ women. This leads to a situation where gendered discourses persist and femininity is reproduced, not necessarily in the form of a marriage contract, but in the public arena.

In 1994, reflecting the Finnish gender discussion, Rantalaiho suggested that "the conflict of dissimilarities" (Hirdman 1990a,b) is prominent in Finnish society. This means that, even if they consider themselves equal, women realise that gender integration is possible only under the conditions of the male discourse. The gender equality discourse in Finland would then not be about the possibilities of women being able to act fully in society in their feminine spheres, but about whether production and economics, the market discourse, is more valuable than caring for and sustaining life.

Fourteen years later, the discourse is still shifting. Even if the Finnish gender discourse has been characterised by an impetus towards harmony, the latest movements show some discomfort with gender relations. In Hirdman's (1990a) theory, the market economy individualises people and this conflicts with the discourses on femininity, which is about collectivity and social responsibilities. The more women are individualised according to the male discourse, the less they are satisfied with the "silent compromise". The increasing political pressure for higher salaries in female-dominated fields could exemplify this kind of discursive shift. Recently, Finnish politicians and media have actively picked up the topic of the gender difference in wages, which can be seen as a sign of readiness to reassess the gender contract.

The dissatisfaction with the silent compromise shows that today's Finnish gender discussion is characterised by what Hirdman (1990a) calls "the conflict of equality". This arises when genders become closer and the discourses that keep them separate are exposed. When men and women do the same things in society, such as follow similar life plans, work in the same professions, equally take care of the family, and act similarly with regards to relationships and sexuality, their similar humanity becomes more and more apparent. This transparency does not allow the male norm to stay hidden as it can in the segregated mode. Practical experiences continually prove the gender roles false. Reflective of this is the latest outcome of the World Value Survey, published by the University of Tampere (*Helsingin Sanomat,* 17 September 2007). According to the survey, 84% of Finns consider at-home mothering to be as rewarding as paid employment, 81% disagree with the views that men would be better political leaders, and better business leaders, than women, and 91% of Finns do not consider academic education more important for boys than for girls.

In the beginning of this section, I described how all researchers must be conscious of their study settings, because they automatically examine phenomena from their own experimental frames. Researchers also need settings in which they can deeply understand and apply the theoretical frames of their work. In this section, I have elaborated on the context of my study, even though I also recognise this elaboration is one dimensional, mostly drawing on one author's (Rantalaiho 1994) version of Finnish gender relations. By bringing it into my conceptual framework and my analysis, I make an effort to add other versions to it. In the next section, I conclude this chapter by examining how the change I propose as part of my doing-gender approach could take place within discourses of gender difference and gendered distribution of work.

Renegotiating the gender contract

As I in the beginning of this chapter introduced the idea of discourses, I argued that discourses are not stable and fixed, but are subject to changes in the ways they normalise and regulate social practices, and in the ways they interact with other discourses. Discourses emerge in a dynamic social and cultural context, which means that cracks and reconfigurations can always occur as discourses are formed. The gender contract is founded on patriarchal discourses of gender, which interact with other discourses within their context, recreating the contract as it fits into the particular context. As such, the gender contract is also subject to renegotiation.

Using an example of Finnish working mothers, Rantalaiho (1994) shows how the gender contract in society can be renegotiated over time. She claims that a sum total of individual choices produce structural changes. These changes come about little by little, to produce an effect that at the end may have shifted the entire discourse. This happened in the case of Finnish women working in paid employment in addition to mothering. During the period of industrialisation and modernisation, for historical and societal reasons described in the section on Gender in Finland, individual women chose to or had to work. They tackled the combination of mothering and paid employment, despite the impracticality of fitting these two together. In the beginning women had to work on their own around the constraints, but over time legislation caught up with the situation. Various measures were passed to support working mothers, such as paid maternity leave and the right to communal day care for children. This, in turn, led to a gradual redefinition of the gender contract: women were no longer financially dependent on men and they now had the same possibilities as men — theoretically and legally speaking — to participate in the public spheres of life. Rantalaiho (1994) concludes that this process entirely redefined women's citizenship.

Rantalaiho's example shows that discourses can be renegotiated when enough individuals do not act in line with them, but challenge and resist their regulatory effects. As shown earlier, discourses are defined as a group of related statements about a topic or an issue. They are the ways a topic or issue is *spoken of* in different forms and practices of cultural representation and social interaction. These articulations then produce both meanings and effects in the material world: for instance, people become subject to discourses and objectified by discourses.

Hughes (2002) writes that because language in this way creates subjectivities as it "goes along", there is a possibility of new discourses, new subjectivities and new ways of being and doing. People constantly reassess and negotiate their position in relation to the norm. This creates cracks in the discursive formation, giving discourses the opportunity to interact differently with other discourses. This creates new

articulations of the "truth of the matter" (Hall 2001), that is, reconfiguration of the knowledge and its normalising effects. Finnish women identified with the discourse of "working mothers" rather than the discourse "stay at home mothers", supposedly because it was more in line with the other discourses acting in their lives. One could say that identification with working mothers was more a part of Finnish women's gender-habitual behaviour than identification with stay-at-home mothers. Finnish women found it possible to identify with the working mother discourse, and through this collective identification the discourse gained ascendancy. This eventually led both women and men to rearticulate the gender contract, which reconfigured the relationship between them.

Gherardi (1995) elaborates on the possibility of reconfiguring the relationship between men and women, envisioning that the asymmetrical gender contract could eventually be replaced by a "dual presence". This would be a new kind of relational composition between men and women, where the independence-dependence relationship is replaced by professional and personal relations of interdependence. In this "cross-gender experience", the public and the private realms of life would exist side by side. Gherardi further suggests that women's participation in traditionally male activities and men's participation in traditionally female activities blur images of gender in our mental and material space, so that people can think and do gender differently. This provides "a stimulus for cultural change and for the emergence of new articulations of the contents of symbolic order of gender" (Gherardi 1995:131).

Because Gherardi speaks from the Italian context, we may be seeing a slight shift in perspective as compared to Rantalaiho's descriptions. But even though working motherhood has become normalised, thus far the gender relations in Finland do not resemble Gherardi's conception of dual presence. The gender segregation of the employment markets and the fact that women continue to be primarily responsible for housekeeping, shows that the gender contract is not easy to write off. There are increased structural and cultural possibilities for dual presence, but for the time being it has not been able to challenge the symbolic order of gender — this fundamental opposition of "sense and sensibility" on which the gender contract rests.

But certainly in all Western countries cultural changes have taken place in working life and in society as a whole. Over time, discourses of gender have evolved and introduced new, previously unacceptable, ways of being a man or a woman. For instance, the increased professional advancement of women has relaxed their subordinate status in working life. This shift in organisational role distribution can open opportunities for rearticulating organisations' gendered scripts.

In 2006, 55% of doctoral degrees in Finland went to women, and 45% to men (Ministry of Education 2007). This suggests that the discourses of expertise and

leadership are changing, blurring their gendered images in our mental and material space, as Gherardi would phrase it. In the 'worst' case, expertise and leadership could regroup along the gender binary, a phenomenon that often occurs in discussions on female leadership. A myth about the characteristics of female leaders describes women as good leaders because of their 'people skills'. When these feminine-signed characteristics are constructed opposite men's leadership styles, the masculine norm of leadership prevails. In the 'best' case, then, expertise and leadership would become gender-neutral concepts. They would turn into subject positions with which both men and women can identify easily. This would, within the particular context, come close to Gherardi's (1995) idea of dual presence.

Research evidence in this area is contradictory. On the one hand, it suggests that discourses are stable and, at most, allow people to disidentify or counter-identify with them. On the other hand, some studies show opportunities do exist to actively resist discourses and so eventually rearticulate their content.

Henwood (1998) found little possibility of moving away from discourses of gender in gendered professions, in a study of female personal assistants and software engineers. The former is an occupation that fits with female-habitual behaviour, the latter an occupation that is in line with male-habitual behaviour. It was difficult for either group's professionals to speak outside the dominant discourses of gender difference. The personal assistants identified with the discourse, by asserting that gender difference is natural. The software engineers did not agree with the notion that women are different. However, Henwood suggests this is because in the field's dominant discourse "different" means "less". Taking this position, the professionals would undermine women's — their own — contribution. At the same time, neither could the interviewees come up with any real alternative discourse. As a result, they ended up counter-identifying with the dominant discourse of software engineering. This required them to hang on to the discourse, so they had no place to challenge the existing gendered power relations in the field.

Clegg, Mayfield and Trayhurn (1999) studied the discourses of computing and are more optimistic about the possibility of disrupting gendered discourses. They suggest that more than one discourse may be operating in computing practice: the dominant one with its abstract conceptions and formal methods, and also an end-user discourse. In the latter, they argue, computing is framed by its relevance to people. It was this latter discourse within which women tended to locate themselves. Although these discourses are not equal, they may offer alternative subject positions for resisting the dominant discourse of computing. Faulkner (2000) arrives at a similar kind of conclusion, claiming that the top-down approaches and the more people-oriented approaches to computing are not as evidently separate in practice as in mental images.

This suggests the possibility of blurring gendered images of the computing discourse when it comes to hands-on software engineering.

Hughes (2001) claims that science students may not be able to disrupt the dominant discourses in their field, yet they can find valid professional identities from the intersections of the disciplinary discourses and other discourses available to them. Hughes studied secondary-level science students and found that the most readily available scientist identity was tailored to a white, middle-class, heterosexual male student. This is the personification of the science discourse, where images of hegemonic masculinity are prioritised, as they fit with the ideal of a rational, authoritative scientist. Most other students seemed to struggle to fit in and chose from a variety of alternative discourses to define their subject positions within the field. As an example of one such successful effort, Hughes describes a black female student who managed to develop a positive scientist identity by utilising approaches she had been introduced to briefly: a feminist discourse of pro-science femininities and constructionist approaches to scientific authority. Hughes concludes that the key to this kind of successful presentation of an alternative professional identity is to make different and nonconformist discourses available to students. Rust (1993:73) beautifully expresses the importance of having alternative discourses available: "One cannot cross a fence that has not been built, no matter how many times one walks across the field".

Jackson (2001) also suggests that active resistance to discourses is possible, in so far as alternatives exist. Jackson describes how a student teacher adopted and resisted contradictory subject positions supplied to her by different tutors during a teaching practicum. She appeared to accommodate her trainee teacher identity in response to the shifting power relations of the context. When circumstances allowed, she drew on her preferred discourse on teaching; when not, she used different strategies to resist the power and its offered 'truths' about correct teaching methods. This happened for instance when she conformed to certain teaching styles only when necessary and kept them separate from her "base teacher identity". In this way, the student left the training with a professional identity that fit into her preferred discourses of teaching.

Johansson (1998) delineates these conclusions and clearly demonstrates what happens when gendered divisions of work are blurred from the top down. Johansson studied the reorganisation of work in a Swedish housing company. The company's routine women's work and men's work were reorganised, so that both men and women started to do the same tasks. In line what my earlier points about men doing women's work, it was more emotionally challenging, even embarrassing, for men to take up women's work. When women took up men's work, it was considered a matter of pride and a step up in the career ladder. After a few months, however, the employees' initial

gendered connotations of the different tasks faded. Johansson accounts for this, at least to some extent, by pointing to the management's strong emphasis on the naturalness and overall improved status of the new work roles. Johansson concludes that this suggests changes are possible in gendered patterns as long as favourable structures are in place.

To sum up, the volatility of discourses creates possibilities for reconfiguring their normalising effects. People do not automatically make themselves subject to just any discourse; instead, they manoeuvre among the assortment of possible discourses available to them, tailoring an identity consistent with the different discourses operating in their lives. In this way, it is possible to contest and change practices that are used to construct people and other aspects of the material world (St. Pierre 2000). With this thought in mind, I conclude the chapter with words from Weedon (1997:102): "Knowledge of more than one discourse and the recognition that meaning is plural allows for a measure of choice on the part of the individual, and even where choice is not available, resistance is possible." This is a good transition to discussing the methodological frames by which I intend to study gendered practices in professions, and the potential to challenge these practices.

4. Frames of analysis

In this chapter, I introduce discourse analysis as a theoretical-methodological framework. Within these frames, interpretative repertoires are my units of analysis. I will show how I use them to achieve the goals of my research design. In the second half of the chapter I address the analysis process and the data. That is, I describe how I came to my analysis, and outline some specifics about the interview data and its context in Finland.

Discourse analysis as a theoretical-methodological framework

The terms 'discourse' and 'discourse analysis' do not refer to any single methodology or theory, but are used in a variety of ways and across a variety of contexts and disciplines. Discourse analysis is perhaps best described as a theoretical-methodological framework, which includes a set of theoretical assumptions about language, language use and society (Valtonen 1998). These assumptions guide users towards certain ways of setting questions and choosing methods.

Discourse analyses can for example be corpus analyses, which focus on text structure such as word frequency and use, or conversation analyses, which examine the sequences in which discussions occur. They can also be discursive action models, which focus on what is done by speech, or feminist poststructuralist deconstructions, which look at the ideological-political function of textual representations (Martin 1990, Potter and Wetherell 1987, Wetherell, Taylor and Yates 2001). A discourse analysis can also move along the axes of either social-psychological approaches or critical discourse analyses. The former focus on interpreting the language use as it occurs; the latter place it within an ideological frame and examine the relationship between language use and power (e.g. Valtonen 1998).

Ahl (2002) suggests that one can combine different analytical approaches as long as their epistemological premises are not in conflict, in order to develop a study design that suits the particular research question. My study encompasses both a critical question setting and ideological imperative, as well as an analytic instrument that focuses on language use. As an analytic approach this is best described using Juhila's (1999) term, "ontological constructionism" — as opposed to "epistemological constructionism".

Epistemological constructionism operates within an 'autonomic' frame, examining language use purely as it takes place. Such an analysis aims at understanding different functions of word and language use in interactions and texts. Examples of this kind of an approach are analyses of conversations or speech acts.

In ontological constructionism the analysis does not focus on language use in a vacuum; rather, discourses are analysed as 'truths of the matter'. They are taken as representations of different issues and topics that circulate in society and become materialised in their articulation. A researcher is motivated by a critical approach to science and an imperative toward ideological change — in my case both the approach and the imperative are feminist.

Ontologically oriented research aims to *clarify how linguistic practices discursively construct the different realities we experience.* To translate this objective into gender research, as I discussed in Chapter 3, the meanings given to gender follow society's power structures. These meanings are given at an epistemological level; that is, they are socially constructed. But these social constructions are taken as actual, natural phenomena, so people experience them as material realities. The analysis, then, would aim at clarifying how these realities become constructed and what consequences follow from these constructions. The analysis reflects both what is said (or believed or lived), and what follows from it. Once we understand how 'common sense' and 'truth' are reproduced by hegemonic discourses, we can locate possibilities for alternative realities. This is the aim of my analysis and in the discussion that follows I use the term discourse analysis to describe this exact analytic approach.

Discourse analysis helps us to understand the social processes that underlie our action. *From the point of view of the feminist imperative for change, it is crucial to make visible and to understand how society's hegemonic discourses control our gendered behaviour and how we can challenge and transform this regulation.* Gendered arrangements in society follow from certain rhetorical constructions; by examining their mechanisms, we can gain insights into how gendered power relations function in our lives — every day.

Different kinds of gendered discourses are deeply rooted in our behaviour. Their familiarity, banality and hegemony make them difficult for us to see, let alone to analyse and challenge. Discourse analysis helps to cross-illuminate the thinking that informs our actions. This brings clarity and the potential to reconceptualise behaviour that may have been initially taken for granted and acted out automatically. For instance, the way the rape discourse is constructed causes women to engage in certain automatic behaviours, such as fright when they are in 'suspicious places' at night. The rape discourse draws on the gender dichotomy, which assumes women are physically weaker than men. The dichotomy further informs gendered discourses on male and female sexualities, at the extreme presenting men as having uncontrollable sexual drives and women as being objects of this drive. In combination, all these assumptions lead to a view that women put themselves in danger by going to the wrong places at the wrong times, such as taking shortcuts through lonely alleys at night. When the

discourse is organised this way, rape is not an organisational problem of the society, but a problem for individual women, who need to watch out lest they get raped.

Now that we have deconstructed some of the rape discourse, we can see that it is not a normal and natural state of the world, but is informed by socially constructed and unequal gendered discourses. Furthermore, we can start to see the rape discourse being enforced at different sites of cultural representation: in the media's reporting on rape, in the way advertisements objectify women, in polarised talk about the physical strength of males and females, and in images of violent sexuality in popular culture. These repeating occurrences of the rape discourse convince us that rape is a realistic threat to women, which can be prevented by responsible behaviour — on the part of women.

When a discourse is reproduced in different forms in different cultural sites, this process is called intertextuality of representation. Hall (1996) writes that representational practices repeat from one site of representation to another; they accumulate meanings across different texts and images, one meaning referring to another or having its meaning altered when read in the context of others. This range of visual and textual effects, the repetition of the discourse's versions of reality, all contribute to its materiality, our action.

Discourse analysis can make transparent various behaviours that seem culturally self-evident. When we deconstruct the thinking, 'don't make yourself vulnerable to rape by taking dark shortcuts at night', we see it is not a normal and natural state of the world, but just one way of organising our understanding of violence in our society. By bringing this understanding into the daylight, we can start envisioning alternative ways to organise society. Different ways of using language build different versions of reality. Any phenomenon becomes a meaningful object of our knowledge only after it is given meaning in social interaction. Different articulations of masculinities and femininities in their intertextual representation could radically change the rape discourse.

Discursive construction of identity

Discourse analysis examines how different versions of reality are produced via language use in social situations, media, literature, legislation, politics and so forth. My analysis focuses on those versions of reality that the interviewed professionals construct via language use in an interview situation. That is, they construct reality by opening and limiting possibilities for action. The interviewees make certain states of

affair possible via their language use; thus "certain possibilities for action socially present and reflected" (Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen 2000:43, my translation).

The idea is that our use of language both stems from the particular interview situation and at the same time constructs that situation. By describing the world, people construct it as they describe it (Valtonen 1998). The analyst does not examine people as users of language, such as their motivations or cognitive processes. The focus is on language use, and this language is understood as circulating in society and being available to people to use in an interview situation. Different ways to speak about topics and issues reproduce different discourses. For example, a discourse analyst would examine how the discourse of rape is present in my talk, and how I reproduce its conceptions such as women's responsibility to protect themselves. What I personally think and feel about rape is not relevant to the analyst. A discourse analyst does not collect individual interviewees' opinions. The analysis stays at an overall and operational level: what language does, what discursive functions it fulfils, how this language use repeats across interviewees. Whatever the users of the language may intend is of no interest to the analyst (Potter and Wetherell 1987).

As discussed in Chapter 3, our understanding of society is organised by different discourses. As we draw on these discourses in an interview situation, we construct different 'versions' of ourselves and others, about different topics and issues and events that take place in our lives. This is a social constructionist understanding of identity construction; when we present ourselves to others and 'to ourselves', we draw on different discourses and so become certain kinds of social beings. This view contradicts essentialist psychological and sociological identity theories, such as trait theories (e.g. Eysenck 1990) or the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1982, Tajfel and Turner 1986), which take identity as a more or less stable and continuous part of a personhood, a result of internal cognitive processes rather than a shifting montage of ideas circulating in society. While essentialists seek explanations of people's behaviour from 'inside out', social constructionists focus on the 'outside'.

The social constructionist view, that we act based on the availability of different social, historical and cultural discourses in our lives, is an alternative view of humanity and society, and a criticism of the essentialist view, which is considered to reflect the modernist values that create inequalities (Burr 2003, Rosenau 1992). In the background is the thinking that ideas of what different people can and cannot do are intrinsic to binding people with their essential nature. These ideas materialise in the form of societal models, which are based on authorial relationships between people. For instance, the organisation of the globe into rich and poor economies, the rich north and the poor south, is founded on the idea that 'the Others' in the southern poor

countries have different cultures and different feelings, are primitive — and thus are worth less as human beings.

Furthermore, essentialist cognitive-based theories of identity presume a subject that behaves fairly consistently across situations. In contrast, discourse analysts do not presume that any stable, inner-driven personality exists for them to examine. Instead, they take identities as functions of the circumstances within which people are located. Local social situations name their subjects and objects based on the vantage point the situation requires, and, as actors in the situations, people adopt and fall into these positions. That is, our identities are multiple and fragmented, defined in social interactions.

In all our social interactions, attributes such as gender, ethnicity, age, race, health, sexuality and profession give meaning to our subjectivity and/or objectivity. Burr (2003:106) calls this process a "subtle interweaving of many different threads". Each of these threads, the attributes that socially 'categorise' us, is defined by a limited number of social, cultural and historical discourses. Each is available to us in our culture through these discourses. I am, for example, a fabric of stories told about women: daughters, sisters, lovers, friends, single people, white Western people, middle-class Finns, research students, managers, sports lovers, writers, and so on. Some of these stories are relevant in some situations, and other stories in other situations. When I am working at my corporate employer, the threads manager and woman — and the stories told about them — are more prominent in my interactions with colleagues and customers than, say, discourses on sisters and writers. My manager identity, then, consists of corporate discourses, including relevant professional terminologies, objects of action, behaviours and the dress code. This constructs me socially as a certain kind of subject in the situation and a certain kind of object for other people's interactions. Drawing on the corporate discourses when interacting with my family or friends would make little sense, and therefore in these interactions I draw on other discourses, and consequently present an identity made up of stories about daughters, research students, friends, single people, and so on. These, again, result in certain kinds of subject and object positions in each social situation.

Correspondingly, when I am in Finland and interact with people my own age, I construct a presentation of myself which is relevant to that context. I draw on discourses that stem from our shared lifestyle (profession, interests, gender) and collective history (the education, political conditions, entertainment with which we grew up). Drawing on these discourses makes me socially comprehensible in my interaction with Finnish people. Social situations in Switzerland require a different kind of self-representation. Should I continue to draw on my Finnish reserve of discourses — which people in a new place tend to do, when they have not yet built up

their stock of local discourses — the meanings I would give to topics and issues could not be comprehensible. For instance, social interactions have 'taught' me not to draw on Finnish discourses on femininity in certain social interactions in Switzerland, as this is likely to cause confusion.

Social constructionists are engaged in a very complex debate about the stability of discursively constructed identities and the extent of any individual's agency in their 'identity work'. These debates range from an extreme view that people have practically no agency in relation to discourses (e.g. Craib 1984), to the concept of positionality (e.g. Davies and Harré 1999) to the interpretations of Foucault, which allow individuals choice because they can engage in historical reflection (e.g. Carabine 2001). As implied by the above example, I support the latter view. Inasmuch as individuals have a history of similar types of social situations, and access to appropriate discourses, they can reflect on and choose to use the most operative one. However, this reflection may not always be conscious and deliberate, but simply realised in the course of the interaction, as an answer to the demands of the situation. But to underline my slightly earlier point, as a discourse analyst, I see the issue of people's agency as subjects/objects and the stability of discursively constructed identities as outside my focus. My analysis focuses on language use and its effects. Therefore, I restrain from further debates on agency, and focus on topics relevant to my research question.

The above examples also show how, when we present a version of ourselves in a social situation, we rule out other possible versions of self-presentation. At the same time, we construct a common identity with people who present versions of realities that are similar to ours; for me such people include other corporate managers, and other Finns. The idea that inclusion requires exclusion comes from poststructuralist theories on structuring of language. To Derrida (e.g. 1976, 1981) conceptualised language is a constantly changing, context-dependent and self-referent system of signifiers. Derrida argued that any attempt to define something triggers an endless chain of references to other things. Signifiers, i.e. words we use to express and explain things, depend on one another and they exclude in order to include. For instance, in attempting to describe the word 'girl', we might refer to the words 'human', 'child' and 'female'; we would exclude 'boy', 'old' and 'male'. Poststructuralists (Burr 1995, Hall 1997) further argue that this causes us to think in terms of an either/or logic. We think either girl or boy, mind or body, knowledge or ignorance — but in fact the way these terms are constructed in language makes them depend on each other for their existence.

Earlier, I discussed the male-female dichotomy. In this discussion we saw that the pair masculine-feminine, as well as other pairs of terms, not only mark opposite

poles in the mutual relation by which they are defined. This relationship is also hierarchical. This hierarchy is characterised by one dominant pole, which includes the other within its field of operations:

> Derrida has shown how an identity construction is always based on excluding something and establishing a violent hierarchy between the two resultant poles — man/woman etc. What is peculiar to the second term is thus reduced to the function of an accident as opposed to the essentiality of the first. It is the same with the black-white relationship, in which white, of course, is equivalent to 'human being'. 'Woman' and 'black' are thus 'marks' (i.e. marked terms) in contrast to unmarked terms of 'man' and 'white'. (Laclau 1990:33)

In Derrida's view there are very few natural binary opposites; the opposites exist only in language, and the way language is organised reflects the distribution of power in society (Hall 1997).

Group membership is constructed like signifiers: a group needs to exclude in order to define its purpose and membership. The unity and internal homogeneity of a group of people, its members' understanding of what it means to belong to the group, depend on the group's capacity to define its 'lack' and keep it outside (Hall 2000, Butler 1993, Derrida 1981, Laclau 1990). *Identities are not what we say they are, but what we imply they are not.* It is exactly the fact that identities exclude that makes it possible for us to attach ourselves to them:

> Identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation. (Hall 1996:2)

When talking about professionalism, this idea of identities via closure is important to any presentation of our professional self. As I said earlier about my manager identity, professionalism is about living out — acting from within — discourses acquired in professional education, work experience, work setting, cultural context etc. For example, Kaiser (2002) describes how medical students acquire doctor identities. First, through the popular culture, students learn certain stereotypical doctor images, which signify their initial group membership. Upon entering medical school, students begin to adopt a professional identity according to the standards of the school (behaviour, dress style, hierarchies). They join a group of students with common origins, and with doctors who have already finished training. This doctor identity then closes out other people, such as patients, other professionals, and the 'laity'.

Here Harré's (1985:262) words are appropriate: "to be a self is not to be a certain kind of being but to be in possession of a certain kind of theory". To apply this idea to professionalism, to be a doctor is not to be a compassionate, intelligent and ambitious person (as an essentialist might describe the characteristics of a doctor), but to re-enact the discourses of modern medicine in one's social and 'private' action. As professionals, we assume the rules, rights and obligations of a certain knowledge community. But it is not that we merely label our essentialist, core, self a "doctor" after the education and then neutrally draw on medical knowledge to diagnose illnesses. Rather, we *do* the medical discourses with our whole being, in the ways we look, talk, work, and live. We have become subjects of the discourses' power/knowledge; they become so normal and natural to us that it is difficult to 'step outside' and look at them objectively (Hall 2001).

In our culture, a wide range of different symbolic activities is associated with different people, writes Edley (2001). This symbolism includes dress styles, hobbies and interests, patterns of consumption and ways of moving and talking. They define the norms by which members of a discursive community should behave, and meanwhile work to exclude those who do not belong to the discursive community. In Kaiser's (2002) example medical students become moulded into their doctor identities through a specific dress code and authority relationships between student and resident doctors. They symbolise the norms of doctor group membership, normal ways of being a doctor. Vuorikoski (2005) describes a corresponding set of norms for teachers. Part of being a teacher is the invisibility of the sexual body. Student teachers already have a very clear idea of what kind of clothing a teacher should wear and they adjust to this unspoken norm.

Britzman (1991) adds that when students follow an educational path towards their qualification, they negotiate in between and take up different subject positions that are possible in the discursive field of their profession. Students can accommodate to their craft's normative discourses, which follow the values and beliefs of those in charge of the discipline. In Kaiser's (2002) example, the rigid hierarchy between resident doctors and student doctors could be called the traditional doctor discourse; it is easily available for students who want to identify with it. Alternatively, according to Britzman, students can struggle to resist the dominant discourse of their profession by taking other, alternative subject positions. These subject positions could come from alternative discourses operating in their lives. For instance, medical students could attempt to present a more informal doctor identity, drawing on discourses of their earlier educational setting. However, whether students resist or accommodate to the dominant discourse, the identity construction is a response to the discipline's power relations (see Jackson 2001).

What does happen when medical students draw on the discourses of their earlier educational setting to construct a more casual doctor identity? If they do this, the two discourses operating in their lives — the traditional doctor discourse and the informal student discourse — are likely to collide. Different discourses operating in people's lives can lead to conflicts in identity construction. People entering medical school need to 'add' new ingredients to the existing mix of discourses from which they draw in social situations. Students will have a collection of subject positions depending on their professional and personal context (e.g. the medical community, gender, family and social background). They will need to define their relationships to other individuals (family members, patients, colleagues, acquaintances), groups (doctors in other specialties, engineers, people of other social backgrounds) and socio-political institutions (the health care system, the jurisdiction, the EU) via these different discourses operating in their life (see Rust 1993).

This process may cause conflicts, as not all discourses inevitably fit within the same parameters of action. I suggested above that the discourses I draw on to define myself socially in Finland do not fit into my Swiss context without adjustment. Burr (2003:108) describes how the prevailing discourses on femininity speak of "emotionality, illogicality and intuitiveness" and so may cause problems for a female who wishes to create an identity as a logical and objective scientist. But, continues Burr, it is impossible to entirely avoid subject positions, "the representations of ourselves and others that discourses invite" (p.111). We can only manoeuvre between the choices of accepting the subject positions offered by the dominant discourse of our discipline or other context, or taking some other subject position by counter-identifying or dis-identifying with the dominant discourse.

In taking any subject position, we become locked into the system of rights and obligations that its discourses entail. Different possibilities for action — the range of what people can and cannot do and claim for themselves — are provided by different subject positions. That is, different social, political and economic privileges are associated with different people in society (Edley 2001). Following my doctor analogy, if our culture associates doctors with compassion, intelligence and ambition, and if doctors correspondingly portray these characteristics in their social interactions — that is, if they manage to bring off a credible doctor identity — they are likely to be thought of in our competitive society as a little better than the average John Doe, which will let them reap a relatively high social status with its various rewards.

However, the range of subject positions presents more possibilities than simply rewards to be collected. Potter and Wetherell (1987) say that identification with discourses and their different descriptions of people can also produce identities that are destructive or oppressive. A good example of this is consumer marketing. Over twenty

years ago, when consumerism was still in its infancy compared to today, Coward (1984) demonstrated how female consumers are discursively created as having different needs such as a desirable body image or an ideal home. Consumers may quite happily accept the subject positions these discourses invite and find pleasure in them, but at the same time they may end up reproducing oppressive gender relations. This point has since been picked up by many critical researchers examining the subject positions created by the 'desire industry' (e.g. Attwood 2005, Pugh 2005).

Considering previous research done in this vein, Edley's (2001) analysis of masculinities produced by schoolboys in their talk illustrates how individual people reproduce cultural images of gender. Edley interviewed British schoolboys and found that they drew from familiar masculine subject positions like Rambo or James Bond and presented them as private and authentic forms of identity. Writes Edley (p.212): "In a sense, it represents the (mis)taking of a voice from without for a voice from within". Edley concludes that the very availability of these positions as routine ways of describing men reveals much about the ideological context in which such talk is done.

Marshall and Wetherell (1989) analysed law students' talk about gender, law and the self, and found that the students combined different ideas about gender in the profession. They represented gender via different interpretative repertoires representing discourses of gender: "essential gender differences", "gender similarity", "femininity as lack", "femininity changing law" and "just a housewife" (p.123). These representations produce a range of effects on women's positioning in the legal profession. The authors conclude that at least three mechanisms, in combination, tend to place female students in a subject position that works to marginalise women: an essentialist view of gender characteristics, identification of law with the masculine, and the students' defining their own 'base' identity as feminine.

Peace's (2003) analysis of university students' "discursive maintenance of gender inequality" also exemplifies how people can discursively reproduce gender difference and relations of oppression and subordination. The students drew on discourses which appeared to create a picture of overall equality between the sexes. For instance, the students celebrated the 'equalising' effect of advances in technology, constructed sexual subordination or domestic responsibilities as a matter of individual choice, and emphasised that women can achieve a power balance by manipulating men. Peace concludes that while these repertoires carry a positive message in showing that the women did not want to be viewed as either disempowered or as subordinates to men, they also perpetuate inequalities by justifying indifference and inaction.

To sum up, a paradoxical relationship exists between discourses and the subject positions they invite; at the same time we both produce and are the products of a discourse (Billig 1991). As reproductive users of discourses, we repeatedly create the

objects of our knowledge, the discourses' social subjects, the categories 'I', and the relationships between these (Valtonen 1998). Our identities are a collation of discourses that have been provided to us by our culture, social setting and history. We draw on these resources to create different versions of ourselves in social interaction. Whatever discourses we use, we do so within society's power relations, which may also mean we reproduce descriptions of people that create inequalities.

Interpretative repertoires: Building blocks of conversation

The dog trying to breathe and be calm in the heat ever since
and the way we talked to her
as marked being marked not human Little you-you breathing and sleeping
in the grass doing dog-things being a category on paws as we counted to one
two tree four and a tail and the way I remember her now
Dear Francis, Dear Chicka, Dear Mi, Dear Tessi, Dear Fifi and dearest Blixa on
four paws and ever since I ran off into your category being unmarked trying to bark
ate your chocolate stole the warmth from you walked behind you made you
sleep in my bed listening to your snoring "I am a being of desire, therefore
a being of words" as I lay down on the floor and closed my eyes and she barked
to identify herself she barked to fight alienation and insanity

Hanna Hallgren

Just as the dog above is being marked non-human by language, and then being acted upon in terms of this marking, our language use everywhere creates categories and actions, and their consequences for living beings. We describe ourselves, others, activities and topics in terms of discourses connected to them and thus recreate these discourses' versions of realities in our talk.

Various analytical concepts have been developed to explain the ways language is constituted in interaction. Edley (2001) uses three key concepts to organise this kind of analysis: interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions. Marshall (1994) and Marshall and Wetherell (1989) mainly discuss interpretative repertoires. Potter and Wetherell (1987) present a range of discourse analytical concepts, such as examining interactional sequences and the action-function of talk; among them the one most relevant to my analysis is interpretative repertoires. Studies that use *interpretative repertoire* as a unit of analysis identify elements in language that represent discourses people use to talk about a topic or an issue.

The analysis of interpretative repertoires requires practice, but it is a useful skill to learn, helpful in many different contexts to quickly recognise possible oppressive constructions in language use. As I describe below, we can recognise different patterns

of language that lead to oppressive effects — the 'ambassadors' of oppressive discourses — even in short sections of data. Even in speech, a few descriptions and metaphors reveal ideologies that affect the positioning of people and things, and actions in relation to them within the context of the speech. Being able to analyse these is useful in theoretical conceptualisation, and in writing practices, as well as in practical situations, where one needs to quickly recognise the ideologies functioning behind the interaction and influencing it. The other interactional discourse analyses require longer sections of data and more contemplation, such as analyses of subject positions or ideological dilemmas. The former help us locate the different ways people position themselves in relation to a topic; the latter reveal the different ways people attend to conflicts in their positioning of a topic.

Furthermore, it is relatively easy to keep an analysis of interpretative repertoires at the level of language, at the level of ontological constructionism, because the view extends across the data collected from different interviews. The global nature of the analysis also helps to enhance it with other textual material, such as media representations. Analyses of interactional sequence (how utterances follow one another) and the action-function of the talk (the productive nature of an utterance: "this is a pet") look at single occurrences in conversations. Thus it is harder to separate out the motivations of speakers or the materiality of the objects from the language; hence the analyses tend to stay at an epistemological level.

When an analyst of interpretative repertoires examines talk, the focus is literally *on the terms used*. That is, the units of analysis are linguistic resources that can be associated with different discourses. I do not want to break down the lovely poem too much, but for instance the names of dogs indicate they are spoken from within a discourse on pets rather than, say, a discourse on hunting dogs. Likewise, any topic or activity encompasses a family of terms related to it, a vocabulary that enables people to give it meanings in talk. For instance doctors use a particular set of terms to talk about their field of work. This talk labels the knowledge: a doctor articulates a diagnosis, "It's flu". But at the same time the talk constitutes and creates what it refers to: the sneezing patient as an ill person and the doctor as someone who can cure the patient. The language of medicine reproduces its realities and subject positions via talk in social interaction.

Interpretative repertoires reflect our linguistic resources and make up any regularities and varieties in our talk. According to Edley (2001), interpretative repertoires are the building blocks of conversation, language resources that circulate in society. They provide raw material for our social interactions and 'private' contemplation. According to Potter and Wetherell (1987:138), they "are basically a lexicon or register of terms and metaphors drawn upon to characterise and evaluate

actions and events". That is, our social understanding is based on these relatively coherent ways of talking about things, shared by other people in the same social context. Thus our talk is a sort of a recital; in Edley's words, we build it just as a dancer puts together different steps and movements in improvising a dance.

These repertoires are relevant for my study, because by examining how people use them locally we discover what discursive possibilities and limitations professionals have to talk about their work, their professional selves and gender within their work context. As stated earlier, I do not examine the interviewees' internal processes like attitudes, memories or emotions. Consequently, I do not expect the interviewees to be consistent in their discussion about the interview topics. A number of different discourses may be relevant to a profession at any one time. Each of these discourses has its own family of terms, which represent them in the talk. I examine the interviewees as citing these different, perhaps conflicting and competing, linguistic constructions, i.e. interpretative repertoires, according to the purpose and context of their talk.

The regularities and variations in the interviewees' use of interpretative repertoires are a necessary part of the analysis. Examining them helps me to define what kinds of different discourses operate in the interviewees' professional context. Variation can occur both within one interviewee's talk and from one interviewee to another. In other words, the discourses people draw on change both within and between conversations. Moreover, some repertoires can be used to give meanings to topics and issues across professions. Then the two different professional groups would draw on the same discourse, perhaps on one of society's hegemonic ones. And then of course some linguistic patterns come about only in the talk of one professional group, reflecting their particular disciplinary discourses.

The collection of repertoires I identify in the interviewees' talk helps to define the discursive boundaries of the professions. These boundaries signify the professionals' possibilities for and constraints on action, posed by the truth of one discourse versus that of another. It may sound peculiar to call 'truths' and 'boundaries for action' abstract rhetoric in talk. But in line with the discourse theory presented in Chapter 3, and discussed again at the beginning of this chapter, talk is not neutral and insignificant, but connected to ideologies that operate in our society. Discourse analysts assume that the rhetoric they identify organises the interviewees' understanding of the topic discussed. These understandings are acted out in the real world in relation to the topic, leading to real material effects in real lives. For instance, a dog that is talked about in terms of pets can have a very different life from a dog that is discursively categorised as a hunting dog. The ontology of a newborn puppy does

not change, but humans may relate to it differently as a result of its discursive positioning.

If an interviewee uses interpretative repertoires very consistently, that may indicate that person has a limited range of action with regards to a given topic. In contrast, a person's use of varying repertoires can signify complexity and diversity in the discourses on the topic that are available to the interviewee, defining the possibilities of action. Overall then, the pool of interpretative repertoires that an individual has at their disposal sets the parameters on their action. They represent and reproduce the available discourses giving meanings to the topic, which may be only one or two, or many that complement or undermine one another.

How then can we spot interpretive repertoires? First, interpretative repertoires are not the same as themes of talk. For example, talk about customer service is not a customer service repertoire. Interpretative repertoires are corresponding sets of ideas about a topic. To continue the example, a company can position customer service as high-skill specialist work, customer-oriented emotional labour, or low-skill operational effort. These three competing discursive positions would have their own sets of terms that help to identify them.

In the next chapter, I analyse the ways interviewees talk about male and female teachers. I name one of the interpretative repertoires they use the Mars/Venus repertoire. The repertoire reproduces the gender discourse by giving meanings to male and female teachers via stereotypical characterisations about their professionalism. The stereotyping can be recognised as *recurring patterns of word use, imagery and ideas within the talk*. These appear as clusters of terms, descriptions, figures of speech and metaphors. In Table 4.1, I exemplify how identifying these linguistic constructions in the interview data helps to identify sets of similar types of ideas and hence interpretative repertoires.

Table 4.1   Linguistic constructions representing the Mars/Venus repertoire

Interpretative repertoire	How to spot	Example
Interpretative repertoire = recurring patterns of word use, imagery and ideas within talk	Clusters of terms	Emotionally intelligent – patient – good at relationship building – organisational skills
	Descriptions	Gossipy women Lazy male teachers Don't care at all about pedagogy
	Figures of speech	Different areas of intelligence Rule the roost Woman is a beast to another woman
	Metaphors	Respectable spinster Male role model

Sources: Ahl (2002), Edley (2001), Potter and Wetherell (1987), Taylor (2001)

The idea is not that one should specifically find and list these different linguistic constructions, although Potter and Wetherell (1987) advise that this kind of preliminary categorisation helps to push the data analysis forward. At the end, the recurrent patterns are meant to work as pointers towards particular interpretative repertoires. The repertoires, in turn, inform us about the discourses that are operating in the interviewees' lives.

A rich analysis of interpretative repertoires would then entail examining how linguistic constructions in talk point towards these repertoires. These constructions would be identified in the overall data, in the interview talk as a whole, and in sections of the data where specific topics are discussed within the interview. The analysis would further include a discussion on the repertoires' properties: when and how the repertoires are used, and how they connect or compete with one another. The next step would be to discuss the repertoires' occurrence in the interview material within and between the two professional groups. The final step is a researcher's reflections on the discursive and material effects of the talk in the particular social setting and in other, similar social settings. I describe my analysis process in detail in the section below on data collection and analysis. In Chapter 5, I show how the central ideas and the central linguistic constructions turn into interpretative repertoires and the repertoires into discourses.

In sum, interpretative repertoires are relatively stable systems of meanings, recurring patterns of words, imagery and ideas within the talk, that reflect the ways a topic is spoken of from the position of the people in the context. Interpretative repertoires organise our social reality by mobilising different historical, cultural and social discourses. A professional setting can be a field of competing and contradictory discourses; any theme can be spoken of from the perspective of various discursive frames and within each of these frames the theme receives a different emphasis (Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen 2000).

Certain interpretative repertoires can be identified across the talk of different professionals operating in the same social setting. And even though particular professionals use particular repertoires in a particular work setting, those repertoires can indicate possible similar organisation of ideas in other, similar types of professional settings. As a discourse analyst, I can make explicit these processes of the professionals making meaning in their context, and then reflect on how the identified discourses could be present in the larger setting of primary schools and ICT companies in Finland.

Research design: Overview

I study the discourses that Finnish ICT and teaching professionals draw on when talking about their work and their professional selves. In doing so I aim to enhance our understanding of the gendered structures in the two professional fields, and eventually to create opportunities to conceptualise the professions in ways that do not reproduce gender.

My purpose is to examine how the professions' gendered structures are reflected in the language use of the professionals and to discuss what implications this may have for the professions' social realities:

> What kinds of gendered practices are articulated in Finnish primary school teachers' and ICT engineers' discursive representations of gender and professionalism, and what implications does this have for the professions' gender biases?

At the heart of my analysis is interview material collected in individual interviews with 12 Finnish ICT engineers and 14 Finnish primary school teachers. As mentioned in the section above on interpretative repertoires, I analyse the interview material for linguistic regularities within single interviewees' talk and across different interviewees' talk. In my preliminary analysis I found that two particular theme

entities are richly represented in the interviewees' talk: talk about gender and talk about good and successful professionalism. These two entities provide the frames for my first-level analysis, in which I identify and name two sets of systems of meanings that the interviewees use in their speech: representations of gender in interviews and representations of professionalism in interviews. In total, these two sets contain 12 different interpretative repertoires, all of which have their particular way of positioning one or the other of the discussion topics. My analysis captures the repertoires' central imagery and central linguistic constructions, and the different ways the repertoires work in the interviewees' talk.

In the first-level analysis I introduce the repertoires and show how they work in the professionals' talk. but in the second-level analysis, I bring in my conceptual framework to help understand the interviewees' constructions of gender and professionalism. I discuss whether and how the repertoires mobilise gendered discourses in the professions and whether and how these discourses can be challenged by the interviewees' representations of professionalism. In these discussions, the side-by-side presence of the two extreme male/female gendered professions adds a dimension that helps me to reflect on the data and to set questions from multiple angles.

I conclude my analysis in Chapter 6, where I reflect on the possible implications that the professionals' ways of talking about gender and professionalism have on the professions' social realities. Figure 4.1 summarises my research design:

Figure 4.1   The research design
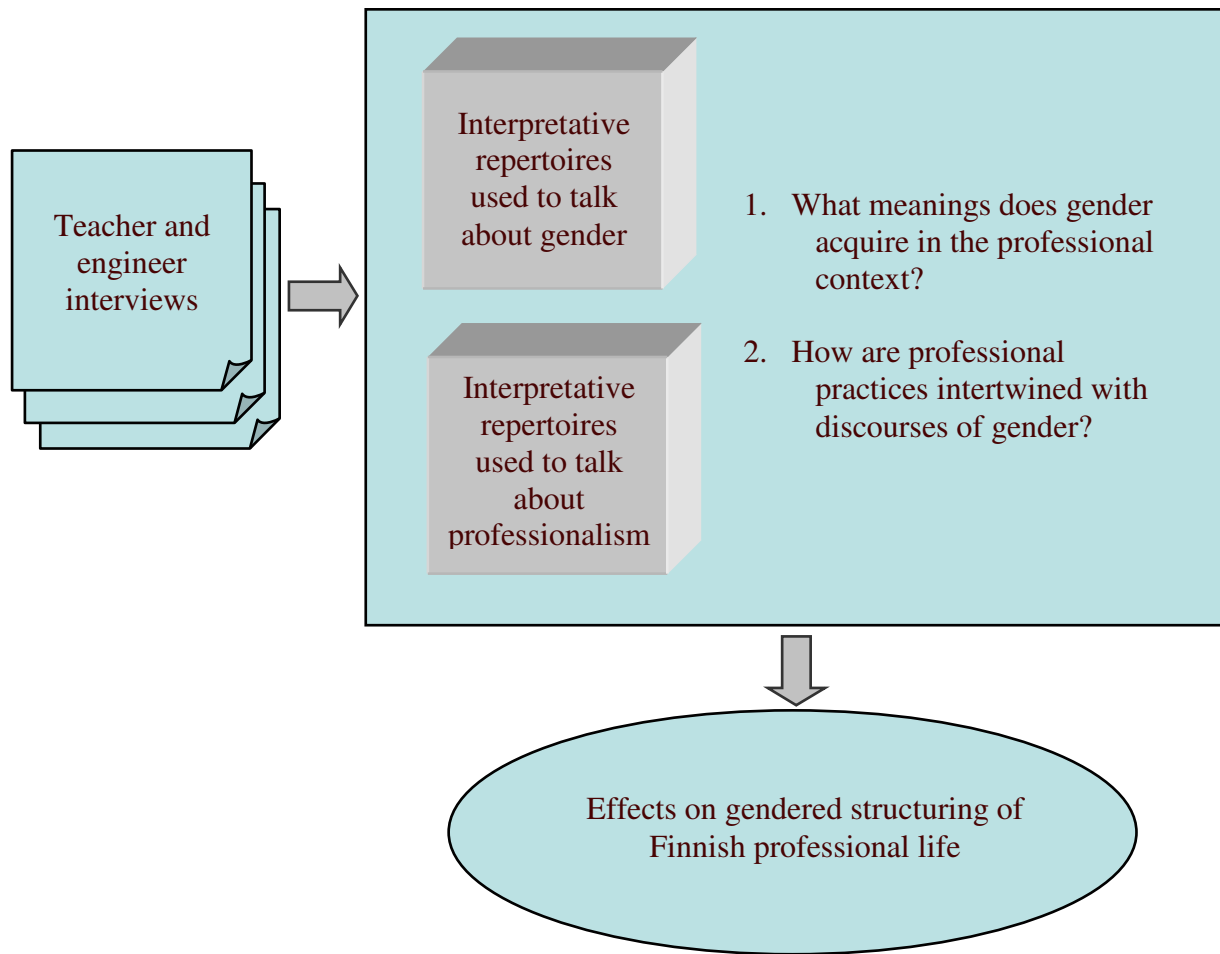
Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen (2000) write that discourse analysis is a data-centred method, where a researcher's interpretations are founded on a context-related analysis of the empirical data. This entails an element of "speculativity". That is, researchers use their own cultural capital to understand the data and in this way the analysis extends outside the study itself, towards social institutions and culture. It is impossible to conduct an analysis in a vacuum, because intertextuality is one of the defining elements of discourse theory. The analysis becomes vulnerable to criticism when it crosses the border from a pure data interpretation to discussing its embeddedness in a larger context, but "references to earlier literature and to the researchers' own cultural and disciplinary capital are the only ways to break free from the miniature worlds and micro analyses of social phenomena that pure data-centred research produces" (Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen 2000:100, my translation). Valtonen (1998) writes that to understand the findings in the data, the researcher must understand the culture, cultural habits and the general societal climate within which the language use is embedded. As part of this process of understanding, Potter and Wetherell (1987)

advise researchers to collect material from many sources and combine these with interviewing, so as to build up a rich idea of the historical and social context against which one can analyse how people organise their talk.

This is the premise of a critical approach: the data is extended to a larger context than the local deployment of language, in order to examine how hegemonic discourses are legitimised and how they can maintain different oppressive relations. 'Doing gender/doing profession' takes place within the social, cultural and historical contexts of the two professions I study. Gender is reproduced in the interplay between the socio-cultural context of the professions, their historical discourses and the discourses' enactment in the identities of the professionals. My task as the analyst is to deconstruct and explain the systems of these reproductions, and look for discursive fractures where resistance is occurring. Many of the cultural insights within which my interpretations are embedded are intuitive processes, so banal as to go unnoticed. Still, I try to present my analysis as transparently as possible, to help readers see behind the repertoires and their direct interpretations, to their socio-cultural setting. Further, I take steps to bring into the discussion my Finnish voice and the tone of the Finnish language, as far as possible within the setting/limits/framework of this work. In this way, by comparing and contrasting the field of ICT with the field of teaching I want to share my understanding of the discursive reproduction of gender in Finnish working life.

Context of the study

As the context of my study on gendered professional identities I chose two professional fields, which represent the opposite ends of male-female numerical participation: education and ICT engineering. From the perspective of the feminist imperative for change, the two fields offer a fruitful ground for study. One is numerically very male dominated, the other very female dominated. They have different administrative structures and relationships to the national economy and Finnish society. And in the societal distribution of work, the two fields are differently gendered (Vuorikoski 2005). As a beginning point for the two fields, I reproduce Figure 3.1 as Figure 4.2 as it helps to locate their male-female distribution among all university fields of study.[37]

---

[37] I use statistics from the Ministry of Education, as they are the most ready available and complete and thus most comparable. It is not possible to get fully representative statistics from the two professional fields. Trade unions register only their members, not all the professionals working in the field, and especially the private sector does not have uniform statistics available.

Figure 4.2   Gender distribution in Finnish universities by field of study
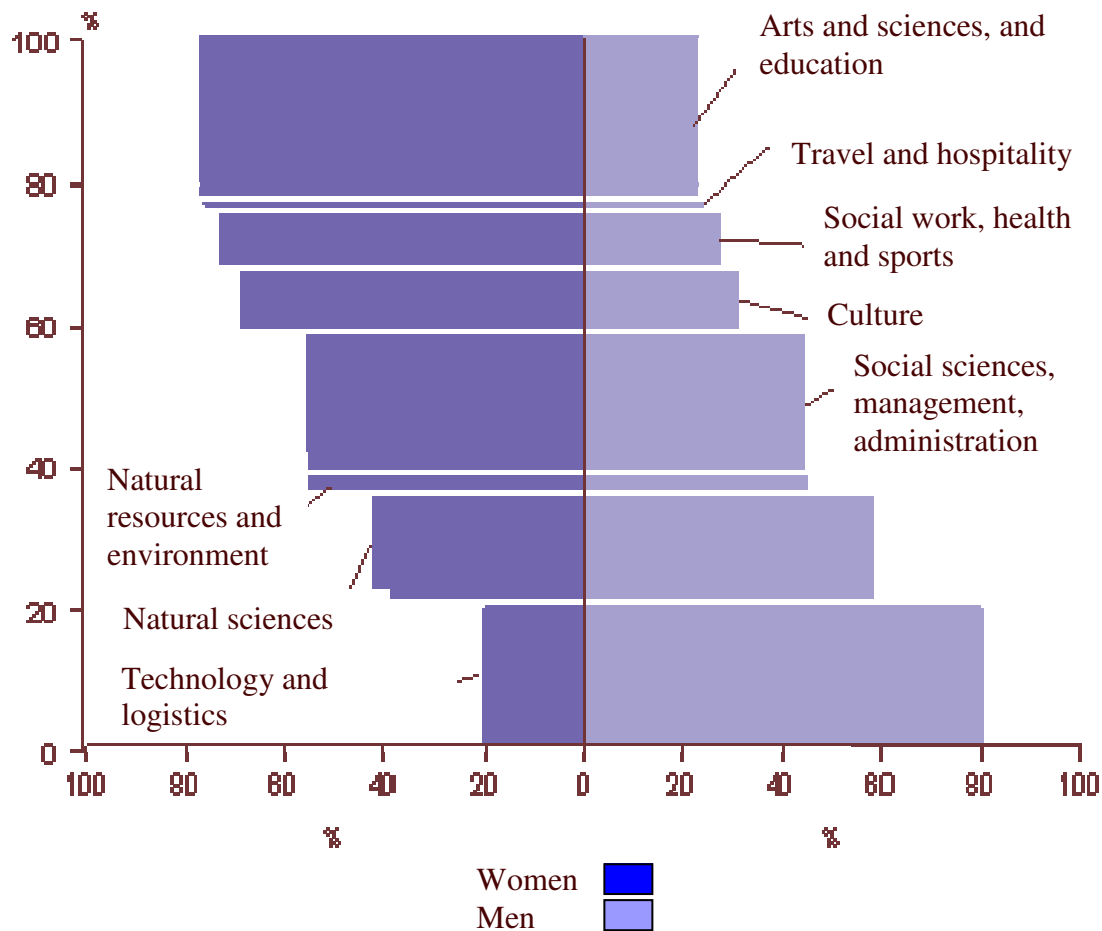
Source: Ministry of Education (2003), my translation

Humanities and education is the most female dominated of all fields of study, while technology and logistics is the most male dominated. In each of these fields, the proportion of males to females (or vice versa) is about 5:1. When we look separately at the fields of education and engineering, we see a decrease in the proportion of male students in education, as shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2   Gender distribution of education and engineering graduates

Field of education	Total Master degrees 2005	Men	Women
Education (University of Helsinki)	2,050	13%	87%
Engineering (Helsinki University of Technology)	10,676	81%	19%

Source: Ministry of Education (2006)

Of graduates in all education fields, 13% are male; of graduates in all engineering fields, 19% are female. These statistics speak of two extremely gendered fields: anyone who occupies a minority position in a field dominated by the other gender would be clearly visible in all activities.

In additional to the numerical balance, other differences can be seen between the two fields. The field of education is primarily financed by the public sector; only a few private primary schools exist in Finland. Technology work, in contrast, is mostly associated with private-sector enterprises. While public-sector institutions are financed by tax money and therefore subject to government budgetary negotiations, the private sector is financed by global capital markets and therefore subject to market economics. Teachers' salaries are fixed to public-sector salary scales. And structurally, the field allows little opportunity to move upwards, which would enable teachers to influence their salary. In contrast, engineers' salaries follow market rates, where the possibilities for remuneration and promotion are more attractive.

Even though the two fields are very different, both can be considered particularly significant to Finland's national competitiveness and international reputation. Education is highly valued in Finland. It was used as one of the central strategies for creating a common Finnish identity to sustain the autonomic Finnish nation state, which was part of Russia until independence in 1917 (Alapuro and Stenius 1987, Pulkkinen 1987). The comprehensive education system has played an important role in transforming Finland from a poor agricultural society into a wealthy and egalitarian knowledge society. Today, the quality of the Finnish education system, measured in learning results, has repeatedly received top placements in international studies by PISA (The Programme for International Student Assessment).[38]

The Finnish ICT industry, with the mobile communications giant Nokia, has been an important player in the country's economic landscape. Nokia and its suppliers were key players in Finland's recovery from the recession of the early and middle 1990s. The ICT industry can also be considered central to Finland's success in international competitiveness rankings, such as the yearly rankings by the WEF (World Economic Forum).[39]

Apart from these facts, the two professions are appropriate for my study purposes since both are practice-oriented occupations, with academic studies that are about the same length and lead to specific professional qualifications. For instance from the study of economics one receives a more open-ended professional qualification; from the study of humanities or mathematics one receives research-oriented qualifications.

---

[38] http://www.pisa.oecd.org/pages/0,2987,en_32252351_32235731_1_1_1_1_1,00.html
[39] http://www.weforum.org/site/homepublic.nsf/Content/Global+Competitiveness+Programme%5CGlobal+Competitiveness+Report

Students of economics participated in my pilot interviews, and none of them could clearly name the profession they were aiming at. Another very-female dominated field that is also frequently present in the public discussion is nursing, but most of its practitioners work within rigid hospital hierarchies (e.g. Kaiser 2002) which might introduce additional discursive complexity to any study of gender in the field. Findings from my pilot study also confirm this assumption: a health care student I interviewed drew frequently on hospital hierarchies in their self-description.

For all these reasons, my choice of two opposite yet comparable fields has facilitated the analysis and kept it 'together'. Professionals within the same discipline have a clear professional status, and therefore can be considered to draw on rather similar professional discourses across the interviewees. Referring to my earlier discussion about understanding the cultural context of the analysis, the fields of ICT engineering and teaching are both familiar to me based on my personal experience. I worked in the ICT field for 6 years and attended primary school for 9 years. The meaning I give to these professions is part of the intertextuality of the analysis.

The two fields are obviously gendered in their male-female proportion, but they can also be presumed to present variations in the ways people identify with them. The field of ICT, especially computing, is about creating artefacts. Its discourses are rationalistic. Clegg, Mayfield and Trayhurn (1999) and Faulkner (2000) both suggest that employees describe the pleasure of computing in terms of their intellectual curiosity, their interest in knowing 'how things run'. Education has very strong connotations with maternity and care. The term 'calling' for an occupation is often used in connection with teaching (as with nursing). Education also has an important societal function in training children to become 'legitimate' adult members of society (Billig et al. 1988). For these reasons it was interesting to see how the respective prescriptions for teaching resonated in the interviewees' identities. Finally, the lack of men in teaching increases/intensifies the profession's feminine imagery, while the lack of females in engineering does the same to the field's masculine imagery, which can have an effect on the ways people identify with the fields. I will discuss these issues in the analysis. Meanwhile, I now turn to some facts concerning the fields of ICT engineering and primary school teaching in Finland.

The ICT sector in Finland

The aim of the Government Information Society Programme is to improve competitiveness and productivity, to promote social and regional equality and to improve citizens' well-being and quality of life through effective use of information and communications technologies.

Government Policy Programmes

Whereas education was important to the Finnish national identity at the founding of the autonomous Finnish nation state (Alapuro and Stenius 1987, Pulkkinen 1987), the ICT field is currently presented as a significant societal driver. The Government Information Society Programme (GISP)[40], quoted above, is one of four current government policy programmes; the other three apply to employment policy, entrepreneurship policy and policy on civil participation.[41] The GISP was developed to maintain Finland's position as one of the main producers and users of information and communications technologies.

According to the programme's mission statement, Finland aims towards a societal model that combines an information society with a welfare society; that is, it aims to combine strong technology know-how and competitiveness with equality and social responsibility. The mission presents a vision in which the information and welfare society support one another so that the ICT field benefits from the welfare society's ability to produce skilled people, and the welfare state benefits from the economic growth the ICT field generates (Ministry of Labour Finland 2007). In this narrative, Finland's position as a leading producer of information and communications technologies is a result of close cooperation between the public and private sectors and between enterprise, industry and research units (Ministry of Labour Finland 2007).

The ICT field is significant to Finland's national economy. It accounts for 10% of the Finnish GNP and employs a larger fraction of the population than in any other country. In 2001 Finland had a total of 17,500 firms with 155,000 employees. The total turnover of the sector was nearly 48 billion Euros. Finland is also one of the world's leading producers and exporters of ICT. In 2002 ICT exports accounted for 22% of all Finnish exports. The most important export segment is communications equipment, with its 84% share of ICT exports (Ministry of Labour Finland 2007). Text box 4.1 summarises the Ministry of Labour's view of the Finnish ICT industry:

---

[40] http://www.tietoyhteiskuntaohjelma.fi/en_GB/

[41] http://www.tietoyhteiskuntaohjelma.fi/en_GB/

Text box 4.1   The ICT sector in Finland

The ICT sector in Finland generates a variety of information and communications technology products and services, including computing equipment, mobile telephones, information networks, software packages, web services, and expert and consulting services. The field is a so-called cluster, because the production takes place in a variety of branches, such as telecommunications, information processing and electronics production.

Finnish ICT production can be divided into three areas: equipment, services, and content production. A major share (65%) of the *equipment* produced is tele-communications equipment, i.e. mobile phones, mobile networks and base stations. This is also where the Finnish ICT field is internationally known, with Nokia the most famous enterprise. The industry is increasingly concentrated on very specialised high-end products. While mass production takes place elsewhere, domestic subcontractors focus on research and development or on producing services for their final products.

The majority of *services* enterprises offer data processing services. These include software design and production, equipment and software consulting, hardware and handling services and server hosting. ICT services companies also offer expert and consulting services that include ICT management, technologies, strategies and solutions, maintenance, product education, hardware and software vending, ICT outsourcing, and network management. Enterprises engaged in telecommunications technologies design, produce and maintain information networks and offer telecommunications solutions for operators.

Content production means developing, managing and distributing retail information products, in print, audiovisual or digital form. The trend in development is toward digital content; for instance analogue television broadcasts became history in August 2007. Digital content producers are new media enterprises, programming houses, telecom operators, television networks and publishing companies. The most common digital content products are internet pages, search engines, news and weather services, and virtual communities. Mobile services are also growing; they include ring tones, logos, games, and mobile payment or locating services. The PC and console games industry in Finland brings in more income than the nation's movie industry.

According to industry experts, the field will see slow positive growth in the future. The key areas of growth will be in data security, user-friendly interfaces, wireless technologies, mobility, and microelectronics. The ICT field will converge with other sectors; inside the field, the different areas will blend together. Also the demand for ICT skills continues to grow and a shortage of skilled people may even threaten the field's growth. In the coming years the baby boom generation will retire, which may lead to an increased demand for international experts. Other projected trends are a decline in players in the field, an increase in networking and outsourcing, and a focus on core competencies, tailored products and full-scale services. Threats come from a shortage of skilled labour, from unfinished projects, oversized expectations, economic recession and increased competition. Narrowly specialised enterprises and large global players will be the most successful. Also in the future, most companies will operate primarily in Finland or from Finland, apart from the manufacturing, which is shifting to low-wage countries. The blending of the branches highlights the need for new combinations of skills. In addition to technical, business, and social skills and knowledge of international dealings, knowledge of production chains and cooperation networks will be important.

Source: Ministry of Labour Finland (2007), my translation[42]

---

[42] http://www.mol.fi/avo/alat/25.htm

Industry experts also project that in the future the proportion of academic and professional employees in the field will grow, as the proportion of non-qualified employees shrinks (Ministry of Labour Finland 2007). This projection shows that several paths lead to the field. One can study ICT technologies in universities and technical universities in different study programs, leading to a qualification as a Master in Engineering. One can also study ICT technologies in other faculties, such as economics of mathematics. It is also possible to enter the field via polytechnics and universities of applied science. At the professional level one can study or apprentice in electronics, data processing and hardware installation, for instance.

The central professional and labour market organisation for academic professionals in the field is The Finnish Association of Graduate Engineers TEK with about 65,000 members: 40,000 graduate engineers or other professionals working in the field of technology and 25,000 engineering students (TEK 2007). TEK recommends a starting salary for graduate engineers of EUR 3,200 per month. These are people who can perform expert functions and work 37.5 hours a week. According to TEK (2007), in 2006 the twelve largest players in the field paid an average starting salary of EUR 2,700/month. From these facts, I move on to examine how the other thematic half of my study, primary school teaching, looks on paper.

Basic education in Finland

Finnish policy on education and science stresses quality, efficiency, equity and internationalism. It is geared to promote the competitiveness of the Finnish welfare society. Sustainable economic development will continue to provide the best basis for assuring the nation's cultural, social and economic welfare.

Ministry of Education

The Finnish school system was initially developed at the end of the 19th century. By international standards, the system of compulsory education was created fairly late, in 1921, but by then almost all school-age children were enrolled in school. In 1920 about 10% of Finland's 3.1 million citizens were attending an educational institution. Today, 20% of the 5.1 million Finns are in school (Arajärvi 2001).[43] In 1965, 6 years of free general education was legislated (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2006).

In the draft national budget for 2008, the Ministry of Education was assigned a budget of EUR 6,890 million. This is 15% of the entire state budget and an increase of EUR 330 million over 2007. From the proposed budget the share allocated to general education increased 7% from 2007. Several actions are given priority in the budget

---

[43] http://www.presidentti.fi/netcomm/news/showarticle.asp?intNWSAID=9877

plans: improving the quality of basic education, expanding vocational education, increasing the operating budgets of universities, improving student financial aid, supporting youth workshops, and allocating more resources to child, youth and family policy programmes and higher subsidies to cultural exports (Government Budget Proposals 2007[44], Ministry of Education 2007[45]).

In 2005, the average expense per pupil was EUR 5,600. This figure increased by 20% from 2001 to 2005 and by 5% from 2004 to 2005. The per-pupil figure also varies greatly by region, ranging from just over EUR 4,500 to over EUR 13,000. The great differences are based on geography; expenses are highest in the coastal Finland archipelago and other sparsely populated areas, such as northern and north-eastern Finland (Ministry of Education, Koulutuksen määrälliset indikaattorit 2007).

Over the past decade much discussion has focused on closing small primary schools. Between 1999 and 2003, the number of small schools, enrolling under 50 pupils each, decreased by 239, from 1,359 to 1,120. In 2003, slightly over 6% of pupils studied in such schools. Nearly 75% of pupils study in schools with 100 to 500 pupils. Population movements within the country and lower birth rates are the primary reasons for the falling numbers of primary schools in sparsely populated areas (Ministry of Education, Koulutusindikaattorit pähkinänkuoressa 2004).[46] In Text Box 4.2 I summarise the Ministry of Education's description of the Finnish school system.

---

[44] http://budjetti.vm.fi/indox/tae/2008/he_2008.html
[45] http://www.minedu.fi/OPM/?lang=en
[46] http://www.oph.fi/info/tiivistelmaindikaattorit.pdf

Text box 4.2   Basic education in Finland

In Finland, free general basic education is provided for all school-age children (currently about 60,000). After completing the basic education syllabus young people have finished their compulsory schooling. It does not lead to any qualification but makes them eligible for all upper-secondary education and training.

Basic education in brief:
- Basic education is nine years of free education provided in comprehensive schools.
- The local school curriculum is based on a national core curriculum.
- Education is provided in neighbourhood schools or other suitable places which make school travel as short and safe as possible.
- Schools cooperate with pupils' families.
- Each student is entitled to special needs education, if necessary.
- It is possible to continue basic education on a voluntary basis (for a tenth year).
- A school-leaving certificate is issued on completion of the syllabus, but gives no actual qualification.
- The certificate provides access to all upper-secondary education and training.
- Teachers are highly educated.
- Nearly all children complete their compulsory schooling.

Compulsory schooling starts in the year when children turn seven and ends when they have completed the basic education syllabus, or after ten years. The network of comprehensive schools covers the whole country. The majority of pupils attend medium-sized schools of 300-499 pupils. The smallest schools have fewer than ten pupils and the largest over 900 pupils.

Local authorities have a statutory duty to provide education for children of compulsory school age living in their area. The language of instruction is mostly Finnish or Swedish, but Sami, Roma or sign language may be also used. Swedish-speaking pupils total under 6% of all pupils and Sami-language pupils under 0.1% of all pupils. Around 15,000 school-age children come from immigrant backgrounds, and their integration is supported in many ways.

Source: Ministry of Education (2006)[47]

In 2005, a total of 44,265 teachers worked in basic education. This includes subject teachers, class teachers, special education teachers and immigrant teachers. On average 85% are qualified as teachers (Statistics Finland 2005, Ministry of Education 2007). A qualified primary school teacher in Finland has completed a master's level university degree, either in education or in one's specific subject area. The minimum monthly salary for a fully qualified primary school teacher is about EUR 2,300, and that for a non-qualified teacher is about EUR 1,600. The salaries are defined by public office salary scales. Measured on these scales, the salary of a class teacher salary can vary between C35 and C45, with those who have an MSc in education entitled to the highest classification. In addition to the base salary, they may receive various

---

[47] http://www.minedu.fi/OPM/Koulutus/yleissivistaevae_koulutus/perusopetus/?lang=en

supplements, most importantly the service supplement (Ministry of Education 2006, Trade Union of Education in Finland OAJ 2006).

In 1973, teacher education was moved entirely to the universities. The newly drafted legislation required that each university participating in this education must have its own administrative body, which is in charge of teacher education as well as educational research. This led to the establishment of faculties of education, which currently exist in eight universities. Class teachers complete their entire degree in these faculties, while specialised subject teachers graduate in their subject and then earn an additional degree in teaching, which takes about a year. The movement of teacher education to the academy led to a rocketing interest in the profession: from 1,927 students in 1973 to 5,623 students in 1974. The profession's popularity has continued, with significant numbers applying; universities select about one applicant in three for entry to programs in class teacher education; 9% of all university students study education as a major (Pennanen 1997).

My sample includes class teachers, subject teachers and special education teachers. Within the teaching profession, there is a gender hierarchy: women do the practical work of teaching, and men the work of administration, research and leadership. Among teachers, the smaller the children, the more female dominated is the teaching staff (Vuorikoski 2005).

Therefore the most female-dominated sections of the profession are lower elementary school teachers. *Class teachers* teach children aged 6 to 12. The teacher may teach all subjects in her own classroom, apart from foreign languages and the second domestic language. Education for the class teacher includes specialisation in at least two subjects. The class teacher qualification is an MSc in Education.

Subject teachers (e.g. of Finnish, mathematics) teach their specific subjects to different classes of pupils. In the upper elementary school (for the age group 13-16 years) teaching is organised through subject teachers. Some specific subjects (e.g. languages) are taught by subject teachers in the lower elementary school. Subject teachers have a master's degree in their subject area and an additional qualification in education. Some subject teachers, such as those teaching home economics, crafts, physical education and arts, can apply directly to a teacher course, an educational path that is also becoming more common in other subjects.

Special education teachers work with pupils who for psychological, physical or other reasons need special education in addition to general education. A special education teacher works individually with a pupil who otherwise studies in the general education class, simultaneously with another teacher; or these teachers may work with a small group, and are then called special education class teachers. Student teachers can specialise in special education as part of their master's degree in education, at

three universities in Finland (Ministry of Labour 2007).[48] In Text Box 4.3 I summarise the different demands of teaching work, as described by the Ministry of Labour (my translation).

Text box 4.3 Teaching profession

Grades 1 through 6 are mainly taught by class teachers and grades 7 through 9 by specialised subject teachers. The objectives of education are defined in the curriculum; based on these objectives, teachers plan their instruction. For teachers, an important part of planning is knowing about the official directives and regulations, changes to the curriculum, and the previous year's learning outcomes.

A teacher needs to be creative, in addition to having methodological, technical and theoretical knowledge. The objectives given to schools are broad and often ambiguous. This allows teachers the opportunity to apply their own ideas in their work, but can also cause them frustration and stress. A shortage of resources, in terms of money, personnel and time, can increase the demands. Knowing skills and art subjects (such as textile or woodwork, or physical education) can help significantly in their work.

The work of the class teacher highlights the nurturer role. The teacher spends many hours each day with the children and thus follows their development for a longer time period than any other teacher, and often even more closely than the parents. Therefore it is crucial to be able to create a trusted and open relationship with pupils. Especially for special education teachers, cooperation with the pupil, the parent, and others who have an interest in the child is a significant part of the work. The number of pupils creates additional challenges for subject teachers. With possibly hundreds to teach, it may not be easy to get to know the pupils well enough and individualise the teaching.

The weekly teaching duty for a class teacher is 23 hours. For subject teachers the hours vary. In addition to the teaching hours, they must also plan and prepare, and help with testing and evaluation, which are often done on evenings and weekends. Vacations are longer than for other professional groups.

Source: Ministry of Labour (2007) [49]

Of all employed Finnish teachers, 96% belong to the central trade union (Trade Union of Education in Finland OAJ 2007).

Data collection and analysis

Those conducting a discourse analysis do not aim at results that can be generalised to a larger context, but the analysis can be significant in itself (Taylor 2001). However, within its particular context a sample should ideally represent a 'typical' participant or document in the category being researched. Further, according to Taylor, the theoretical framework allows for the use of a relatively small sample and the analysis

---

[48] http://www.mol.fi/avo/avo.htm
[49] http://www.mol.fi/avo/avo.htm

will not necessarily benefit from a large one. Language use is assumed to reflect the knowledge shared by members of the same discursive community and even a few interviews can reveal many patterns which indicate the members' interpretative resources.

Conducting a discourse analysis is very labour intensive. A researcher must break the interview material down into much smaller units than in, say, a positivist qualitative analysis. Every word can be revealing, although the most important findings are often those from across multiple interviews. As mentioned earlier, the very nature of the analysis is interpretative and the researcher is personally embedded within the discourses being analysed. Still, the researcher must constantly consider whether the interpretations are grounded and evident. What makes the analysis valuable is the ability to spend time with the material, to dig deeply into it and its interpretations. For these reasons it is important not to have too large a sample, as that can negatively affect the outcome.

The interpretative nature of discourse analysis further highlights the researcher's role in reflecting the interview and analysis processes. Taylor (2001) advises that a researcher can and should present an account of the research, in order to acknowledge their relationship to it, as well as the possibilities and constraints that arose throughout the process. As I discussed in Chapter 2, central to the feminist approach to knowledge production is recognising that my work is coloured by my particular standpoint. It is impossible to conduct an impartial analysis, so it is better to show the circumstances within which my knowledge is situated. This means reflecting my subjectivity as the author of the work during all phases of the research project. Therefore, to ensure transparency, in this chapter I include not only descriptions of the interviewing and analysis processes, but also my own views, feelings and reflections on them.

Description of and reflections on data collection

My material consists of interviews with 12 Finnish ICT engineers and 14 Finnish primary school teachers. I interviewed eight female and six male teachers, and six male and six female ICT engineers. I needed to make some choices in order to narrow my sample, mainly regarding the interviewees' job roles or professional functions, as well as their age and gender distribution. In addition, I had to decide how to find the participants and how to set up the interviews. Since my aim was to talk to ICT engineers and primary school teachers, I decided to let the interviewees define the sample: I invited professionals to join if they perceived themselves as belonging to either group. These choices led to a group of engineering professionals who have a

technology degree, not necessarily in ICT technologies, and who work for an ICT enterprise. The other group consists of teachers, who work in basic education as class teachers or as subject teachers.

Since my aim was to study different age groups within the professions, I decided I could include the greatest variation by inviting participants from the entire range of age and experience. The requirement for variation also justified inviting both male and female engineers to participate in the study. I did not analyse the genders separately, but saw them as representatives of their professions. In this theoretical setting, the gender of the speaker is not central to the analysis, but the equal distribution of genders allowed me to identify the different discourses operating in the context. Through my choice of interviewees, I aimed to have an equal distribution of genders in each group, but the age distribution occurred randomly. The primary school teachers ranged in age from 29 to 63 years, with 41 years as the median. The engineers ranged from 27 to 44 years, with 32 years as median. In the register of the Trade Union of Education in Finland OAJ, the average age of primary school teachers is 43.6 years. The average age of employees in Nokia, the largest ICT company in Finland, is 36 years, including the management.[50] As my sample did not include second- and third-level managers, I believe that the ages of the engineers are representative of the relatively 'young' field.

I located the interviewees through friends and colleagues, and then used a snowball method involving the interviewees themselves. Since this method did not let me reach enough teachers, I contacted several schools directly to seek more participants and used the information on schools' websites to contact teachers. I suspect that reaching the teacher interviewees was more difficult for two reasons: first, they work primarily with students in classrooms, not at offices where they are frequently engaged with electronic communication tools. Second, my friends of friends include more ICT professionals than teachers. As I conducted my interviews at schools, I also learned that schools frequently experience an overabundance of requests for interviews from education students. This did not affect the enthusiasm of my interviewees, and many mentioned that they would not have participated apart from the interesting topic. Organisationally, schools, being public institutions, were more accessible to me than ICT companies. I could walk unrestricted into schools' staff rooms and could also find interviewee contact information on the internet; to reach the ICT professionals I had to rely entirely on my contacts.

For the sake of convenience, and given the constraints on my time, I decided to interview professionals only in the southern part of Finland. Moreover, since Finland is a geographically large country there is some cultural diversity. I have spent most of

---

[50] http://www.t-media.fi/youngprofessionals/2005/images/nokia.pdf

my life in southern Finland and also returned there to live during the interview phase, so from the point of view of understanding the cultural context I am most secure in southern Finland.

My method of gathering the interview participants proved suitable, as I managed to arrive at a comprehensive cross-section of professional functions, schools and engineering companies in the area, and a representative balance of age and gender groups. (Please see Appendix 1 for details on the demographics of the sample.) I did not go into detail with the interviewees about their personal lives, unless they mentioned them, but based on these discussions and their appearance, the interviewees seemed to follow the characteristics of a typical Finnish professional. That is, they are ethnically of Finnish origin, belong to the middle class, and the majority are Finnish speaking though the Swedish-speaking minority was represented. The sample also represented the typical Finnish relationship statuses almost equally: some were single, some were married or living with a partner, and some had children while others did not.

Ten of the interviewed primary school teachers graduated with a master's degree in education, one with the old type of college-level teaching degree completed prior to the education reform. Three of the teachers have a master's degree in sciences; one of them is further qualified as a teacher. Many of the teachers have further academic qualifications, for example in their field of specialisation or in special needs education. The titles of the teachers include class teacher, special education class teacher, sciences teacher, and Finnish and literature teacher. The interviewees work in a total of nine primary schools in the southern part of Finland, including lower and upper elementary schools in the inner city, and in the suburbs and outside of population centres. The schools are located almost equally in lower, middle-class and wealthier socioeconomic areas.

Of the ICT engineers in the sample, seven graduated with a master's degree from a technical university; five of them have a specialisation in ICT, along with one in machine technology and one in production economics. One engineer completed an advanced research degree in ICT and one was working on a doctoral degree in ICT. Four of the interviewees earned their computing degree in a polytechnic or a university of applied science. The self-reported titles of the interviewees include: Business Manager, Consultant, Customer Service Manager, Designer, Programme Developer, Project Manager, Researcher, Systems Engineering Expert, Technology Manager, Usability Consultant and Usability Expert. The engineers work in a total of nine companies located in southern Finland. These include global and Nordic ICT

corporations, technical universities, training and consulting companies, and SME[51] ICT design firms.

Five interviews took place during March and April of 2005, and the rest between September of 2005 and February of 2006. During the second phase of the interviews, I stayed in Finland the whole time. This relocation was valuable because it let me be geographically close to the interviewees and be immersed again in everyday Finnish life, after 5 years abroad. I also welcomed the opportunity to join discussions in the Finnish academic gender studies community, which let me further reflect on my international frames of experimental and theoretical gender research in my native context.

In the summer of 2004, before I conducted the actual interviews, I conducted a set of pilot interviews. These let me gain hands-on experience in interviewing and conducting data analysis, and also let me explore the feasibility of my research idea and research design. I did this work in the frame of my Pilot Study for this dissertation. For the pilot study, I interviewed six female students in different academic disciplines, studying in Finnish universities. The disciplines range from highly male-dominated fields (engineering, computing) through those with a balance of male/female participation (management) to highly female-dominated fields (health care). The pilot study experiences helped me to arrive at my final research design and to organise my data collection process.

Most of the teacher interviews took place at the schools where the teachers work. Normally, I met class teachers after a school day in their own classroom; I met subject teachers in staff areas of schools after their teaching hours or in between classes. One teacher invited me to her classroom during the students' examination. For practical reasons, I met three teachers in a café after work. I met four engineers at their work places during working hours. The other eight I met in cafés and other public places after work. The meeting locations seem to reflect the respective fields' structure of public/private ownership. As I already mentioned, it was easy for me to walk into schools, invited or uninvited. If I felt out of place, this was because of my own memories of school, when, as a pupil, I was not allowed to enter the staff premises. As an adult, I could hang around these areas, often without raising a single remark from members of the school staff. On the other hand, when I visited engineering companies, I had to report to the reception area and to complete some visitor paperwork.

The interviews were all audio taped, and conducted in Finnish. Each lasted about one hour. The discussions loosely followed a pre-designed interview guide, with the

---

[51] Small and medium-sized enterprise. A company whose headcount or turnover falls below certain limits. The current EU standard for a medium-sized enterprise: ≤ 250 employees, ≤ EUR 43 million turnover (http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/enterprise_policy/sme_definition/index_en.htm).

following types of topics: choice of career, success and accomplishments, everyday work routines and current/critical issues in the field. In designing my interview guide, I drew on the work of Marshall and Wetherell (1989), who investigated law students' use of interpretative repertoires in their work on gender and career identities. Those researchers wanted to analyse the general resources that students used to make sense of 'personal' self and professional identity, and on that basis discuss the construction of gendered social identities: "How do people construct their sense of self in different contexts in relation to their occupation? How do they relate personal self to occupational characteristics?" (Marshall and Wetherell 1989:112). Since my goals and methods were very similar, I adapted their interview format (p.127) to test in my pilot interviews. Based on these experiences, I developed my final interview guide which I used with the teacher and ICT engineer interviewees. An English translation of the interview format is included in Appendix 2.

At the beginning of each interview, I asked the participant to fill out a short questionnaire asking for information on their age, profession, work experience and education. I briefed the participant about the topic of the study and how the material would be used. I told them the goal of the interview: to discuss their thoughts and experiences about their work and themselves as a professional. I communicated that I am studying gender in the two gendered fields, but emphasised that my central concern is professionalism as a whole. My experience from the pilot interviews and from casual discussions with colleagues and acquaintances is that people sometimes become fixed on the topic of gender as soon as it is brought up. This may then create the tone for the rest of the discussion and stand in the way of discussing other interesting topics. I normally managed to bring in all the discussion topics listed in my interview guide. Often, the interactions also led to other stimulating discussion topics. Many of the discussions automatically touched on the topic of gender at some point, but when they did not, I raised it as the final discussion topic.

I have the impression that the public/private ownership structure of the institutions, or the nature of the work, also affected the interviewees' approach to the discussion. I was surprised by the teachers' openness and informality about their work, their work places and the institutional set up as a whole. This included positive as well as negative reflections and gave me a feeling that I am 'part of the system'. In a way I am also part of the ICT business. My inclusion in the engineers' talk was different, however; during these interviews I felt I was being trusted with professional terminology because of my background. The field's openness to me as a researcher was also more conditional, as the engineers were more interested in the confidentiality of the data. I was left with the impression that the teacher interviews were more upbeat than those with the engineers, which were more neutral in tone. My own motivation

could have affected this outcome. I experienced the teachers as very articulate and enjoyed our interactions and my learning about their work. Because I have experience in the field, the engineers felt more immediately familiar in their expression, behaviour and professional scripts, and perhaps this dampened my curiosity. Compared to the teachers, the engineers' talk also appeared less expressive and sometimes even formal.

When it came to generating the talk, I tried to set up the interview situations to feel as informal as possible. I emphasised that my aim was conversation, rather than a question and answer session. I intended the interview guide to be more a list of possible discussion topics than a formula to be tightly followed, and the participants were allowed to bring up any issues that they felt important. A freely flowing discussion was normally not too difficult to achieve. The interviewees were also generally at ease with the voice recorder.

Taylor (2001) suggests that in a one-to-one interview set-up, the researcher may have an unnaturally high amount of control over the interaction. Even though this can help focus on the topic in question, it may create power tensions in the situation and hinder the flow of conversation. Indeed, in those cases where the conversational style did not work out well, I later felt that I may have been overpowering. Whether or not this was the case, it did not show up on the audio tapes. In some situations the interviewee took the lead and strayed outside my prepared discussion topics. These situations made me feel I was being too accommodating. Because the talk during an interview situation is locally constructed, the interviewer — as an active party in the event where interpretative repertoires emerge — can intentionally use techniques to help variation occur. This could happen, for example, if I asked about the same topic in relation to different contexts and so added to the richness of the data (Potter and Wetherell 1987). The interviewer may also intentionally or unconsciously adjust to the interviewee's mood and interests.

Once I had conducted a few interviews, I accumulated some sense of experience and routine; I then learned to relax in the interaction and to use different methods of leading a productive discussion. This helped to generate talk as well as to keep the discussion undisturbed and on track. In the end, in only three cases (two engineers, one teacher) did I have real difficulties in motivating the interviewee to join in more than a mere question-answer routine. Equally, in only a couple of cases did the discussion actually drift far away from the topic. Realising the time investment this meant, I quickly learned to set limits. In the interviewing process I also gained lot of knowledge about the fields and about the kinds of discussion topics that motivated the professionals to talk. This information helped me improve my performance as an interviewer over time.

I also began making notes to reflect the interview situations, following Richardson's advice (1997:31):

> Use "writing-up" fieldnotes as an opportunity to expand your writing vocabulary, habits of thought, attentiveness to your senses, and as a bulwark against the censorious voice of science. Where better to develop your sense of self, your voice, than in the process of doing your research.

After each interview, being as honest as I could bring myself to be, I wrote a brief (one to two page) review of the setup and progress of the interview, noting my feelings and impressions about the person and the situation, and any connections and interpretations about the discussion that came to my mind. This helped, to again quote Richardson (p.32), to keep me "from being hooked on my 'take' on reality". Understanding more about this "take on reality" helped me not only in my own self-knowledge but also in the analysis phase, where I sometimes struggled to 'separate' people from their talk. Having already reflected my thoughts, feelings, motivations and so on helped me to move away from the interview situations themselves and look at the data as a discourse.

With the interviews that were particularly positive or negative experiences, I reflected on my own role as a party to them: how might my own my presentation of myself, for example as over-assertive, non-motivated, motivated or flirtatious, have affected the interaction? When listening to the tapes, I was surprised at how much my behaviour changed from one interaction to another. According to discourse theory, this would of course happen, but speaking egoistically I would have assumed I would be the same consistent personality across different social situations. I learned a lot about how much the tone, pace and volume of my voice can change from one interaction to another. I also learned how the volume and amount of my laughter changes in different situations, and how I use spontaneous expressions, choices of words and discussion topics. This ultimately boils down to the developmental lessons of a doctoral student: learning from an interview does not stop with being able to collect the richest possible data and being able to interpret it in a constructive way. The interview is also a social situation, in which people do their best to behave in a socially competitive manner. Reflecting on my own behaviour in the interview situations and on the tapes, I discovered much about myself as a professional, a woman, and a social being. In this way, the interviews were also an inquiry into the self (Richardson 1997).

Description of and reflections on data analysis

As described above, I started mentally processing the interview material on the spot during the interviews. This continued right after the interviews, when I jotted down my first thoughts and feelings about the interaction. The first step of the more formal data analysis was to transcribe the interview audio material. I transcribed all interviews in full, using transcription software. Discourse analysts (Potter and Wetherell 1987, Taylor 2001) recommend transcribing the interview material personally, in order to get a complete picture of the language use. The analysis requires that one dive deeply into the talk. In practice this means the analyst must go through the data over and over in order to locate any analytic issues in it, such as recurring patterns and other connections within and between the interview discussions. To engage in these activities, the talk must be in writing, so one can browse through it in on paper and electronically.

According to discourse theory, interaction is context dependent and constructive. As Taylor (2001) advises, it is impossible to make a transcription and translation an exact reproduction of the speech it represents. Whatever is presented as interview material, it is *always* the researcher's own construction of the events that took place, a result of the researcher's decisions regarding transcribing and interpreting the material. It cannot be a total record of the talk, because even the audio recordings cannot contain all the 'material', such as body language. This means it is in the researcher's power — and is the researcher's responsibility — to make the inevitable decisions about which parts of the speech to transcribe, and which to leave out. To some extent this decision can be directed by the recording's relevance to the interpretations. For the purposes of analysing interpretative repertoires, the most important feature is similarity or variety in the content of utterances, across different contexts and different speakers. This would mean paying attention to what is said, rather than how it is said or what happens in addition to the saying. To this end, I followed the style and advice of analysts of interpretative resources, such as Edley (2001), who transcribe the words spoken but not much further detail.

It turned out that the choice about which details to transcribe is also a result of a learning experience. I started by following the more experienced analysts' convention, and writing down all that was relevant to my particular analysis. To understand exactly what this is, I needed some practice and a process of narrowing down the data. My first transcripts show words, but also expressions of emotions, such as sighs and laughter, filler utterances and repetitions, breaks with length indications, and even additional written descriptions of tones of voice. Having transcribed a few interviews, I started analysing the transcribed text and these analyses clarified to me that it is

mainly the words, the content of the speech, which was central to my research objectives. I learned that the other expressions, apart from being extremely time consuming to reproduce, can even harm the goals of the analysis. Discourse analysis does not examine individual speakers' feelings and motivations, and so focusing the attention on things that 'personalise' the speaker can bring the researcher back to the interview situation. To examine regularities across interviews, however, the researcher needs to be more distanced from the speakers. Even using the plain transcripts and field notes, I sometimes found it a challenge to examine people purely as users of discourses instead of as individually driven persons.

Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen (2000) recommend that to keep a discourse analysis coherent, one should focus on a limited number of analytic issues, instead of considering all possible contradictions and tensions. Concentrating on specific tensions leads to better argumentation, and still does not mean that these are the only possible issues that can be found in the data. This is consoling advice to a relatively inexperienced analyst facing an abundance of interview material. In itself the sheer amount of text made it difficult to handle; in the end I had about 300 pages of single-spaced text. In addition, the content gave me not just one or two, but dozens of interesting 'leads' to command my attention. Here was the second learning experience: first to find out what were actually the analytic issues I wanted to focus on, and second, to decide how I would confine them into understandable entities.

This was very much manual work. I read the transcript printouts jotting notes about different ideas, topics and themes in the texts, then coding these notes across the transcripts by using highlighters and post-it notes. Every time my ideas developed into a new coding system, I made new sets of printouts and repeated my study through the material. I identified both larger entities of speech — such as recurring patterns of descriptions, imagery and ideas within the talk — as well as smaller units, such as clusters of terms, expressions, figures of speech and metaphors (Ahl 2002, Edley 2001, Potter and Wetherell 1987, Taylor 2001). In Table 4.1 above, I showed one way to organise these; I repeat it here (as Table 4.3) for clarity.

Table 4.3   Linguistic constructions representing the Mars/Venus repertoire

Interpretative repertoire	How to spot	Example
Interpretative repertoire = recurring patterns of word use, imagery and ideas within talk	Clusters of terms	Emotionally intelligent – patient – good at relationship building – organisational skills
	Descriptions	Gossipy women Lazy male teachers Don't care at all about pedagogy
	Figures of speech	Different areas of intelligence Rule the roost Woman is a beast to another woman
	Metaphors	Respectable spinster Male role model

Sources: Ahl (2002), Edley (2001), Potter and Wetherell (1987), Taylor (2001)

The above linguistic constructions were the kind of leads I followed for the interpretative repertoires and examined in light of my research question. I started collecting these and sections of data of different lengths electronically, using Excel spreadsheets and Word documents. I gave headings to the texts in the tables and documents, such as "Psychological", "Professional", "Relational" and "Humanistic". These were the embryos for the repertoires I finally decided to discuss in this work.

From this point on, I mostly used an electronic form of the data for my analysis. Many computer programs are available for qualitative data analysis, such as Atlas/ti. At their simplest, computer-assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) programs offer tools for coding, classifying and grouping data. More complicated theory-building software also builds connections between different categories and classifications (Fielding 2001, Uotinen 2006). Having studied the pros and cons of such programs, and having discussed them with colleagues who use them, I decided that data-management software would not significantly benefit my analysis. Instead, I tend to join Uotinen (2001:6-7, my translation) in her reflection on one of the most popular CAQDAS tools, Atlas/ti:

> In my own experience, the idea behind Atlas/ti software is to make the analysis of the material (seemingly) more efficient and also to dissolve a certain feeling of inaccuracy connected to qualitative research. The software makes processing and

analysing the data appear systematic and therefore convincing. Of course my dissatisfaction with the quality of information I achieved by using Atlas/ti may also come from my inability to use the programme skilfully enough. However, building up a much more complicated coding system would have been so time consuming that with the same amount of work one can go through the material several times using the traditional system of "read, highlight, make notes and glue on post-it notes".

Atlas/ti did not help me to go deeper than the factual level of the material. When I used the program, I could not completely identify and understand the higher-level constructs in the material …

Like Uotinen's, my experience proved that I can create a deeper understanding of the material as a whole when I can handle it 'freely'. Seeing the physical material was important: it allowed me to organise it in different combinations around my work space. Also when I advanced to the digital handling of material, I noticed that my analysis benefited from a certain kind of randomness. This is the same idea as going to a bookstore or library rather than purchasing books by mail order: while we browse through book shelves, even when we are looking for a particular book, we pick up other books, and skim through them and may find texts that are just as interesting as the book we sought originally. When we use mail order we sacrifice this experience of overview and intimacy. Similarly, on the issue of not being systematic, in the end it is of course the researcher's responsibility to have faith in their own system of analysis. Taking this responsibility is, in my opinion, also one of the great lessons of research, especially qualitative research.

Instead of using a prepared computer program, I developed my own system of analysis, once I had specified what kind of repertoires to focus on. I examined the transcripts side by side and, using the search function, copied different sections of the data. I formulated concepts and questions, following the recommendations of Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen (2000) to keep a discourse analysis coherent by focusing on a limited number of analytic issues. For the teachers, some of these concepts were teaching, being a teacher, and school as a workplace; for the engineers they were engineering, being an engineer, producing technology, and the ICT enterprise as a workplace. Some of these questions were: how an interviewee talks about good professionalism, how the interviewee talks about gender, via what kind of systems of meanings the repertoires work to conceptualise professionalism and gender, what kinds of ideas give meanings to gender and professionalism, what it means to be a teacher or an engineer, and what central ideas provide these meanings. Finally, using the search function I went through the texts using a simple search function, looking for grammatical variations on words such as 'good', 'what kind', 'doing', 'success',

'accomplishment', 'characteristic', 'different', and 'satisfaction'. Even though this search function may seem minimalist, I found it effective as it helped me to gain an overview of the data, since finding a search word did not mean focusing only on that section, but always looking around it. Therefore every new match helped me to memorise the text.

Once I began to gain even some superficial insight into my material, I soon began presenting it at various seminars and conferences. My ideas of the kinds of analytic issues and repertoires changed quite a bit from one presentation and write-up to another, before I arrived at what I am presenting in this dissertation. Naturally, this part of the analysis gave me multiple angles on the data and enhanced my confidence as the interpreter of the data.

Since the interviewees were spoken and transcribed in Finnish, the repertoire's translation into English turned out to be a significant part of the analysis. I started translating at the point when I had pulled together the repertoires and a preliminary analysis of their central ideas, that is, when I knew which repertoires I wanted to present in my work. The translation was of course extremely time consuming. I wanted to be as true as possible to the originally spoken words, so that one can see the 'Finnishness' in them. In converting my Finnish field material into my English dissertation, I want to be faithful to the content and flow of the interviewees' talk also in the translated extracts. This includes finding ways to deliver the cultural context to the readers, to write so that what I know and feel about my country, its people, and our collective memory retains its character and at the same time also makes sense to outsiders.

Translating local metaphors and sayings was a particular challenge. At the same time, the structure of the two languages is very different, and this presented challenges in finding a grammatically appropriate way to translate the utterances. Having to make decisions about the meanings of the expressions and finding similar expressions in English greatly helped me understand the data, and to dive really deeply into its discursive meanings. In my final translations from Finnish to English, rather than accomplish a word-to-word translation, I have tried to capture the effect of the speech, remaining faithful to the effect of an utterance. That is, I try to transfer the effect as closely as possible from the context of the language Finnish to the context of the language English, as Lie (2004) describes it. Of course, someone else would have made different linguistic decisions, which perhaps would have led to some other way of conceptualising the repertoires.

The structuring of my analysis incorporated the translation process. I sequenced all the extracts representing the same repertoire one after the other, translating them one after another, several times over, and then placed their central meanings into tables

under appropriate headings. During this exercise my analysis of the repertoires started to take form, and not until the very last phases of the analysis did I start to break up this sequencing.

Both the interview situations and the analysis phase showed me the importance of a thorough understanding of the linguistic practices and the social and cultural context of the participants. Valtonen (1998) writes that understanding the findings in the data requires understanding the culture, cultural habits and the general societal climate within which the language use is embedded. Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen (2000) write that intertextuality is one of the defining elements of discourse theory; therefore in research involving discourse analysis, a researcher's interpretations are founded on a context related to the analysis of the empirical data. The researcher inevitably uses their own cultural capital to understand the data and in this way the analysis extends outside of the study itself.

Apart from the cultural capital that comes to me readily, in relation to Finnishness, Finnish professional life, Finnish gender relations and so on, I also consciously attempted to enhance my 'cultural capital' by studying media discourse in the course of my interviews and analysis. This study of intertextualities is not directly visible or elaborated in this research report, but it includes a systematic study of the four-month period when I conducted the majority of the interviews. During that time I studied all the editorial content, columns and reader's letters in the major Finnish newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*. This study yielded about 1,000 items. In this work, I analyse in depth the interview material, and use the media material only in the background, to help create contextual knowledge about widely known current issues affecting the professions. Outside of these four months, I have consciously, but less systematically, followed the media discussion on the professions, gender and their mutual relationship.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that I did not experience difficulties in finding patterns across the data. On the contrary, I realised how much endlessly rich discourse material even a small amount of data can provide. It seems there are always new and perhaps more significant patterns to be found. In the data interpretation, self-confidence and reflexivity interact, especially on the dimension of subjectivity-objectivity. When learning gender theories, I have been aware of how I myself take on the discourses and start to reproduce them in my work, in this way contextualising my ideas within the accounts of other researchers. In the beginning I noticed I was using a type of writing very similar to that of other gender researchers, but with time and experience, I have been able to develop my own way of accounting — or perhaps I just do not realise where my words start and others' end. Today, my aim is not to hide myself as the producer of the research report, translations, transcripts or any other

work, but to write myself and my experiences into the text. At the same time I try to make it relevant to readers at many levels, while I make visible my experiences as a researcher and balance my subjectivity and my stories behind it with constructive academic writing.

5. Analysis: Constructions of gender and professionalism

In this chapter, I present and discuss my analysis of the interview material, in two interconnected parts. In the first part of the analysis, I examine how the ICT engineers and primary school teachers that I interviewed conceptualise gender in their talk. I examine what kinds of meanings gender acquires in interview situations and by implication in the two professions: what kinds of interpretative repertoires the teachers and the engineers use to make sense of gender in their professional context, and how the talk articulates gender in the professions. In the discussion part of the analysis, I use my theoretical framework to review and understand how the repertoires may or may not sustain gendered discourses in the professions.

This first analytic chapter will set the stage for the second part of the analysis. In the second analytic chapter, I study what kinds of meanings the engineers and the teachers give to professionalism in interview situations. I identify and name a total of six interpretive repertoires — three for the teachers and three for the engineers — which the interviewees use to articulate professionalism in their work context. In the discussion sections of the analysis, I examine how the repertoires' representations of teaching and engineering professionalism become conflated with discourses of gender. This organisation of the analysis reflects the research design, which ultimately has two aims: to identify the rhetoric that holds up gendered conceptions in/of the two professions, and to open spaces to conceptualise the professionalisms outside the normative gender. I conclude the chapter by analysing the differences between the teachers' use of the repertoires and the engineers' use of the repertoires.

I am aware that adopting a particular way of talking about the research data can narrow out much of our lived life. However, I follow the advice of Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen (2000). These scholars recommend that to keep a discourse analysis coherent, one should focus on a limited number of analytical issues, instead of considering all the possible contradictions and tensions that can be found in the data. Concentrating on the specific topics leads to a better argument, and does not preclude the possibility that other themes can be found in the data. Surely my interview excerpts can also offer more than the analytic directions I have selected, but to follow the advice of Jokinen et al. (2000), I focus on identifying and analysing those interpretive repertoires that specifically help to answer my research question. This research question is grounded on a conceptual framework that involves five influential ideas: the normalising power of discourses (Michel Foucault and the theorists interpreting him such as Carabine 2001, Hall 1997, 2000, 2001), doing gender (West and Zimmerman 1987), gender-habitual behaviour (Veijola and Jokinen 2001), the

symbolic order of gender and gender contract (Gherardi 1995, Hirdman 1990a, Rantalaiho 1994), and the theory of a gendered organisation of work (Acker 1990).

A gender analysis necessarily demands setting up certain signifying practices, which may need clarification here. It is not possible to talk about gender without naming it: talking about men and women, masculinities and femininities. I aim to be very consistent in this naming, making a crucial distinction in my writing. When the interviewees, or I, talk in material terms, as people who are physically observing a female or male, I use the terms men, women, sex. When I refer to the socially constructed gender, I signify this by talking about females, males, gender. However, language cannot always follow these conceptual ideas and naming conventions. For example, I consistently talk about male and female teachers and male and female engineers, because to me this is correct English. To underline the social construction of gender, I can also talk about someone or something being female-signed or male-signed. This means that the objects draw meanings from the symbolic universes of the feminine and the masculine.

Finally, I have established some ground rules for translating, because the interview material has been converted from Finnish to English. Many structural differences exist between the two languages. In this context, three are most relevant:

1) In the Finnish language, both the socially constructed gender and the physical sex are signified by the same word. Therefore, in Finnish there are no separate expressions for *sex* and *gender* and in everyday Finnish, *male/man* and *female/woman* are simply articulated as *man* and *woman*. Again, I distinguish in my writing so, that when I or the interviewees refer to people who are physically female or male, I talk about men, women, sex. When I talk about the rhetoric of gender and gender constructions, I talk about females, males and gender.

2) Finnish grammar does not distinguish between masculine and feminine personal pronouns. There is only one neutral pronoun, so that the gender of the person being referred to becomes clarified only through the context of the text or talk. In my writing, especially when quoting the interviewees, I follow the recommendation of Sarah Emch-Jones, English Lecturer at University of St. Gallen (personal communication 2006) on how to write gender-neutral English. I use the pronouns *they* and *their* to signify both the singular *he/she*, *his/her,* and the plural personal pronouns. In parallel I will use the neutral signifier *one* ("tasks that one can do with confidence").

3) Speakers of Finnish frequently use a passive form to talk about themselves, or about things in general. I will signify this usage mostly by using a *you* or a *one* formulation (as in: "you go to university to learn", "one has to study"). When the passive formulation does not fit the English translation, I switch to an active form ("I go to university to learn").

I introduce each interpretative repertoire by first talking about its central imagery and central rhetorical constructions, which I used to identify the repertoire. I then use various quotes from interviews to show how the repertoire is present and how it works in the interview talk. Since it is not possible to include all the repertoires in this chapter, the rest of the extracts, categorised under the different interpretative repertoires, are available in the Appendix.

Representations of gender in interviews

In this chapter, I discuss how gender and the gender biases of the professions are articulated in the interviewees' talk about male and female professionals in their work context. I analyse what kinds of meanings these professionals give to gender in their talk, and what these meanings can tell us about the gender biases in the professions. As discussed in the previous chapter, my analytic tool is the interpretative repertoire (Potter and Wetherell 1987). Interpretative repertoires are *systems of meanings*, which people use to make sense of a topic or an issue. The same repertoires can be identified across the talk of different people operating in the same or similar social setting. These are recurring patterns of words, imagery and ideas within the talk, which reflect the ways a topic or an issue is understood from the position of the people in the context.

I include passages from my interview data in order to name and discuss three major interpretative repertoires that the interviewees use to make sense of gender in their profession. I describe the central ideas for each: how the particular repertoire presents gender in relation to the profession. I also show the main rhetorical devices I used to identify each particular repertoire, that is, which devices they use to achieve their effects. Finally, using my conceptual framework, I discuss the implications that arise when people use these repertoires for gendering the professions.

When I interviewed the primary school teachers and the engineers, we discussed many different facets of their professionalism. Normally at the very end of the interview session, if the topic had not already been brought up, I prompted the interviewee to reflect on gender, generally using questions like these: "Why do you think there are so few men/women in your field?", "Do you think men and women teachers/engineers are different and if so, how?", and "What do you think would change if there were more men/women in your profession?" In addition to these questions, gender came up as a discussion topic randomly throughout the interviews. Using this overall data, I studied the meanings that gender acquires in the talk.

It was fairly easy to locate the passages where the interviewees elaborated on gender, for several reasons. First, I clearly remembered these parts of the interview

discussions: I knew what to look for and where I would find it. Second, patterns of gender talk are clear entities in the interview material; either the interviewees brought up the topic of gender or I asked questions about it. Gender was the main theme in those specific parts of the talk, not hidden between the lines, so to speak, as the talk on professionalism sometimes was. (In the second part of the analysis, I discuss how I located professionalism repertoires in different parts of the interviewees' descriptions of their work and everyday tasks). Third, the patterns of gender talk were also easy to find using the software search function, because gender qualifiers are attached to almost any word that relates to this discussion topic. I found many references to women and men, boys and girls, female and male professionals.

The patterns of gender representations that I present in this chapter follow this analysis. I found that both professional groups used three consistent approaches to discussing gender in their profession: 1) comparing and contrasting gendered characteristics and behaviour, 2) explaining the gender gap, and 3) maintaining gender harmony. I name the interpretative repertoires that represent these ways of talking about gender and professionalism as follows: 1) the Mars/Venus, 2) the Body/work, 3) the Chaos/order repertoire. In the following section, I introduce each repertoire in turn, as used by the teachers and the engineers. I discuss the main ways the repertoire appears and works in the interviewees' talk, and wrap up the analysis with a theoretical discussion in which I compare the two groups' representations of gender.

Mars/Venus repertoire

Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus (Gray 1992) is a highly popular relationship guidebook and a phrase that is often repeated when things are not going smoothly between men and women. The idea is that the two sexes are fundamentally different, from 'different planets' in fact, and that special efforts and even professional support may be needed to bring them together into an understanding of each another.

When the interviewees talk about gender in their professions, they commonly draw on this idea of a fundamental, essential gender difference. The talk delineates commonsense notions about the skills, abilities and behaviour of men and women, such as "women are good at multitasking" or "men are disorganised". Also, the characteristics by which men and women are described are organised so that the differences are both clearly distinct from, and complementary to, one another. As discussed in Chapter 3, this kind of articulation of gender works to "sustain, reproduce and render legitimate" (West and Zimmerman 1987:146) the gender binary. When the interviewees generalise particular characteristics to apply to all male

teachers/engineers and other, opposite characteristics to apply to all female teachers/engineers, they articulate the gender order to apply to their professional context. In this way, the discourses of gender work together with the discourses of the profession to reproduce gender hierarchies.

In the interviewees' talk, I identified an interpretative repertoire that works directly to rearticulate the symbolic order of gender in terms of essential gendered characteristics and gendered dynamics in the professions. I call this interpretative repertoire the Mars/Venus repertoire to illustrate its oppositional, naturalised construction of gender. This repertoire helps to make sense of gender in a way that clearly distinguishes between the male way of working and the female way of working. Both engineering and teaching professionals are described as conducting their work and themselves at work in ways typical of their sex. In this way, the repertoire helps the interviewees in their talk to clarify *how male and female professionals are different and what this means in my profession.* This clarification centres on the idea that sex differences are natural: as a group, men have psyches and interests that are different from those of women; as a group, women have psyches and interests different from those of men. This is further articulated to lead to a gender-biased distribution of tasks within the professions.

Teachers: Upholding the hierarchy

As described in detail in Chapter 4, interpretative repertoires can be identified as recurring patterns of words, imagery and ideas within talk. In the teachers' talk, two prominent constructions mark the Mars/Venus repertoire: *hierarchical opposition of essentialised gender characteristics* and *hierarchical dynamics between men and women.* The first construction centres on the idea that female teachers have particular, generalisable characteristics and male teachers have other, different ones. The characteristics are opposite in nature: what female teachers are, male teachers are not, and vice versa. Furthermore, they carry values that make the male way of being and doing seem more favourable than the female one.

The second rhetorical construction is also based on the idea of opposite and complementary male-female characteristics. But whereas the first construction talks about generalisable male or female ways of being a teacher and conducting the profession, the second construction talks about interaction among and between male and female teachers. This interaction is characterised by generalisable female and male ways of acting. These gendered ways of acting are then presented so that male teachers' interactions with people are different and opposite and in this opposition more favourable than those of female teachers.

The imagery by which the Mars/Venus repertoire describes female teachers focuses on a group of notions: hard working, conscientious, pedantic and rigid. The imagery by which the repertoire describes male teachers also centres on notions: lazy, lax, relaxed and likeable. These characterisations *per se* do not necessarily carry positive or negative meanings. However, the way they are organised in the Mars/Venus repertoire makes them appear unfavourable or favourable; there is an implied or expressed hierarchy between the notions applying to male teachers and those applying to female teachers. For example, an abstract interpretation or an interpretation placed in a wider cultural context would consider hard working to be a more highly valued characteristic than lazy. From early childhood we hear stories about how a hard working little piggy or some other fairy-tale creature gets rewarded, while their lazy brothers end up in trouble. Laziness would also not be a good selling point in a job interview. However, when male teachers are described as lazy, and female teachers as hard-working, the hierarchy seems to tip over:[52]

> I know really good male teachers, in any case as good as female teachers. Then people always say that men, they shirk responsibilities. But those saying that are exactly the pedantic hair-splitter female teachers who don't accept the artistry in some men. (4, f)

> The majority of men take it a bit more relaxed. And this does not mean that we wouldn't care or assume responsibility, but sometimes you have to be able to look a bit in between the fingers[53] and round up the edges. (12, m)

In the above quotes, the first speaker compares laziness to "artistry", which seems to be a positive quality. This artistry is lined up with the expression "shirk responsibilities", and these two are then placed face to face with the expression "pedantic hair-splitter female teachers". In this way, shirking responsibilities begins to seem like a positive quality. The people who disapprove of it are by definition disapproving (and women) and do not shirk responsibilities, but are pedantic about completing them. The second quote works in a similar way and is formulated almost identically. The speaker suggests that because male teachers are more relaxed than female teachers, they are viewed as shirking responsibilities. The speaker then rhetorically straightens up this 'misconception' by aligning the characterisation

---

[52] Legend for the presentation of interview quotes:
I = the interviewee
E = Ella
(3, m); (5, f) = sequence number and gender of the interviewee
italics = the interviewee's emphasis
text— = unfinished sentence/thought
(…) = irrelevant part of text I removed for presentation purposes
[text] = my clarification
[53] A Finnish idiom meaning a lackadaisical attitude towards something, looking the other way.

"relaxed" with the ability to know when not to be too focused on details. This suggests that some people lack this ability, and that these people are female teachers. In this way, the seemingly neutral or even culturally opposite meanings of the words that describe male and female teachers settle on a hierarchy, where the characteristics associated with male teachers become presented positively, and those associated with female teachers are presented negatively.

A similar kind of effect is achieved in the quote below, but it is perhaps articulated more gently; neither party is denied abilities in the same way that female teachers are denied them in the two quotes above. The term "relaxed" is present again, and this time it is said to have both positive and negative consequences. Yet the second half of the quote clarifies that it is positive to be relaxed, when compared to female teachers' tendency to "pamper children":

> Men as teachers are more relaxed. Both in a good and bad sense. They maybe don't *pamper* children so much, which I also sometimes find myself doing. (5, f)

In the three quotes presented so far, the higher hierarchical value of male teacher characteristics when compared to female teacher characteristics is clarified by the vocabulary, but above all by the ways the speech is organised. Below, the vocabulary, and thus the appraisal, is more straightforward. The fact that the characteristics assigned to male teachers are preferable is further underlined as the speaker lines them up with the characteristics assigned to female teachers:

> Let's say that normally male teachers are more relaxed. Female teachers can be a bit particular and dry and men are *often* more upbeat. And children like that. (9, f)

"Particular" and especially "dry" already sound undesirable, but when contrasted with "relaxed" and "upbeat", it is not difficult to imagine which qualities are more appealing to children (and adults alike).

In all the articulations of the Mars/Venus repertoire, the hierarchy between male/female teacher characteristics is not as evident as in the quotes I have discussed this far. In fact some interviewees present male teachers in a negative light. Below, the first quote lists a set of important teacher characteristics, which female teachers are said or implied to possess, and male teachers to lack. The second speaker directly criticises male teachers for their poor professional attitude:

> Men have tunnel vision; they are maybe less flexible and adaptable to different situations than women. They don't look for different solutions to different pupils; do not isolate and attend to individuality. Men are more clear-cut, what I have observed of the male teachers here at school. Well, damn it, they have that one system, one method and that's it. If that doesn't suit someone— (10, f)

> Most men they paddle through the day pretty much playing by ear. They don't think too much, just go and do a bit of hockey in PE, without giving a second thought about whether gymnastics was scheduled for the day. Or if the plan says that you should teach set hours of gymnastics every winter. They go play hockey, end of story. And really, many men teach poorly. Like they don't give a hoot about pedagogy. (...) They hoard their hours, they may have more than thirty, and then they have no time to help in the shared responsibilities.[54] Plus they don't plan their lectures; they plan at the doorknob of the classroom. (11, f)

Both the above quotes describe male teachers who are not doing their teaching job as well as it could be done. In the first quote, the speaker contrasts a multiplicity of situations where different teaching approaches are needed with the idea that men push through with their "one system, one method and that's it", whether or not it suits other people. In the second quote, the speaker elaborates on male teachers' incompetence by describing their many different ways to deviate from common guidelines and responsibilities: "They don't give a hoot about pedagogy". These apparently disapproving articulations are, in fact, exactly the points where masculinity settles in above femininity in the described setting. Note that in both utterances the male teachers are described as autonomously deciding on their approach, without asking for permission or following authorities, even planning guidelines. The autonomous approach also seems to yield benefits, especially in the second quote: male teachers gather teaching hours (above the standard working week), and thus earn extra money, at the expense of shared responsibilities, i.e. working with the female teachers.

As seen in all these interview extracts, the Mars/Venus repertoire does not mix or confuse the characteristics it designates to female teachers and male teachers. It consistently presents them as contradicting one another. Moreover, the characteristics designated to male and female teachers vary little from one speaker to another.

The second rhetorical construction typical to the Mars/Venus repertoire is also quite uniformly articulated from one speaker to another. A set of recurring expressions and terminology is used to describe male teachers and female teachers. The construction also encompasses the idea that male-female characteristics are opposite and complementary. But whereas the first construction generalises specific characteristics and professional conducts to apply to all male or female teachers, the second construction makes generalisations about male and female ways of interacting in the professional context. Again, the genders are stereotyped and the interaction between the stereotypes is presented so that male teachers 'win'. To continue the theme of the latest group of quotes, the male teachers in the quotes below are also described as having their special, and beneficial, way of attending to school work:

---

[54] The same interviewee describes school work to include, in addition to teaching, activities such as planning ceremonies, attending board meetings, developing curricula, and organising theme days and art competitions.

But there are also good sides, like you can sort of rule the roost a bit. I often get my opinion through a bit more easily and get away with doing less. Don't need to do Christmas decorations or other of this kind of women's stuff. (7, m)

Like when we have a sports day, sure enough they dig into the sofa, sort of like who organises it and all. Or some Christmas ceremony. They prepare a program of their own there, throw some play script to the children, to fifth graders for example, throw it like 'Yeah, practice this by then and then'. And then they go announce that we have a play. Meanwhile, women set up the Christmas tree and work out who walks from where and who moderates and where the parents sit and they take care of the hall and all. (11, f)

In the first quote, the dynamics between the male teacher and their female colleagues favour the former. The man can assume leadership; he "gets away with less", and does not need to do "women's stuff". This sounds familiar to those who know the traditional household setting, and indeed, the second quote continues along the same lines: men "dig into the sofa", while women take care that things get done. The essentialised gender characteristics of the Mars/Venus repertoire turn into gender roles and a gendered distribution of work.

The following two quotes also describe gendered dynamics, but the theme is interaction between women, instead of between men and women. The speakers discuss the numerical dominance of female teachers in schools, and describe it as causing complications due to the nature of women:

Every now and then you can see [that men are indulged] in everyday interaction. In our school for example we have four male teachers and they are not, at least very often, nitpicked behind their back, or gossiped about. But women are constantly. They are almost beastly to each other. (3, m)

A work place that's *too* dominated by women, or at least this is what I've experienced, all sorts of bizarre friction begins to develop. Set up much easier by women *than* by men. It's like when guys are laughing away, women are bantering around the corner, evil things behind each others' backs. (12, m)

In the first extract, the speaker focuses on the idea that women secretly gossip and criticise one another, as well as the word "beast". In the second quote, the expressions "bizarre friction" and "evil things behind each others' backs" are almost identical in meaning. The utterances work to the effect that women, because they are women, have characteristics that cause them to be disloyal and quarrelsome. They further suggest that unfavourable or even unnatural situations occur when women are in groups. Men, in turn, are described as neutral bystanders, not as subjects or objects in the quarrels. This works to trivialise the bickering between women: it does not concern men, men are above it. Hierarchical dynamics appear and, in addition, stereotyped female teachers are reduced to objects of observation. In the quote below, the male-female

teacher hierarchy continues. In this case, however, men do not just serve as observers, but remedy the problems caused by having only women in schools:

> A work place where there are only women, it's really awful. So men *are* needed. E: To balance it out? I: Yes, precisely, because it's just awful if *every time* you go to the teacher's break area someone is mulling over some behavioural thing. You want to discuss something totally different too. (11, f)

In this quote, the hierarchical dynamics between men and women are based on the idea that male teachers have different discussion topics than female teachers, who, again, are talked about as a one-dimensional group. Male teachers, implied to be essentially different, can break the monotony and so improve the situation.

The examples show that the teachers use the Mars/Venus repertoire to talk about gender and gender difference in their profession. The repertoire works to essentialise male and female teacher characteristics, working styles and styles of interaction. These are presented in a bipolar setup, where the characteristics and working styles defining male teachers are different from and opposite to those defining female teachers. The Mars/Venus repertoire is further organised so that masculinity has a higher hierarchical value, expressed via positively toned meanings for men's characteristics and actions, compared to those of women.

Engineers: Men's work and women's work

Similar to the teachers, the engineers in this sample also use the Mars/Venus repertoire to talk about differences between male and female engineers. As in the teachers' use, in the engineers' use the Mars/Venus repertoire also presents gender via essentialised male and female characteristics and working styles. In the imagery of the repertoire, these characteristics and working styles are different and opposite for male and female engineers. As the teachers use it, the Mars/Venus repertoire is articulated in a way that presents male teachers as having a lax approach to teaching and a favourable disposition towards social interaction, with female teachers the opposite. In the engineers' use, however, the repertoire basically reverses these characterisations. As the engineers use the Mars/Venus repertoire, they present male engineers as meticulous and task focused and female engineers as having broad visions and good social skills. In this way, the repertoire reproduces discourses of masculinity, where men have a natural affinity toward technology, and discourses of femininity, where women have a natural affinity toward people-oriented tasks. This further works to justify a gendered distribution of work in technology companies.

Two primary rhetorical constructions helped me to identify the Mars/Venus repertoire in the engineers' talk. I call them *essentialising gender characteristics* and *essentialising the gendered distribution of work*. The imagery of the first construction draws on generalised and complementary skills of female and male engineers: male engineers focus on technologies, female engineers on people, on applying technologies and on organising/administering technology work. It further describes these skills as coming from a collective female history and a collective male history. These essentialised and universalised skills, preferences and histories ground the gendered distribution of work in engineering companies.

The first construction is evident in the quotes below. In these, the speakers describe female engineers' skills and approach to work as different from and opposite to those of male engineers. This leads to a binary opposition, where each has what the other lacks:

> Women can handle many things at once, for example in a situation where there are different tasks with different schedules connected to many different projects. They can simultaneously, sort of side by side, work on the different tasks. If one thing gets sticky, does not move on, they leave it in the background to ripen, and go work on something else. Their time management may be more efficient. When men run into a problem, they sink deeper and deeper into that swamp,[55] they muse on it as long as needed to come up with a solution. (2, f)

> Women can look for different solutions to solve the problem at hand. But they search for the solution from a different perspective; they want a solution that serves their purpose. Men, on the other hand, try to find a kind of an elegant, technically refined solution to a problem. (2, f)

> For men technology itself is the most important thing: what is inside. Men normally can dig out new stuff and figure out some crazy ideas to do things. But it is women who have the tenacity to complete the real work, to make sure that something comes out of it too. (6, f)

In these three extracts, the essentialising of womanhood and manhood first draws our attention. Women and men are spoken of as consistent, single-approach groups; the speakers do not reflect on possible variations among male engineers or among female engineers. The two groups are presented with a set of fixed characteristics. In the first quote, female engineers are described using the expressions "can handle many things at once", "do simultaneously" and "time management". As male engineers are described, their working styles turn out to be opposite to those of female engineers. The expressions "sink into that swamp" and "muse on it as long as needed" illustrate a person getting stuck on one task, whether or not it is moving forward. That is, they are seen as not able to organise themselves very well. These constructions settle on a male-female binary opposition: the feminine is symbolised by efficient time

---

[55] A Finnish idiom meaning getting increasingly wrapped up in a thing or a thought.

management skills and the ability to shift from one task to another; the masculine is symbolised by narrow-focused tinkering and inefficient time management.

The second and third quotes also present binary oppositions. Here male engineers are constructed as interested in the "technology itself". As in the first quote, the imagery is about detailed tinkering. Female engineers, in contrast, are presented as wanting to apply technology (the second quote) and determined to complete what has been started (the third quote). Developing new technologies becomes masculine-signed work, while picking up the entity becomes feminine-signed work. In this way, by describing the different approaches to work, and essentialising them to apply to all male or female engineers, the quotes build a binary opposition between male and female engineers' approaches: multi-tasking vs. a single focus, applying solutions vs. making technically elegant solutions, developing new technologies vs. completing the work started.

In the above quotes, the talk is about the present, what is happening in technology companies, how gender defines the work being done. However, the Mars/Venus repertoire can also work by finding the sources of today's gender differences in the past and in society:

> How many little girls have built a radio? Surprisingly many little *boys* have built a radio. So there is some kind, I don't know, electricity and small equipment, tinkering, it is more a boy thing than a girl thing. (…) Computing is based on technologies and it fascinates men. And instead of focusing on how to design a user interface, the function, they think it is great to code with words, that it's so much fun. There are still many people who like to do things with commands instead of a graphical interface. They think a graphical interface is totally stupid. But then again come to think how much easier it is for a new person to use a graphical interface than commands. (4, f)

> What *may* come from school education, especially in ICT subjects, they may emphasise more surfing and technical skills. Traditionally boys like to fiddle with machines and they are encouraged to do it. But the kind of *applying* the technology to other things, that's maybe more women's area. So this also leads to what is evident in companies, that women plan, think how to use the technology and men implement, code. (5, f)

These two extracts also show how the Mars/Venus repertoire presents the working styles of male and female engineers as being different. But compared to the quotes presented above, these reflect the origins of these different styles. This kind of reflection did not take place when the teachers spoke of gendered working styles.

In both quotes, masculine and feminine are differentiated by the focus or goals of tasks. Male engineers are characterised by an in-born affinity for technologies, which is encouraged by society (the second quote). Both quotes talk about men finding pleasure in pure technologies, in coding, without a specific consideration for what happens outside them. The quotes present women as outsiders to this pleasure. There

is no corresponding historical source for women's relationship to technologies. Instead, the repertoire describes them as wanting to apply technologies in the present moment. In the first quote this effect is achieved by describing what male engineers do, what boys and men have always done. This implies that women's things are something else. The second quote also draws on men's adolescent experiences, and works to distinguish between female and male engineers' preferences and practices.

The teachers' Mars/Venus repertoire spoke of different gender characteristics and dynamics among men and women, and of how these influence the distribution of work. Male teachers were characterised as approaching the work differently, which liberated them from participating in the same duties as female teachers. In this construction, male teachers were described as less tenacious, more superficial about their responsibilities. In the engineers' use, the Mars/Venus repertoire works to a similar effect, but the gendered approaches are the reverse of the teachers'. Furthermore, in the teachers' use the Mars/Venus repertoire often describes gendered dynamics between male and female teachers that lead to a gendered distribution of work, but the engineers' Mars/Venus repertoire draws a direct line from female and male styles of working to gendered distribution of work:

> Men and women have on the average different talents. According to my observations, typically, or *more often*, you find men who are strong in analytical work. But then again, for example in my field, project management is a profession where according to my experiences women are better. I think one of the biggest reasons for this is that the different genders have different areas of intellect that are statistically prominent. Which of course guides the choice of career and succeeding in the career. (1, m)

> These days you really have to understand what different parties in projects are saying. The importance of communication is increasing. In these kinds of projects, there will most likely be more and more women, precisely in project management. They don't necessarily bring in the skill, this comes from technical experts, men and women, but understanding the big picture, that may be more women's area. (5, f)

The two quotes above describe primarily what women contribute to the field and suggest it is in the area of project management. In the first quote, the speaker directly compares analytical work with project management work, so that analytical work is placed as masculine, and project management as feminine. The explanation for this distribution of work is pre-emptive, just like the history-based explanations above about little boys and upbringing. The expression "different areas of intellect" indicates a source of the difference that is deeper than single incidents in work organisations. In the second quote, women are seen as skilled in project management because of their communications skills. Communications skills, which are contrasted with technical skills, and which women are described as possessing, are elevated as increasingly important in today's business environment.

Both quotes talk about women's skills in a way that makes them seem equal to men's skills. In the second quote, they actually seem to be elevated as *the* skills needed in today's business environment. Again, these comparisons and elevations contain a pre-emptive construct, which makes it difficult to argue that the distribution of work is unequal or undesirable. In this construct, both men and women are intelligent, but differently; communications skills are beneficial in today's business environment. In this way, the distribution of work becomes naturalised and justified (as not containing an equality issue) along the lines of gender. A similar construction is present in the two quotes below. Female empathy skills are elevated as positive contributions to the field. At the same time, the empathy skills uphold a gendered distribution of work:

> More women in the field would bring more soft values and empathy and people would talk more about emotions in work places. It is not often that we talk about any *emotional* stuff among the men, it is quite limited. (...) Overall, this field is quite hectic, full of small activities, which constantly need to move on. So it often doesn't even *occur* to you, or the mode changes very fast, even if you are feeling some emotions, you just shut them off and start with the routine. (3, m)

> Work settings where there are only men would maybe become more humane if there were women. Women team leaders understand the work and they can care for their team a lot better. Sometimes there are men team leaders who don't even know what their team members do for work. (6, f)

In the first quote women are associated with soft values, empathy and emotions, which they are described as adding to work places. While the talk seems to promote these qualities as a positive input to the field, at the same time they are closed outside the 'serious work'; any talk about emotions moves to the background when "things need to move on". This names normal, everyday routine work as masculine, discussing emotions as feminine, not part of the routine business. Also the second quote talks about women's "humanity", which makes them better team leaders. The idea is the same as we saw above: male engineers focus on tasks, female engineers on people and soft values. In this way, the Mars/Venus repertoire works to establish a gendered distribution of work in both extracts: women do female things, men male things. Moreover, as in the extracts presented earlier, female things are not part of the technology work, but come from outside it.

Reproducing discourses of gender order

The teachers and the engineers use the Mars/Venus repertoire to talk about differences between male and female professionals. As both groups use it, the repertoire gives

meanings to gender by attaching it to essentialised and universalised male and female characteristics and experiences. This stereotyping of male and female professionals' working styles serves as the foundation for ideas about the gendered distribution of work. In this discussion, I go back to my examples of the repertoire, and examine the effects that its use has on the professions' gender biases.

A useful theoretical concept to start this discussion is the socially constructed gender binary. According to Hirdman (1990a), two principles are significant to the continuity of the gender system: 1) women and femininity are clearly distinguishable from men and masculinity, both in practice and in theory; and 2) in all cases men and masculinity are more valuable than women and femininity. Gherardi (1995) talks about the same principle, but names this the symbolic order of gender. This means that ideas, practices, characteristics and people who represent masculinity belong to the symbolic universe of the masculine, and ideas, practices, characteristics and people who represent femininity belong to the symbolic universe of the female. The two universes are in a dynamic and bipolar relationship with one another. They complement each other so that one has what the other lacks. This complementary relationship of the symbolic masculine and the symbolic feminine is also hierarchical: what is in the masculine universe is considered more valuable than what is in the feminine universe. When people use repertoires in their talk that draw on these discourses, they can be considered to sustain, reproduce and render the gender system legitimate (West and Zimmerman 1987).

In the teachers' use, the Mars/Venus repertoire contains representations of professionalism in which male teachers are lenient and autonomous, while female teachers are particular and go by the book. The characteristics designated to female professionals are clearly different from those designated to male professionals. The male and female teacher characterisations also form bipolar pairs with one another: female teachers are pedantic, male teachers lenient; female teachers are uptight, male teachers easygoing; female teachers are hardworking, male teachers lazy; female teachers are scheming, male teachers fair.

Some of these pairs may seem neutral; that is, they do not appear to contain a hierarchical order of value. Some other characteristics used to describe male teachers are readily and recognisably of a higher status than those used to describe female teachers. Our cultural understanding tells us, for example, that in the pair scheming/fair, the latter is more positive in tone. In some other pairs, our cultural understanding is not as helpful in ordering the statuses. Their hierarchy becomes clarified by how the characteristics are organised in the teachers' talk. For instance, the term hardworking, which here describes female teachers, is generally understood as a positive quality. The term lazy, here describing male teachers, is normally considered

a negative feature in a person. Yet, when the Mars/Venus repertoire presents the two characteristics in combination with the other characteristics used to describe male and female teachers, their statuses settle on a hierarchy that follows the discursive positioning of the gender they give meaning to. That is, at the same time that female teachers are described as hardworking, they are also talked about as dutifully abiding to routine, pedantic ways of working and are characterised as uptight. At the same time that male teachers are presented as lazy, they are also presented as autonomous decision makers, with relaxed and easygoing personalities. In this way, the qualities of hard working and lazy acquire further meanings beyond their initial ones. Female teachers and their practices represent the ordinary: they do what teachers are supposed to do. Male teachers and their practices represent the extraordinary: they make autonomous decisions instead of following what is given. Furthermore, this autonomy of male teachers extends from teaching activities to the ways they take on the responsibilities that are shared among teachers, and by implication to the ways they respond to their 'deviation' being monitored (by uptight female teachers).

This rhetorical flipping in the statuses of male/female teachers' characteristics works to reassert the gender hierarchy. The principles listed by Hirdman (1990a) apply: women and femininity are clearly distinguishable from men and masculinity; in all cases men and masculinity are more valuable than women and femininity. The Mars/Venus repertoire does not mix or confuse the characteristics it designates to female teachers and male teachers. It consistently presents them as contrary to one another. In this hierarchy, the descriptions of the masculine are higher in status in the teaching environment than are the descriptions of the feminine. The characteristics, working styles and styles of interaction belonging to the 'universe' populated by female teachers are less valuable — they create less positive associations, are more problematic in social interactions — than those belonging to the universe populated by male teachers.

In basic education, the proportion of male teachers is much smaller than the proportion of female teachers. However, when the professionals in their talk stereotype male and female teachers so that the former appear to be higher in status than the latter, male teachers' minority position becomes a source of power and privilege. This works to maintain men as the dominant gender even when the field of teaching is numerically dominated by women (see Cross and Bagilhole 2002). Thus, a kind of vicious cycle re-establishes the gender hierarchy by adapting to the discourses acting in the profession. When 13% of education graduates are male, but 61% of school principals in the Finnish basic education system are male, we can see that the rhetorically constructed higher status also has effects in real life.

Also in school work, it may be a short step from the rhetoric of difference and higher status to the actual distribution of privileges according to them. As the quote below, copied from earlier passages, show us, the male teacher is described as able to "get away with less" purely because of his gender status:

> But there are also good sides, like you can sort of rule the roost a bit. I often get my opinion through a bit more easily and get away with doing less. Don't need to do Christmas decorations or other of this kind of women's stuff. (7, m)

When the only man in the school gets away with not participating in shared responsibilities, female teachers allow this to happen, because they are accustomed to their lower status gender position. As a routine part of their female gender behaviour, they accept that the male in the crowd "rules the roost". In our society having a man as a leader is such an everyday occurrence that we hardly notice these dynamics taking place in group situations. Male teachers, in turn, would be able to do this precisely because they "know" this privilege is granted to them by their gender status. Having women do favours for men is a routine part of male gender behaviour, hardly noticeable in its banality.[56] Martin (2001:346) provides an illustrative example of this kind of routine gender behaviour:

> Tom and Betsy, both vice-presidents in a Fortune 100 company, stood talking in a hallway after a meeting. Along the hallway were offices but none was theirs. A phone started to ring in one office and after three or so rings, Tom said to Betsy, "Why don't you get that?" Betsy was surprised by Tom's request but answered the phone anyway and Tom returned to his office. Afterwards, Betsy found Tom to ask if he realised what he had done. She told him: "I'm a vice-president too, Tom, and you treated me like a secretary. What were you thinking?" Betsy's reaction surprised Tom. He did not mean anything by his action, he said, commenting: "I did not even think about it."

Martin states that this event was possible because Tom and Betsy were both familiar with and skilled in gender practices (p.346-347):

> The gender institution holds women accountable to pleasing men; it tells men/boys they have a (gender) right to be assisted by women/girls; Tom and Betsy knew this. Tom's request and Betsy's behaviour are thus unsurprising. Without stopping to reflect, Tom practiced a kind of masculinity that the gender institution makes available to him, which is to request practical help from

---

[56] Men, too, do favours for women, such as lifting heavy luggage or opening doors. However, these favours are not done because of women's higher gender status, but because of their lower gender status. Opening a door for a female colleague, then, signifies both that the female colleague is physically weaker, and that the male colleague is the active gender in the male/female interaction.

women; Betsy responded in kind by complying with his request. These practices existed before Tom and Betsy's encounter, as do many parallel practices at home, for example, "fix my dinner," "wash my clothes," "clean my home," "cook my food," or "raise my kids." Such requests, while operative, are rarely articulated; they are simply understood.

In the interviewees' descriptions of events taking place in schools, male teachers behave the way they behave, that is, they let female teachers take care of the 'housekeeping' activities (i.e. those outside the actual teaching work), because it is part of the female gender routine to do this and part of the male gender routine to have it done by women.

Apart from this routine behaviour created by the history of men and women interacting, the male teachers' privilege sustained by the Mars/Venus repertoire can also work through a loop, a series of shared meanings. Martin (2001) explains that the request to pick up the phone would not have been needed if Betsy had been a secretary. Secretary is a readily gendered position, with the meanings "subordinate" and "woman" connected to it. Teaching, too, is a feminised profession. Male teachers are not 'normal' teachers. Yet, because male teachers have a higher status gender, society sees it as important to have them in schools, an idea I discuss below in my analysis of the Chaos/order repertoire.

Female teachers are not organisationally subordinates to male teachers as in Martin's (2001) secretary example, but neither are they anything special in an institution full of females. Female teachers are there by definition, while male teachers have 'descended' to a female occupation. As I described in Chapter 3, Johansson (1998) found that for men it was emotionally challenging to take up women's work, while for women, taking up men's work was a matter of pride and a step up in the career ladder. For male teachers, their exclusive position ensures them privileges that female teachers do not enjoy. In real life, outside the representations in the interviews, these privileges could be manifested by men being accepted into teacher education programs more easily, advancing more easily in their careers, and being allowed to do fewer or different tasks than female teachers. These differences would then accelerate the vicious cycle of male-female hierarchy, amplifying the effects, for instance, so that a majority of those in the upper level management are men.

In the engineers' use the Mars/Venus repertoire also reproduced discourses of essential gender. Male and female engineers are talked about as two separate groups, and within each group, people are described as being universally similar. And again, articulating the gender differences leads to constructions of gendered distribution of work. The engineers' Mars/Venus repertoire presents women as having a natural affinity to people, to soft values and communicating, while men have a natural affinity

to technologies, electric gadgets and analytical work. These affinities are described as taking place in several different settings. They are created and experienced in adolescence, during schooling and at work places.

Also in the engineers' Mars/Venus repertoire, the characterisations of male and female engineers are organised so as to be clearly distinguishable from each another. But the hierarchy between the characteristics and working styles of male and female engineers is not as evidently articulated as in the teachers' Mars/Venus repertoire. In many Mars/Venus quotes the characteristics designated to female engineers are presented in a neutral relationship with those designated to male engineers: "women want to apply technologies, men look for an elegant solution". Often the Mars/Venus repertoire even appears to elevate the characteristics of its female engineers: "men can do just one thing at the time, women can independently manage a complexity of tasks".

But these representations never mix the characteristics of female and male engineers, and always the one has what the other lacks. Little boys, men and male engineers are described as having a natural affinity to technologies; little girls, women and female engineers are described as *not* having a natural relationship to technologies, but having a natural affinity to things of a very different character: people and emotions. At the same time, male engineers are articulated as narrowly-focused technical experts; female engineers have broad visions and are multitalented and well rounded.

This constructs a discontinuity between females and technology, which does not exist between males and technology. Depending on the quote, female engineers are described as emotionally intelligent, tenacious and patient, good at multi-tasking, wanting to apply technologies, or good at communications. These qualities are all valuable in the business environment, but they are also connected to the feminine side of the gender binary, to Gherardi's (1995) symbolic universe of the female where reproductive humanity takes place. They describe a person who takes charge of and understands other human beings, in homes and in companies. In line with the principles of the gender system (Hirdman 1990a), male engineers are represented as occupying the other half of the gender binary, the side of the gender contact where productive humanity takes place. In technology companies this means creating new technologies.

In this way, the Mars/Venus repertoire's representations of male and female engineers sustain the discourses of gendered distribution of work in their context. As the repertoire presents the professionals' gender characteristics and gendered distribution of work, female engineers are associated with skills and job roles that are useful to ICT companies, but they are not located in the domain of technology

production. Male engineers, in turn, are associated with the characteristics and job roles needed to produce technologies.

Despite the seeming equality, this way of presenting female engineers' professionalism is dangerous: because male and female universes are by definition in a hierarchical relation with one another, even positively articulated characterisations of the stereotypes about female engineers can fix women in less valued and less rewarded roles in technology institutions. When women are characterised as naturally good at support functions, not at the technology companies' core competency (which supposedly is to create new technologies in the competitive marketplace), that process helps to sustain the organisational places of males and females, as described by Acker (1990). In this presentation, women organise the work of male technologists and cannot be insiders to technology work, which validates ICT companies. Thus the domain remains masculine-signed and male dominated. The gendered distribution of work is rearticulated in the context of ICT companies, as exemplified by the following two quotes:

> Men typically are one-field specialists, women are multi-talents. Men do just one thing at a time: they start something, they finish it. And God forbid if you give them a new task before the old one is completed. With women you can shove a *pile* of tasks under their nose; they can handle, they can prioritise the tasks, schedule them, and do them independently so that they are all completed in time. With men you have to twist everything out of wire.[57] You must explain that at this point you have to start this and that, and if you want to get the task done by such and such a time, even though it takes only one week and you have a month, you need to start now. Because for sure you'll have problems at this and this point, which you'll need to clarify from the outside and you won't get the answers, so it's going to take at least one week and then you'll need to have everything finished by the deadline. (2, f)

> The few girls I know from working life (...) they got a responsible position quite quickly. Maybe they were like, they complained and brought to someone's attention that this and that does not work and we cannot do this and that. Finally someone blows a fuse and says like 'Well, you do it better!" And then they get the job. I guess it goes like this. Men maybe just keep coding: 'As long as I can get this done, the boss is a jerk and things don't work, but we just code'. (11, m)

The description in the first quote resembles that of a handy secretary organising her boss's schedule, or a housewife organising her husband's schedule. The description in the second quote sees the source of a woman's quick career progress in her focus on organisational issues, and men lagging behind in this progress because they lack such a focus. In both quotes, as described earlier, the gender status of male engineers allows them to let this happen. Women, on the other hand, fit readily into these feminised functions because of characteristics associated with femininity and female habitual

---

[57] A Finnish idiom meaning make it *really* clear, "draw a picture".

behaviour (Veijola and Jokinen 2001). Organisations encourage women to engage in them and women themselves choose to do them.

In this way, the engineers' Mars/Venus repertoire does not articulate direct status differences between male and female engineers, but their essentialised characteristics 'ensure' a gendered distribution of work in the context where ICT engineers operate. Administering and organising work is associated with female characteristics, and a focus on technologies with male characteristics. These functions then may have different levels of status in the context, stemming from their association with naturally occurring skills that are plentiful in the marketplace vs. learned skills that are in demand in the market place.

Comparing the Mars/Venus repertoires of the teachers and the engineers shows that they describe surprisingly different professional characteristics of males and females. Male teachers are social and not that focused on details; male engineers are focused precisely on details. Female teachers are theoretically focused and susceptible to focusing on human relations; female engineers are communicators, with broad visions. This shows how gender adapts flexibly to different contexts, so that the gender hierarchy remains in effect. Therefore, articulations of gender based on essentialism, as in the Mars/Venus repertoire, do not hold promise for challenging the gender system. Rather, they lead to a vicious cycle where the masculine-feminine characteristics continuously mutate to fit the gender hierarchy. Unlike Gray's suggestion in his famous book, referring to Mars and Venus at work or in any other context does not ease the relationships between men and women, but in fact reproduces gendered practices and hierarchies that are harmful to both.

Body/work repertoire

In the previous section I showed how the teachers and engineers in this sample each cited their own Mars/Venus repertoires to characterise male and female professionals and their male and female working styles. These repertoires contained constructions that worked to generalise female professionals as belonging to one uniformly behaving group, and male professionals as belonging to another; in this way they reproduced discourses of a gendered distribution of work. The second pair of interpretative repertoires, which I present here, also draws on the discourses of essential gender difference. I have named them the Body/work repertoires, since they work to connect that which is done by female bodies — reproduction — and that which is done by male bodies — production — to gendered skills and preferences for work in schools and technology companies.

The interviewees use the Body/work repertoire to discuss the problem of *why there are so few men/women in my field.* The teachers draw on the Body/work repertoire to explain this question in terms of different work goals and interests of men and women; men are viewed as aiming at status and career progress, and women at sustaining a good family life. The engineers draw on the Body/work repertoire to explain specifically why so few women enter engineering. They attribute it to women's lack of connection with technology in society and in technology companies. Both groups of interviewees then use the repertoire to explain the professions' gender gaps in terms of essential gender differences. This reproduces the discourses of the gender binary and sustains the gender biases of the professions.

Teachers: A career that follows bodies

During the interviews, nearly all the teachers drew fluently on the Body/work repertoire, and formulated it quite similarly. Because they used it so often and so uniformly, the repertoire was easy to spot in the data. The rhetorical constructions which helped to identify the repertoire — and by which the Body/work repertoire achieves its effect — are: *women's reproductive orientation* and *men's productive orientation.* The former focuses on imagery connecting women with family life, stability and extra-monetary satisfaction. The latter construction contains imagery that associates men with a financial and dynamic orientation to career. These imageries follow the biology of male and female bodies, as well as the bodies' socially constructed places that follow from these biologies: female bodies bear children and are primarily responsible for bringing them up. This is viewed as requiring emotional involvement and stability. Male bodies inseminate female bodies and bring in the means to sustain their family; for these functions assertiveness and mobility are needed. Male bodies are therefore associated with dynamic movement, and female bodies with staying put.

The Body/work repertoire utilises this imagery in its rhetorical constructions to state that women's and men's bodies are the root cause of their different professional paths. The Body/work repertoire presents teaching as a job suitable for female bodies. Women are described as stationary and making work choices according to their life outside their career:

> For many women it is maybe a safe occupation. Good to establish a family as a teacher. Long holidays, all this. (7, m)

> Women like the freedom and the freedom of *choice.* (...) They value the free time and the opportunity to arrange their family life conveniently. You don't need to keep the kids in day

care until four-five. (...) The lectures take place at a certain time and everything else you can arrange however you wish. (11, f)

Women normally have children and stay home. Teachers have pretty good benefits. (...) If you have a teaching job, it is pretty nice to return from maternity leave. Long holidays to spend with the kids and all. Women often have to think about how to take care of children along with working, so in a teaching job that's quite simple. You pretty much have time for everything. (13, f)

All three quotes repeat the same idea: teaching is a safe profession, which allows time for family life outside work. The first and the third speaker mention safety and long holidays as women's reasons for choosing a teaching career; the second and third speakers point out the free time the job allows. The way these ideas are expressed is clear-cut: women — and *only* women, it seems — are generalised as wanting to behave this way, for men are completely absent from the picture. When the formulation is *women* "establish a family", "arrange family life" and "take care of children along with working", the unspoken assumption is that this is the responsibility of women, not of the couple. When the Mars/Venus repertoire works this way to connect bearing and raising children with women, and then takes this activity to be part of women's professional choices, it defines women's professionalism through their bodies. Female bodies are narrowed down to the function of reproduction.

In the above passages, the Body/work repertoire designates bringing up a family as a woman's role. In the repertoire's imagery this requires stability and emotional commitment from women — along with time and job security, because bearing and raising children means that one has to stick around long enough for them to grow up. These ideas are present in the interviewees' utterances when they talk about the poor pay associated with teaching. In this rhetoric, the work connected with reproduction requires a certain kind of values and emotional devotion:

If you live doing what you don't want to do, you won't be content on your deathbed. Of course I am very *un*satisfied with the pay. But I also know that we are so many, it is difficult to start really raising the pay. (8, m)

I think this is much more valuable than what I'd do with big money, training some bigshots there [in training business people, a job the speaker was offered]. I feel this work is much more valuable. (14, f)

Both quotes talk about emotional commitment to the profession. They both contain the same idea: fulfilment of desire to do valuable work and trading/sacrificing financial rewards for the sake of this gratification. As the speakers choose their expressions, they reveal that fundamental values are at question here: what one is left with on the "deathbed", children vs. "bigshots". In this way, the talk works to say that we can accept the poor pay, that the compensation for the work lies elsewhere and is not

counted in money. In fact, a binary pair is built into the repertoire: values and the common good do not fit with, or are the opposite of, financial rewards. The quote below also draws on the same idea:

> Women put up with the teacher salary and anyway they like the work maybe as a calling. I'd say there are still loads of calling teachers. For women it is more like that. (10, f)

The expression "put up" effectively says the salary is not acceptable, yet women accept it. In this quote, the idea of the common good is expressed using the notion of "calling work": work in which all or part of the reward comes through the emotional satisfaction of caring for other people. Normally in Finland, the fields of medicine and teaching, and sometimes also those of religion and social work, are referred to as calling professions. The above speaker uses the term to explain the shortage of financial rewards and women "putting up" with this shortage. This makes it similar to the binary opposition between values and money in the earlier quote. The speaker below acknowledges this rhetoric and discusses how the expression is used as a euphemism for poor pay, to justify and disguise it:

> Really the expectations and then what the employer offers are thoroughly contradictory. You are expected to do everything, yet nothing needs to be rewarded. Here again many teachers disagree, that this is a calling and blablabla, but calling does not fill your stomach. (7, m)

Unlike the earlier three extracts, this one works to resist the values/money binary. Calling is no longer expressed as an alternative to financial rewards; the speaker reveals the illogicality of this assumption. As such, the quote represents the second rhetorical construction of the Body/work repertoire: men's productive orientation. The imagery is about assertiveness — not about bundling the ideas of raising a family with stability and emotional satisfaction. This is the part of the Body/work repertoire which articulates men's bodies as occupying a position that is not in line with the teaching profession. Men's bodies are associated with dynamic movement, taking place when women are fought for and fertilised, and when men are hunting to sustain their family. The two quotes below draw on this imagery of movement:

> A typical career path for a male class teacher is that they get a teaching degree, work a year or two as a teacher and then move on to the business sector. Get fed up with the poor salary. (7, m)

> Of course men do not stick to the field. They get into teacher training easily, and come out with a master's degree in education. Well, in this field the pay is so miserable, why in the world would guys come here when they'd have no end of work opportunities. (14, f)

Here both speakers use the Body/work repertoire to explain why so few men are teachers: men get "fed up" with the "miserable" salary. These expressions sound very different from the ones used in connection with female teachers: "put up" and "valuable". The binary pair values/money no longer exists in these quotes; male bodies and poor pay are now expressed as an ill-fitting pair. Both quotes talk about men leaving the field: in the first quote the movement is expressed as resulting from the poor salary in the context of other career opportunities, while in the second it results from the easily available teacher training and from the opportunities this opens to men. This language is about assertiveness and movement, and contradictory to the language of stability and acceptance characterising the quotes talking about female teachers. The imagery represents the Body/work repertoire's articulation of male and female bodies' complementary functions: females are in charge of reproduction, males are in charge of production. Part of masculine production is obtaining the livelihood for the family:

> Then there is the pay. If you are the family breadwinner, it isn't really attractive. You get a bit more than nurses, but not much. So that does not attract men *or* women to the field. There have to be other motivations and for men this means questioning the traditional thinking. (3, m)

> Men go where there are more money and power and… testosterone. (8, m)

When the Body/work repertoire talks about women staying in the field, it lines up female bodies with the profession. In the talk about men, the effect is the opposite: male bodies are described as not in line with the profession of teaching. In the first quote the expressions "other motivations" and "question the traditional thinking", together with the "family breadwinner", work as evidence that male bodies do not intrinsically belong to the teaching profession. In the second quote, placing money, power and testosterone outside, not inside the profession, works to achieve the same effect.

Martin (1990) writes that a text works not only through what is said, but also through what is left unsaid. Here the expressions "question the traditional thinking" and "testosterone" refer to the femininity of the field. The expressions "fed up" and "stick to" suggest that some people do not get fed up with the lousy salary, and actually stay in the field. Since these people are not men, they must be women. This is another way by which the Body/work repertoire presents male bodies as unfit for the profession of teaching. Roughly put, the rhetoric suggests that a man who sticks to the field has taken a woman's place, thus is not a man at all:

> Of course it is a question of quality too. Sometimes I get this *nasty* thought, that the men who want to be teachers, they come here because they cannot go anywhere else. This is quite selfish thinking, but somehow I feel that in our society men have higher aspirations. (3, m)

As seen in all these examples, the Body/work repertoire works to align the profession of teaching with female bodies, and to set male bodies outside of it. This effect is achieved by a rhetorical construction in which speakers use the binary pair of values vs. money when talking about female bodies being suitable for the field. The alignment of female bodies with teaching work is articulated as the reason why women stay in the field and accept the low pay.

The second rhetorical construction by which the Body/work repertoire achieves its effect is male bodies being unfit for the profession of teaching. Here the values/money pair becomes irrelevant. The functions connected to male bodies — assertiveness, family breadwinning and productivity — are talked about as out of place in the teaching profession. This reproduces a gendered discourse in which men's work needs to be properly (i.e. financially) rewarded and in which men make proactive career choices to achieve these proper rewards. In this discourse, career and money do not motivate women's choices of work; values and family do.

Engineers: Female bodies outside the norm

The engineers in this sample also draw on the Body/work repertoire. Like teachers, the engineers use the repertoire to discuss the gender imbalance in their field. In the teachers' use the repertoire presents female bodies and teaching work as fitting together and male bodies not fitting with teaching work, but the engineers use the repertoire to different effect. The repertoire presents female bodies as external to technology work, and male bodies are left largely without comments. That is, whereas the teachers use the repertoire to express women's motivations to stay in the field and men's motivations to leave, the engineers use the repertoire primarily to talk about women's lack of fitness with the ICT field. They talk about the various difficulties and obstacles women may experience when choosing to work in the field.

The Body/work repertoire presents women as excluded from the field of technology at the outset. This specifically concerns female bodies, which are alien in the setting where male bodies are the standard. Two rhetorical constructions in the engineers' talk help to identify and discuss the repertoire: *normalising the masculine culture* and *scrutiny of female bodies*. The first construction talks about the ICT field and its practices as self-evidently masculine. The masculinity of the field is presented as a background setting, one that has always been, and continues to be, male dominated, and where the 'male culture' evades any reflection. The second construction involves the ideas of surveillance and self-surveillance. Women and their bodies, being outsiders to the ICT field, are subject to observation in different ways.

This observation is done both by the men who 'belong' to the field, and by the very women who choose to work in the field despite its masculinity.

Unlike the teachers' Body/work repertoire, which did not question male *or* female participation in the field, but focused on men and women behaving differently *in relation to the field*, the engineers' Body/work repertoire talks only about women. Women's attendance is questioned and scrutinised. In this way the Body/work repertoire articulates the gender issue in the ICT field as involving women; femininity is measured against the masculinity of the field, which is the norm.

The Body/work repertoire presents the ICT field as customarily masculine, and women as finding it difficult to fit in. In the two extracts below, there is nothing that would question the masculine culture they talk about. The talk is purely about women's positioning in relation to it:

> In the ICT field and in masculine fields overall, to generalise a bit, one has to be a good guy, one has to get along. Or be conscious about the kind of male interaction, the culture of how men *act* together. The different unwritten rules, whatever they are. One has to understand networking and these things. These don't really solve the issue of why there aren't any women, but sure if you look at companies' management they are composed of men. (3, m)

> I don't know if it is more difficult for female coders to advance or to prove that they are good. Could be, because 90% of coders are men, so it may be more difficult. (4, f)

The first quote brings up the idea "when in Rome do as Romans do". The statement "one has to be a good guy, get along, understand how men act together" implies that whoever comes from the outside into "masculine fields" does not necessarily know the rules and in order to survive, has to learn them and adapt to them. The cumulative wording of the rules further suggests that this is a complicated set to learn. The final sentence pre-empts any other possibility of conceptualising events: the masculine culture exists and will continue to exist whether or not women join the field. The second quote repeats the same idea: female coders act within a setting that is masculine by definition. Because the setting is stable and normal, it is the women who may have difficulties in it; it is up to them to prove they are good.

Another way to rhetorically normalise the field's masculinity is to create macro versions of its origins, presence and continuity. These versions focus on the idea that men were and are institutionally the initial subjects:

> It is probably partly historical the few women, because when I graduated there were primarily men in the field. The field was really well paid in comparison to other fields. It is well paid today too, but this has evened out. Let's say the field has come closer to the earth. (6, f)

> It probably starts with the education. Like normally engineering fields are of course male dominated everywhere. (7, m)

> I think it is connected to large questions like in school teachers don't think girls need to know physics or advanced math and these are like, they reflect the rest of society. (8, m)

The above three quotes all talk at a macro level. The expressions "historical", "normally — of course everywhere" and "large question — reflect society" all work to normalise the masculinity of the field and place this issue outside human reach, to ward off any possibility of things being different. The masculinity is part of a larger picture, in which things are the way they are because they have always been like that. Thus, when the Body/work repertoire names masculinity as the norm, it becomes the standard towards which femininity is lacking. In all five quotes above, women are described as or implied to be aspiring towards the field; any emerging problems must be connected to this aspiration, not relevant to the field.

Other quotes in the interview material also show how the Body/work repertoire works to single out women and examine them as outsiders in the ICT field. The central idea in these quotes is surveillance:

> Of course a really big part of career choice is the culture, which places certain expectations when a high school age girl or boy is choosing an occupation. So at that point the social pressure for a girl to choose to study information technology, surely it is seen as odd and so forth. (1, m)

> It is social. I remember when I chose to study physics, people gave me funny looks. They looked like, 'Ahem, a *woman* wants to study physics'. (...) So it is thoroughly about how you are encouraged. (5, f)

> Maybe women don't have the guts to choose technology. It already seems like some sort of an educational thing, that they are supposed to choose a care slash teaching slash this kind of a women's field. Sure there is a threshold. One must be a bit unconventional to want to study in a very male-dominated field. (9, f)

Again, in these quotes, technology is a fixed background, which acts on the women. Women who aspire to the field are scrutinised. This objectification and distancing of the background is demonstrated in the expressions "culture places expectations", "how you are encouraged", "supposed to choose". These formulations suggest that the women respond passively to the scrutiny, and that the state of things cannot be changed. To make this point clearer I contrast it with a quote representing the teachers' Body/work repertoire. As the teachers used it, the repertoire suggested that male bodies do not fit with the profession of teaching. However, instead of the field being a fixed setting acting on the men, the male teachers were active subjects deciding what to do about the setting:

> It is possible to earn some service supplements and yearly increases and whatever, but male teachers again have a bit of an advantage here. Men are normally offered more hours and the pay is based on hours. Men can normally do as many hours as they like, so that helps a little. Women don't want to do. (…) Men, if they are not offered hours, they change their job. They call somewhere else and ask, 'Now, what have you got to offer?' (7, m)

Moreover, in the three quotes above from the engineers, the phrases such as "social pressure" and "funny looks" and "don't have the guts" describe women who are actually entering the masculine sphere of engineering, swimming upstream. Being a woman and choosing the field is seen as odd and results in the women being held accountable, as others look at them strangely.

The idea that females are outsiders to the already established masculine setting of engineering is not only expressed via speculative talk about career choices. The same idea carries over to talk about everyday professional situations. Here the engineers also draw on the Body/work repertoire to talk about conflicts *women* may face in workplace interaction. This was already exemplified in the first two quotes in the section, where the speakers used expressions such as "one has to get along" and "prove that they are good". The two excerpts below further show how the Body/work repertoire presents women, and particularly their bodies, as excluded from the technology environment from the outset:

> Another situation that can be *tough* for many, in many projects the customer side people can be of a slightly older generation. And especially in the most typical situation they are older gentlemen. In public administration this is often the case. (...) And suddenly a young woman appears as a project manager. So in this sort of a situation it is likely that the female project manager, her first time in the project is spent in proving that she really knows her way around. (5, f)

> And the girls who do study in the college, they are, not always in a negative sense, but one way or the other they are always singled out, observed. Losing for a *girl* is still like— heh. (12, f)

In a very concrete way, these speakers are talking about female bodies. In the first quote the word pair older gentleman–young woman works to emphasise the physical bodies of the actors. Their ages, together with the context of public administration and service to a specific project, work to create a power imbalance. The result is a (sexualised) set up, where the young woman is being observed within the fixed (patriarchal) setting. Within this setting, the woman needs to prove her suitability — not only because she is working for a service company, but particularly because of her gender. And her gender is particularly important, because the masculine setting was there first.

In the second quote, the same idea of bodily surveillance is presented as taking place in an engineering school. The quote literally articulates girls as being observed:

their physical being is singled out in a mass of boys. And even though the talk is about education, the singling out and observation does not happen because of learning, at an abstract level where girls might do work-related tasks differently, but precisely at a physical level: for a person with a *girl body* losing is a problem, not 'normal' losing. This works to suggest that girls do not belong to the school and when they come there, they are not part of the normal competition taking place in a classroom. They are so much outside of this competition that no one wants to lose to them.

In the above quotes, female bodies were surveyed by the men in the ICT environment. This surveillance happened at a physical level: older men observed young women and a mass of boys observed a girl. Observation of women is often connected to sexualisation of their bodies, which can also be read in the above quotes: "-not always in a negative sense, but one way or the other they are always observed". The two quotes below are direct about this sexualisation. In the first quote, a woman turns into a mother figure, and in the second, into a potential sexual object or seducer:

> In my own team I am at the older end, so I've also become some sort of a mother figure. I have that place too. People can come and talk to me. E: Younger women or? I: Men. Also about their personal stuff. This has developed over time. (...) They talk even about some quite painful things. I don't really even want that, I don't want to know these things. (9, f)

> You shouldn't misuse your femininity. E: By for example being too feminine? I: Yes, or I keep the bar really high with the men I work with. You never need to doubt my morality. As a woman you can never mess up in any situation, not in a sauna evening[58] or anywhere else, because then you lose your ground. (...) Morally, or anyway that you behave wrong. Men can mess up at least in sauna evenings, but women can't. Actually women can never mess up, even there. (9, f)

The first quote describes the woman in the work place being used as an emotional cushion. This happens to the woman because of her body, which is associated with nurturing and caring. In the second quote, the woman risks losing her credibility through "morally wrong" behaviour. This suggests that interactions among men are straightforward, familiar, and easy to interpret. There is no need to excuse drunken blunders. When women enter the scene, new forms of behaviour arise: women are susceptible because of their sexuality, which does not belong to the scene. This also suggests that women's bodies construct a dilemma not only for the people who were there 'first', the men in the masculine setting of engineering; they are also problematic for the women themselves, and these problems need to be curbed by self-surveillance.

---

[58] Sauna evenings are part of the Finnish organisational culture. Since it is customary to go to sauna totally naked, normally the evenings are organised so that men have their own turn. If one woman attends, she can choose to join the men or go alone before/after them. If a group of women attends, they are scheduled a turn of their turn. Heavy use of alcohol tends to be an integral part of the event.

In the ICT setting, the representations of the Body/work repertoire normalise masculinity and exclude women from the outset. The interviewees responded to the question 'why there are so few women in the field?' by picking out and scrutinising the experiences of female engineers. When the talk is about men, it is about action that exists in the environment *anyway*. Used in this way, the repertoire equates gender with the female body. Male bodies are irrelevant; they do not seem to exist as sexualised bodies at all. Instead, masculinity is presented as a macro reality, something essential in the field.

Furthermore, the repertoire equates women with fixed women's histories and experiences. The scrutiny-centred descriptions of universal female experiences work to position female engineers in a destiny-like, passive role, where choices of action are either made for them ("At school teachers think girls need not to know physics or advanced math"), or when they are agential, limited and affected by the social environment ("You have to be careful not to lose your credibility"). This works to sustain a gendered organisation of ICT work, where women are outsiders to, and objects in, the male sphere of action.

Reproducing discourses of gender contract

The engineers and the teachers both use the Body/work repertoire to make sense of the gender biases in their fields. I named the Body/work repertoire after Acker's (1990) theory. According to Acker, gender is the organising factor in modern work organisations. The socially constructed gender roles create gendered divisions of work that lead to status and income inequalities between men and women, and give rise to gendered professional identities.

The Mars/Venus repertoire draws on discourses of essential gender difference, to produce representations of gendered dynamics and gendered distribution of work at schools and ICT work places. The Body/work repertoire, in turn, reproduces discourses that ground the gendered distribution of labour directly through sexed bodies. The repertoire connects the productive and reproductive capabilities of male and female bodies to the ways female and male professionals are positioned with regards to their careers. When the teachers draw on the Body/work repertoire to discuss the gender gap in teaching, they present teaching as a profession which is in line with feminine bodies and in conflict with masculine bodies. In the repertoire's representations, the masculine and the feminine spheres of life, and the consequent career choices, are clearly separate. The descriptions of female teachers align the feminine teacher identity with the profession of teaching and with women's family

responsibilities. The latter is represented as a very female sphere, as the arrangements of family life include no men. At the same time, the Body/work repertoire describes men's professional identities and choices as independent from any feminine sphere of action. Men are motivated by career and money, and if they are in the feminine sphere of action, teaching, they aspire to move away from it.

The discourses on which the teachers' Body/work repertoire draws are familiar and well-established. The repertoire repeats the imagery that runs throughout history: women as nurturers stay put in a safe place, taking care of the next generation; men as hunter-gatherers move around, getting the best possible means of living for their women and descendants. When the Body/work repertoire describes women as "putting up" with the poor salary, it in effect says women do not need higher rewards, because they are not getting a living for their families. When the Body/work repertoire describes men as making career decisions based on financial motives, it talks about the ancient hunters finding dinner for their families. Such formulations of the needs of women and men connect directly to views on how work should be compensated. As we have seen, the Body/work repertoire juxtaposes non-financial rewards with financial rewards:

> Women put up with the teacher salary and anyway they like the work maybe as a calling. I'd say there are still loads of calling teachers. For women it is more like that. (10, f)

In the repertoire's representations, the two types of rewards cannot fit into the same person's life: it is either/or. The ways the teachers articulate the Body/work repertoire, emotional rewards belong to the symbolic universe of the feminine, and financial rewards to the symbolic universe of the masculine. This is in line with the socialist feminist understanding of the marriage contract (see Burr 1995). According to this, it is essential to the functioning of capitalist economies that women work to maintain and reproduce the labour force while men sell their labour in the marketplace. It is also essential that women provide these services free of charge, through the package of 'loving' their family. Otherwise the expenses would have to be paid by someone else: the government or the employer.

With its imagery of teaching as a women's occupation, the Body/work repertoire draws on these discourses of gender, to reproduce discourses of the heterosexual family package in the profession of teaching. The profession takes the feminine-signed place in the gender contract, where work is done, if not entirely free of charge, then largely for non-monetary compensation. Using this repertoire, then, does not help get teachers out of the salary hole. It is difficult to negotiate market rate salaries from a discursive position in which the female-dominated profession acquires its meanings via women's sexualised bodies.

The teachers' use of this repertoire can also be viewed as an attempt to return to a discursive normality, where the gender contract defines men's and women's place in society. Hirdman's (1990a,b) concepts "conflict of equality" and "conflict of dissimilarities" are helpful in understanding this view. According to Hirdman, the market economy individualises people. This conflicts with feminist discourses, in which the ideas of collectivity and social responsibility are central. The more women identify with the discourses of masculinity, centring on the public sphere of life and individual accomplishment, instead of the discourses of femininity, the less satisfied they are with the gender contract and the "silent compromise" (Acker 1989, Hirdman 1990a). This term means that while women have the right and the responsibility to paid employment and independence, their gender places them second in employment hierarchies. By accepting the male hierarchies, female salaries and male rules, women recognise and accept this position and so women's paid employment is normalised in line with the gender contract. For all these reasons, a variety of tensions pull on (female) professionals, so they may need to reassert their discursive normality. In this normality, women have their own place and men their own, now within the context of the particular occupation, instead of in the division into public and private spheres of life, or into men's fields and women's fields.

The same idea can be applied to way that the engineers use their Mars/Venus repertoire to represent male and female professionals. When women enter the male-dominated field of technology, their similar humanity becomes more and more apparent and the male norm cannot be hidden as it is in more segregated contexts. The conflict of equality arises: genders become closer, the discourses that keep them separate are exposed, and practical experiences repeatedly and ever more obviously prove the gender role distribution false. This gives rise to the conflict of dissimilarities: women realise that gender integration is possible only under the conditions of the male discourse. The Mars/Venus repertoire draws on this need to return to the normative gender, to a setting where genders are clearly separate, albeit in the context of ICT companies. When this happens, female engineers are discursively put back on the feminine side of the gender binary, and male engineers on their masculine side.

While the teachers use the Body/work repertoire to discuss why men leave and women stay in the field, the engineers use it to examine women's odd position in relation to the field of technology. In the engineers' use, the Body/work repertoire focuses on female engineers, examining how female bodies and their universalised female background are not in line with technology work. In this way, the repertoire presents masculinity in the field as normal and the standard towards which non-men can aspire. This further works to exclude women from the field.

When the engineers use the Body/work repertoire, they reproduce the idea that women do not initially belong to the field of engineering. The repertoire picks out female engineers' experiences for scrutiny, almost exclusively. When the talk is about men, it is about action that affects women at work places. The repertoire equals gender in the field of ICT with a female body. The female body, in turn, equals fixed women's histories and experiences. Furthermore, these universalised experiences work to position female engineers in a rather passive, almost predestined role, where their choices of action are limited by the social environment.

When engineers used the Mars/Venus repertoire to talk about gendered dynamics, they constructed groups over-dominated by women as a problem. When the engineers used the Body/work repertoire to talk about male-dominated work places, this problem did not exist in reverse. The discussion on "women series" by Veijola and Jokinen (2001) is useful for understanding why the gender discourse presents the dynamics of male groups and female groups differently. According to Veijola and Jokinen, in patriarchal culture women's independent social relationships and common societal goals carry negative connotations. For example women's sports teams can be referred to as lesbian groups or women-dominated work places can be talked about as swarms of internal conflicts and backstabbing.

Drawing on the philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre, Veijola and Jokinen suggest that in patriarchy women are considered in serialised relationships with one another: they are girlfriends, wives, mothers, secretaries, whores, beauty queens. One phenomenon holds in each of these series: within the different groups, women connect to one another via their relationship to men. In these relationships, they are not unique personalities with their own aspirations, but part of an interchangeable series of female bodies (this point becomes most vulgarly apparent in sex work). Once the external situation — the male-female relationship — is removed, the women have no meaningful personal situation in which to be together.

When the teachers draw on the Mars/Venus repertoire, they draw on this patriarchal discourse of serialised women. This is viewed as a natural state of affairs. The series breaks down as soon as there is a female-led administration or a female-dominated workplace, or when women decide to make and raise children without men. (The Chaos/order repertoire for teachers, analysed in the next section, also draws on this idea). In the representations of the Mars/Venus repertoire, the series of women is maintained in schools as soon as maleness can restore its 'broken' relationship to the masculine:

A work place where there are only women, it's really awful. So men *are* needed. (11, f)

The same idea of series does not apply to men, because masculinity is the standard. It does not need femininity to bind it, but contains a full stretch of humanity in itself. Consequently, masculinity is not narrowed down to male bodies, where the function of the body defines its relation to the rest of the world. This fact shows up in the Body/work repertoire: male bodies are not talked about at all, only female bodies. The overall setting is masculine; this is what male engineers act and belong to, and female engineers aspire to be part of. In the teachers' talk women-only groups lead to problems which men's presence can curb; in the engineers' talk men-only groups are normal. In the Body/work repertoire, the male engineers' social relationships are not examined the same way as female teachers' are in the Mars/Venus repertoire. In the Body/work repertoire, women can bring feminine qualities into the male setting, but there is no need to restore anything, nor can they even disturb the setting.

One more useful concept to examine the engineers' use of the Body/work repertoire is West and Zimmerman's (1987) idea of accountability. In the quotes representing the Body/work repertoire, women who enter the masculine sphere of engineering are described as swimming upstream. According to West and Zimmerman, membership in a sex category can be used to validate or discredit any activity a person engages in. People can be held accountable for their performance of that activity as women or as men. The Body/work repertoire presents engineering as a masculine activity, where women's bodies are an abnormality. Women who nevertheless participate in it are held accountable. As West and Fenstermaker (1995:22) put it, "This arrangement provides for countless situations in which persons in a particular sex category can 'see' that they are out of place, and if they were not there, their current problems would not exist". Women's bodies in the field of engineering constitute a problem — primarily for themselves:

> You shouldn't misuse your femininity. E: By for example being too feminine? I: Yes, or I keep the bar really high with the men I work with. You never need to doubt my morality. As a woman you can never mess up in any situation, not in a sauna evening or anywhere else, because then you lose your ground. (...) Morally, or anyway that you behave wrong. Men can mess up at least in sauna evenings, but women can't. Actually women can never mess up, even there. (9, f)

In the representations of the Body/work repertoire, interaction among men is straightforward, familiar, and easy to interpret. When women enter the scene, new forms of behaviour arise: women may make professional mistakes or use their sexuality to manipulate others; or, on the positive side, they can be used as emotional cushions for personal problems. As West and Zimmerman (1987:146) summarise it, "If we do gender appropriately, we simultaneously sustain, reproduce and render legitimate the institutional arrangements that are based on sex category. If we fail to do

gender appropriately, we as individuals — not the institutional arrangements — may be called to account (for our character, motives, and predispositions)". At the same time, the female minority aspires towards the masculine standard of engineering; what they are granted is not privileges but responsibilities. Such a responsibility is the task of 'proving' that they fit in.

The effect of this rhetoric is that any gender problematic, which here equals female bodies, is placed outside the field of technology. The field and its masculinity are presented as a stable and natural part of the world, separate from the problem of gender cum female bodies. By focusing on the idea that females at ICT workplaces are different subjects than males, who are the norm, the repertoire designates male engineers' interactions among themselves as neutral, with no need for scrutiny. The scrutiny begins when female engineers — with their (sexualised) female bodies, female behaviour and female histories — enter the context. Moreover, any problems that arise from the interaction do not affect the context or the male subject nearly as much as they affect the women themselves. This leaves the norm untouched; any focus on technology or the field of technology as a possible source of its gender imbalance escapes automatically. The repertoire merely rearticulates the ongoing situation: "Of course the field is male dominated everywhere".

While the engineers talk about male domination of the field, the repertoire comes out as a static statement of reality. In contrast, in the teachers' talk, the orientation is more active. The static orientation in the engineers' talk creates an impression that the gender imbalance in the field is durable and irresolvable — and not problematic. The repertoire's rhetoric places any gender problematic, which here equal female bodies and female engineers' problems with accountability, outside the field of technology. The field, together with its masculinity, is constructed as a complete, stable and natural entity.

Chaos/order repertoire

Each group of interviewees used a total of three primary interpretative repertoires to talk about gender in relation to their profession. I am using the term Chaos/order repertoire to name the third interpretative repertoire that the teachers and the engineers draw on to make sense of gender imbalances in their professions. This repertoire is brought into discussion when the interviewees attend to the gender gap as a *problematised issue*. This differs from the Mars/Venus repertoires, which help to make sense of the *differences between* male and female professionals, and from the Body/work repertoires, which help the interviewees to make sense of the reasons for

and consequences of the *numerical imbalance* between male and female professionals in their field.

The ways that the first two pairs of repertoires are used suggest that both the teachers and engineers are aware of the gender imbalances in their professions. However, they do not use the first two pairs of repertoires to reflect this as a problem; for this they use the Chaos/order repertoires. The presence of these repertoires therefore shows that both groups have certain customary ways of talking about the issue, albeit very different from each other. The third pair of repertoires represents common ways to discuss the topic, because it is available to the interviewees to draw on in the course of the interviews. This availability seems to be especially relevant for the teachers, who have a very uniform way to make sense of the gender imbalance problems in the profession. Compared to the teachers, the engineers have more complicated and less fluently expressed constructions for making the gender gap problematic. The teachers use the repertoire to talk about the problems that the profession's gender imbalance leads to in schools. The central idea of the Chaos/order repertoires is repairing the normative gender. The engineers' use of them is oriented towards the disharmony that occurs when the gender imbalance is brought into an interview *conversation*. The Chaos/order repertoires work to re-establish discursive harmony in this interaction.

Teachers: Order through normativity

In the previous section I discussed how the teachers use their Body/work repertoire to talk about the causes and effects of the low pay in their field. The repertoire's representations centred on men leaving the field, and women staying in it. It did not include any mentions of equality or societal problems due to the gender gap. When the gender gap topic is made problematic in the course of the interview, the teachers bring in the Chaos/order repertoire to talk about it. This repertoire does not talk about gender equality problems either, but presents the gender gap problem in the profession as a problem of children lacking male teachers. That is, the gender homogeneity in the children's educational environment, as well as at home, is presented as causing different problems, which would not exist if more men were working in schools.

The repertoire was easy to spot in the data, because the teachers used it frequently, and because they formulated it almost identically. The central rhetorical constructions of the repertoire are: *particularising male experience* and *single/divorced mothers as a problem.* The first construction works by particularising male experience and universalising female experience. In its imagery, male children need to be raised by men. The repertoire does not comment on the needs of female

children. The second rhetorical construction of the Chaos/order repertoires works via imagery where societal problems are linked to divorces and single parenthood. In the imagery of this repertoire, women living alone lack appropriate male contacts, divorce results in fatherless children, and the nuclear family crumbles; together these phenomena lead to chaos in society.

The three excerpts below show how the repertoire presents its claim that boys need appropriate forms of masculinity in their lives, which can only be provided by a male-sexed person:

> Boys would learn kind of male role models. After all we have quite a lot of women in this field and it often happens that at home there is only the mother and then at school there are only women, so sometimes it seems we'd need men. (2, f)

> Because these days there are so many broken families and patchwork families and single-parent families and whatever variations, I'd see it's little boys who suffer, because many of them are then left with mothers only. You cannot *totally* generalise, but the so-called male role models would be needed. (6, m)

> And then boys at school. It is true that boys would want more male teachers and they value male teachers more than female teachers. Boys, especially the fatherless boys. They are always some kind of problem in primary schools. This is a question that really should be considered and discussed. (10, f)

Three ideas converge in all three quotes: concern over boys, and boys only; the need for male role models/teachers for boys; the requirement that boys not grow up only with women. To take the first idea, the concern about boys only, two assumptions remain unspoken. The first is that girls already have plentiful role models in female teachers and do not need male role models. The second is that no one seems concerned about girls; they do not need to be discussed. In this way, by talking only about boys, the repertoire reproduces discourses that pick out male experience as unique and prioritise male experience over female experience.

In the earlier discussion on the engineers' Body/work repertoire, I showed how the masculine setting of the field of technology was normalised, and did not require reflection. Here the feminine setting of teaching is normalised, so that girls or female teachers do not require reflection. In the technology setting women were seen as lacking in comparison to the male standard of the field; here, however, the feminine setting is dependent on masculinity to be complete.

The second idea, the need for male role models, contains the unspoken assumption that if appropriate gender socialisation is to occur, men are needed to raise male members of society (and women are needed to raise female members of society). This would imply that there is something essential in manhood that only men can pass on to boys. This is an essentialising view of gender: all men are seen as having a

universal male experience, and all women as having a universal female experience, complete with historical, physical and psychological gender characteristics. At the same time, the construction bundles female teachers' professionalism into a one-dimensional, universalised pack and particularises the professionalism of male teachers. This effect is more closely exemplified in the following two quotes:

> Talking about male role models, well, okay, we'd need different ones. It's unlikely that there is one right male role model and so the model could come from many different images. The model may remain too narrow or even skewed if at schools there are *only* two or three male teachers. The identity building base could be broader. Like: 'That guy seems to be really fair and that guy is really nice, I wish I was as nice and I wish I'd know even half their jokes', and so forth. It's the sort of work where you need building blocks from here and there, different models. (1, m)

> I was given a class— By the way it was one of these schools which are full of girl-next-door type of teachers. The whole school, including the rector, ranted on about how it was the worst class in the history of the school and horrible and awful and nothing will come out of them and blablabla. I have never had such a nice group, the year was great, *everything* worked out with them. They were excited about *every*thing I started with them. *All* plays, *all* books— (...) They were great personalities. So I guess I could pull the right strings because the entire year was so successful. (...) It was like, if there was a group that needed a male teacher, it must have been this one. (7, m)

Both quotes reproduce the idea that male teachers are important in schools. In the first quote, psychological talk is used to justify why an appropriate "identity-building base" and identity "work" would require a combination of many different types of male role models. What is suggested here is that even when those role models have characteristics that are not gender-specific, such as being "fair" and "nice", female teachers cannot offer them as appropriate identity building blocks. In this way, the utterance works to bundle female teachers into a single one-dimensional group, and male teachers into a multi-dimensional one.

The second quote presents a heroic storyline, where the male teacher rescues a crisis situation in a school full of teachers who are the "girl-next-door type".[59] This story also particularises and elevates the male teacher's experience against the universalised group of female teachers. A comparable phenomenon occurred with the teachers' Mars/Venus repertoire, where female teachers caused problematic dynamics among themselves, something that male intervention could repair. Here the male teacher's intervention literally repairs the chaos that has resulted from the school being over-populated by women. Put even more roughly, none of the many women could manage a class that was actually the most pleasant group of students ever. The two quotes describe very different topics: the first talks about the identity-building process,

---

[59] Several interviewees drew on this expression/stereotype to describe a typical teacher. In Finnish this is not a very positive characterisation of a person, but rather describes someone who is naïve and comes from a privileged background (which also is often considered to be more negative than positive).

and the second about a teaching crisis. Yet both, by focusing on the idea that schools need appropriate forms of masculinity, reproduce gendered discourses that prioritise masculinity over femininity.

The second rhetorical construction that helps the Chaos/order repertoire achieve its effect centres on the idea that single and divorced mothers are isolated from men. The idea discussed above, that men are needed to raise men, is also present in this construction. The construction operates partly via the same means as the one above: disregarding women's experience and bundling women into a one-dimensional group. However, the quotes show that in this construction women are objectified, described as sources of choices leading to chaos in the lives of their male students — and consequently sources of chaos in society:

> I have a feeling that many male youth are in need of a male role model. Sometimes I get the feeling that everything is not necessarily going as well as possible at home and this is how it actually is these days. That there is not necessarily a man in the house, has not been for years. Or ever. This happens and then the only male role model may be some male teacher at school. (1, m)

> I think it is really *sad* that there are no male teachers, because children, especially children of divorced parents or children who have problems in their background, lack the male role. The role of a *protective* man. (14, f)

The quotes are almost identical to the first two quotes of this section, for instance:

> Because these days there are so many broken families and patchwork families and single-parent families and whatever variations, I'd see it's little boys who suffer, because many of them are then left with mothers only. You cannot *totally* generalise, but the so-called male role models would be needed. (6, m)

All four of these quotes talk about the need for male role models in schools. But instead of talking about the lack of male teachers at schools, the utterances are formulated to talk about children lacking male contacts at *home*. The first quote suggests that pupils would have a better home environment if they had a "man in the house". It also seems to imply that the longer the man was out of the picture, the worse the situation. The second quote suggests that children whose parents are divorced either lack contact with men altogether, or that the men who are around are not fit role models. The final quote names divorces and patchwork families,[60] which seem to result in all-woman family units, as causing the "suffering" of "little boys".

In all these formulations the Chaos/order repertoire works to defend the two-gender nuclear family model. The first quote ignores the fact that having a man in a

---

[60] The term "patchwork family" normally refers to a family unit, where two previously divorced people and their children from the earlier relationships live together under one roof.

house does not automatically make things better; the man could be violently aggressive for example. In this way, while suggesting that any man is better than no man, the quote works to reproduce discourses where women are dependent on men, and connected discourses of the two-gender family model. The second quote also works to defend the patriarchal nuclear family model, by describing the lack of men in families as resulting in problems. It further describes women as dependent on this family model, by suggesting that they might otherwise become involved with susceptible men. In the third quote, other forms of families than the traditional one are "broken" or otherwise lack men, and result in suffering.

While defending the two-gender family model, the repertoire contains an assumption that single mothers are isolated, and lack contact with (good) men. For example the first speaker says the "only male role model may be some male teacher at school". The quote below repeats the idea:

> Half of our pupils are boys, and if there are only women, and these days almost half of families are single-parent families, if they grow up with women their entire lives, I am *sure* they'll be good adults, but when will they get to know men? (...) In my class we have at the moment one child from a complete family; all the others are from single-parent households. One lives with the father, others with the mother. (7, m)

The quote suggests that children living with single mothers grow up with women "their entire lives". This again rearticulates the Chaos/order repertoire's idea that single mothers are isolated from men. The statement "I am sure they'll be good adults" gains an ironic tone when completed by the expression "when will they get to know men?" Moreover, the repetitive use of the word "women" gives the impression that there are too many women everywhere, at schools and in homes.

The articulations of the Chaos/order repertoire converge to claim the two-gender nuclear family model as superior. That the assumptions are value-laden shows in their reference to earlier times: First, women today do not need to be married or chaperoned in order to meet men. By describing single mothers as isolated from men, the repertoire places them a few decades back in history, deviant and abandoned by society. Second, the repertoire constructs divorce as a woman's problem by not talking about men at all. Fathers are not mentioned as parties to a divorce or as involved in the lives of their children after divorce. Statistically, the vast majority of divorce settlements in Finland involve an agreement on shared custody (91% in 2002).[61] Through these images, the Chaos/order repertoire works to name the crumbling of marriages and women's independence in making and raising children as a source of

---

[61] The statistics for child custody agreements for the year 2002 (total 33109 cases) are as follows: 91% shared custody, 7% mother-only custody, 1% father-only custody (Stakes 2003). These are the statistical facts, but of course they should not be simplified to represent the reality of divorced families.

chaos. This chaos can be restored by the presence of male, in schools and in homes. In the quote below, the speaker constructs the chaos by using a collection of converging expressions:

> Just so that there would be some sort of balance. Just take a look at today's school: year by year there are more and more disturbed children. And of course this is not the children's fault. When we look far enough, it is society's fault. When parents are feeling unwell, children also feel unwell and everyone around them feels unwell, or suffers from it. Just so that there would be equal role models. When it is only women who run the show, in my opinion this does not give an accurate picture of society. (12, m)

Together this speaker's expressions — "some sort of balance", "more and more disturbed children", "society's fault", "everyone feels unwell" and "women running the show" — build a picture of chaos in society.

To summarise, in an almost uniform articulation, the Chaos/order repertoire names fatherless boys and single motherhood as the root of problems; in doing so it works to replace the gender gap problem under discussion. The combined effect of the repertoire's representations is that divorce leads to chaos and to divorced women being deviant from society; patriarchal marriage equals order. Even though the teachers use the repertoire to talk about the gender bias in primary education, the talk is not about equal numbers of males and females in the profession of teaching, but about reasserting the normative gender, which is threatened by the crumbling of the patriarchal two-gender family model. 'Correct' genders involved in raising children and 'correct' heterosexuality become necessary to society. When these are in place, the chaos returns to order.

Engineers: Don't rock the boat

As I discussed in Chapter 3, a typical element of Finnish discussions of gender is the impetus to develop harmony. Gender is not made controversial; when it is, speakers quite commonly include a disclaimer that indicates their awareness of gender equality debates but does not really comment on them. Such disclaimers have already been seen in the interview data: "You cannot *totally* generalise, but so called male role models would be needed"; "This again is my teacher chauvinism, but here you learn to be a chauvinist in less than three years"; "If they grow up with women their entire lives, I am *sure* they'll be good adults, but—".

As the engineers use it, the Chaos/order repertoire has the same effect; they use it to turn gender around as a controversial discussion topic and thus return to a state of discursive harmony. Like the teachers, the engineers use the Chaos/order repertoire to respond when someone raises as a problem the gender gap in their profession. But

whereas the teachers used the Chaos/order repertoire to construct the gender gap problem around the lack of male teachers, the engineers used it to dismiss the idea that the gender gap is a problem. The talk appears to try to convince the discussion partner that no gender imbalance exists in the profession in the first place and that, should it exist, no real problems are associated with it.

The Chaos/order repertoire uses two primary rhetorical constructions to achieve its effect of making gender *un*controversial: *avoidance* and *confusion.* As in the other repertoires discussed thus far, these two constructions share common ideas and expressions. At the same time, part of their effect relies on the way the talk is organised, through both what is said and what is left unsaid. In this sense, the Chaos/order repertoire could be called both an interpretative repertoire and a discursive strategy (after Potter and Wetherell 1987).

The central idea of the avoidance construction is to play down the gender imbalance in engineering, along with any possible problems related to it. One can do this by not responding logically to a question; according to Potter and Wetherell (1987), if a discursive sequence is to make sense, a logical flow of comments and responses is needed. Speakers can also play down the imbalance by contradicting or denying the content of the question, or by circumventing the discussion topic and turning to some other issue. In the following quotes, the interviewees' responses do not logically follow from my opening, that there are few women in the field. In a more predictable discursive sequence, the responses would reflect the small number of women in the field, instead of focusing on suggesting that 20% is actually a reasonable proportion of women in the field:

> E: There are still worryingly few women leaders in the ICT field— I: I don't know about the ratios, if in the top management there are a few women, how it is among the employees, if the percentage is respective. Like if here at the lowest level we are 20% women, if in the management it is also 20%, or if the percentage goes down on the way up. I don't know because I haven't followed the statistics. (2, f)

> E: Only 10% of computer science students are women. I: Could be, yes. I don't know in general, but altogether at the technical university I think there are about 20%. And then there are areas, like usability research, where are quite a few women. (4, f)

> In computer science there are actually quite a lot. At least when I started way back, it was one of those— (...) I don't know about the statistics, you can find them on the internet, maybe 15 to 20% women, easily. Because that isn't, I guess, what I remember seeing last time. I don't know if it's much or little, but it's probably more than there are men in teacher education. Clearly more. (10, m)

All three quotes contain the expression "I don't know" at least once. They exemplify how the engineers' Chaos/order repertoire works as a strategy to avoid talking about gender-related problems. In the first quote, the speaker does not respond to the

invitation to discuss the small number of female leaders, but avoids it by fixing the discussion on the 20% and speculating about whether the ratios are comparable among employees and top management. Her final sentence summarises the effect of this utterance. "I haven't followed the statistics" works to deny the speaker's interest in the topic, by suggesting the gender imbalance in the field is a statistical question, i.e. something to be analysed using statistics and/or a discussion topic for people who like statistics.

A similar kind of avoidance strategy is also present in the second quote: the speaker denies both interest in, and knowledge of, the topic. This time the 'illogical' response is to shift the discussion to larger numbers, instead of reflecting on the small proportion of women among computer science students. The expressions "Could be yes" and "I don't know in general" are pre-emptive; they make it difficult to pick up the discursive sequence again. This circumvents the initial topic of discussion.

The final quote's avoidance strategy works in a similar way. It contains the first quote's statistics element. That is, this speaker also suggests that understanding the topic would require statistical investigation. It also contains the idea of presenting the small percentage (15% to 20%) as fairly reasonable. In addition, the quote contains the strategies used in both the other quotes: it shifts the discussion away from the initial topic. In the first quote this move was from top management to employees, in the second quote it was from computer science to other disciplines, and now in the third quote, the talk shifts from computer science to teaching. These all work to present the initially suggested poor statistics in a more favourable light. In this way, all three quotes repeat the same structure: they claim a lack of interest in and/or knowledge about the issue; they assert that the field actually has quite a few women; and then they shift the focus of talk elsewhere. Through this structure the Chaos/order repertoire works to return to a discursive harmony.

The avoidance tactic is also used in the two quotes below. In these quotes, the gender problems are taken outside the field of technology and individualised. The same kind of construction is present in the engineers' Body/work repertoire; the masculinity of the field is taken for granted, and women who aspire to enter the field are scrutinised. The quotes below both focus on the idea that no gender discrimination exists in the field. If there are gender imbalances, they result from individual choices:[62]

> Unfortunately it is a lot about how well you can sell, how well you dare to talk about yourself. In test situations, you know those net job applications, when you look at women's averages and men's averages, there is really a big difference. Women sort of rate their abilities poorer and men easily better than they actually are. (…) That's how it is in job interviews, you sell

---

[62] Marja Vehviläinen (*Helsingin Sanomat* 21 October, 2007) suggests that even today a characteristic of the gender discussion in the Finnish ICT field is still "chanting over and over again that gender does not matter in the field. No one wants to see the issue" (my translation).

yourself. You have to be interesting and convince them that you know your stuff. So if men can do that better, they stand better chances. (...) Maybe it's evident when you are on bit of thin ice and you have to *sell* yourself, without lying about your skills. Men may be able to do that better. (4, f)

E: Only about 10% of computing students at the technical university are women. I: Yes, and that's only because those who go *there* are precisely those who want to study theoretical subjects and who want to be researchers. That is, more of those nerds. Because, then again, those who enter the field via commercial schools, they are mostly women. So the entry to the field happens through different routes. And this can then show up in *salaries*, because in some positions a university education is more highly valued. So this is how it happens and that's of course significant, that it's actually because of the education. (5, f)

Both speakers talk about individuals' actions/choices that result in gender imbalances in the field. In the first quote, (hiring) inequalities are attributed to different styles of presenting one's abilities in a recruitment situation. These are then implied to lead to men having an easier time finding good work. Here the expressions "how you dare to talk about yourself", "you sell yourself", and "you have to be interesting and convince them", sound like career prep talk, which tends to draw on individualistic discourses. These are apparent in the above expressions: "you sell", "you dare", "you convince". When men are simultaneously said to sell their skills better, the prep talk appears to be directed at women. In this way, the Chaos/order repertoire again works to return the conversation to a state of discursive harmony, by avoiding the discussion topic of too few women in the field; and by promoting other discussion topics: the individualistic career talk. Thus it dismisses any gender inequality problems in the field and moves them to the domain of individual control.

In the latter quote, the speaker takes up the invitation to discuss the small number of female computer science students, but meets it with a construction that again individualises the problem. The expressions "that's only because" and "that's of course significant" are pre-emptive and summarise the tone of the utterance. The speaker uses a strategy of neutralising the field's gender imbalances, in pay and other aspects, by suggesting that men and women make different career choices, which then result in gender imbalances in the field. The speaker does bring into the discussion possible salary differences between men and women, but rather than present them as an equality issue, she sees them as related to individual choices. In this way, also in this quote the Chaos/order repertoire works to return to a state of discursive harmony, where gender inequalities do not exist. In both quotes the avoidance construction centres on the idea of individualism.

In all these examples, the avoidance construction helps to play down any gender imbalances in the ICT field. In this way, the Chaos/order repertoire works to return discursive chaos — the disharmony that occurs when gender issues are brought to the table — to order, to a state where the controversy is neutralised. The second rhetorical

construction, which I call confusion, works to the same effect — but it uses a different discursive tactic. In quotes using the confusion construction, the speech is organised in a very meandering way. Using multiple ways to reassure the conversation partner that no gender imbalance or inequalities exist in the field, the speech is plagued with contradictions and mixings of terms and facts. These all blur the content and the purpose of the utterances, which then help to brush off the initial discussion topic. To exemplify this tactic of the Chaos/order repertoire, I will show slightly longer quotes than those used so far. The two quotes below show that the confusion construction of the Chaos/order repertoire is not organised using any particular vocabulary or imagery, but through a certain way of organising the talk itself.

> When I studied software technology there were like 95% men. (...) So in terms of gender, this was quite clearly divided. But on the other hand there are all sorts of engineers, many kinds of fields, also more interdisciplinary ones. So there, in turn, are many more women. Machine technology may still not have many women. I don't know why, maybe it's an image question. That's a whole different field, I don't know much about machine technology myself. It sounds really technical heh. E: Information technology is also a good example. I understand there are only some women? I: No, actually there are quite a few women in information technology. At least when I started it was one of those— Production economics, maybe chemical engineering, well, okay, textiles these kinds of industries, which have had women, material technology, but not information technology. (10, m)

In this quote the fragmentation and multidimensionality of the talk draws our attention. The speaker jumps from one idea to another and uses long sentences, which are not clearly organised. He starts with one idea, and ends with another. For example, the final part of the quote, where the speaker lists fields populated by women, is a confusingly long sentence. It starts by assuring us that there are many women in engineering, then lists engineering disciplines where there are not many women, then again disciplines where there are women, and finally mixes everything up so that the sentence ends without a point. The second quote also involves a complicated construction of different ideas:

> E: If we talk about the status of the work, do you see a gender difference? I: I'd say no. Actually what I've experienced, of course it's always apparent in that men are paid a little more and all that, but otherwise you could say that gender segregation has pretty much disappeared in the field. We are all just *guys*, not like men and women. Apart from company parties or these kinds of situations, gender is not evident. Otherwise not. It is irrelevant, as a matter of fact. And actually mixed teams *work out the best* in project situations. Gender does not get overemphasised, there is a more neutral tone. And yet normally there isn't anything like, this is a woman and they cannot know and sorts. (5, f)

This quote operates mainly through the speaker stumbling over their own speech. The reassurance that gender segregation no longer exists in the field, and that gender is irrelevant, loses its air in the next statements: "men are paid a little more and all that",

"we are all just guys", "gender does not get overemphasised". When all these different ideas are thrown into the talk, both the speaker and the listener end up confused: why is it important that gender does not get overemphasised if gender is irrelevant? In this way, the talk actually creates chaos in order to restore harmony in the discussion. The topic of gender inequality gets hidden under the many ideas present in the talk. It also seems that the purpose of the talk is to reassure, but the vocabulary for that is not readily available, and needs to be constructed from the various pieces.

The quote below also works via the confusion effect. The ideas are more consistent, but the articulation is confusing:

> E: Can you think of any work situation where gender has been apparent? I: Maybe to a small extent you can see it if there is a meeting, where, hmm, there are eight people and one of them is a woman. Everyone will *notice* the woman. But they don't necessarily notice all the men. In that kind of situation you may see it. And this is only about the sex. Independent of the goal of the meeting, if you ask the eight participants, they all surely remember the woman, but don't remember all the men. E: Could the woman also get *heard* more easily, because she is easier to remember? I: True, yes, maybe. But also the demands may be tougher. E: Why? I: If you one way or the other attract more attention, precisely because of your gender, it can put pressure on you. E: Do you think there are differences in working styles? I: Probably not. I'd say gender differences are really small. Only if there is a meeting where there is one woman and eight men or two women and fifteen men, it is totally natural that— Or the other way around, two men and fifteen women, it always turns out that the only one or two [different ones] are more visible. (7, m)

The two earlier quotes contained several elements that worked to offer reassurance that there is no gender problem, and to speculate on various things related to the discussion topic. These are also evident in this quote. The speaker first assures me that gender is apparent only because of its visibility, not its content; then moves on to speculate about the possible consequences of this visibility (partly in response to my invitation). Finally the speaker creates a complicated sentence where numbers get mixed. The end result is again that the initial discussion topic gets hidden and released by the created confusion. Therefore, all three of these long quotes work to the same effect: they hide, mix and confuse things, ideas and terms, in order to maintain harmony in discussion.

Whereas the teachers' Chaos/order repertoire was very uniformly formulated from one quote to the next, the engineers' Chaos/order repertoire uses a variety of means to achieve its objective. As the examples show, what identifies this repertoire is not only the recurring expressions of content, but a set of discursive tactics that aim to maintain harmony in the discussion about gender and the gender gap in the profession. In the teachers' use, the repertoire works to restore the normative gender, as a way to return to a state of discursive order. The engineers' Chaos/order repertoire works to restore order in the interview situation. Its purpose is to maintain gender harmony by evading discussion of the gender problematic. Therefore, like the teachers'

Chaos/order repertoire, the engineers' one also works to prioritise the patriarchal order: its strategies dictate the issues that can be talked about, and by doing so, devalue issues of the Other.

Restoring gender harmony

Contrary to the Mars/Venus and the Body/work repertoires, the Chaos/order repertoire is not used to talk about gender differences in working styles or differences in gendered careers. The Chaos/order repertoire is used when the issue of gender imbalance in the profession is brought to the table. As the teachers use it, the repertoire works to restore the normative gender. As the engineers use it, the repertoire works to restore gender harmony in a discussion about the gender imbalance.

When the teachers draw on the Chaos/order repertoire, their talk seems to be about the lack of male teachers in schools, but in fact they focus on the crumbling of the patriarchal two-gender family model. When the gender imbalance in primary schools is articulated as a problem of men being absent from little boys' lives,[63] the implied idea is that women's independent social action in schools and in their personal lives (working and living without men) leads to societal problems.[64]

Carabine's (2001) ideas about the interceding capacities of discourses are relevant here. Carabine writes that discourses opportunistically draw upon existing discourses on a topic or an issue and at the same time may utilise and be mediated by other discourses about other topics. In this way, discourses hook into normative ideas and commonsense notions that are beneficial to them. The Chaos/order repertoire draws on the patriarchal gender discourse, which hooks it into a number of other discourses that are beneficial to it in the context. Among these supporting discourses are those on Christian morality and morally correct forms of female sexuality. These are represented in images of a correct family form (a nuclear two-gender family model), idealised family life (on the assumption that families with a father function correctly) and correct forms of female sexuality (social problems arise when women raise children outside a married relationship).

Here divorce *per se* is a destructive action to children and to society. Divorce is further represented as connected to women only, with men left outside the scrutiny. Broken families are spoken of via women. Since men are not visible as divorced

---

[63] To be precise, men are also absent from their children's lives in the patriarchal family model, because ideally it works so that the father is absent at work, and the mother takes care of the children. Only recently, with the loosening of gender roles, has the average man participated actively in raising his children.

[64] I do not intend to devalue teachers' insights into the everyday challenges in schools. My sole purpose is to show how discourses work through certain formulations.

people or as fathers in the lives of their children after a divorce, the implication is that single parenthood equals woman-only parenthood. The talk can further be taken to control female sexuality through the implication that single or divorced women are deviant: "There is not necessarily a man in the house, has not been for years. Or ever." Together these different discourses help the Chaos/order repertoire construct an impression that mothers are responsible for the undesirable consequences of not following the model of married relationships. Divorce is an action worthy of suspicion, resulting from choices of women and leading to bad consequences, and after a divorce (or unmarried pregnancy) women are responsible for the rearing of their children. Men's responsibility seems to end at the divorce.

To talk about the social problems that follow single parenthood, many interviewees use the vocabulary of Finnish welfare state-sociological discourse, with its protective and paternalistic imagery of disadvantaged children and other distressed members of society. As members of a social democratic state, this terminology is familiar to Finns and recognised in different articulations of a fair society:

> When parents are feeling unwell, children also feel unwell and everyone around them feels unwell, or suffers from it.

Another familiar discourse the repertoire draws on is that of everyday psychology talk about identity development. This suggests that if children are to experience correct gender socialisation, men are needed to raise the male members of society. In the background is the idea that there is something essential in manhood that only men can pass to boys. The public and political discussion on gay marriage and gay people's subjective right to artificial insemination uses similar ideas. For example, Butler (2006) describes how the French discussion opposing gay marriage drew on images of a psychotic child growing up without appropriate forms of masculinity in their life. In Finland, the discussion about lesbian couples having access to artificial insemination was reviewed in 2006. The discussion very much bounced between rhetoric about a child's right to both parents, including a father, and women's right to make decisions about their own bodies.

Any alternative to the two-gender family model is a threat to the symbolic order of gender and consequently to the ways capitalist-patriarchal societies are organised. In a patriarchal culture, gender needs seem to be an authentic social structure. Gherardi (1995) writes that patriarchal societies rest on gender order, where the symbolic universes of the male and the female are separated. Hirdman (1990a) writes that it is important to the gender order to make men and masculinity clearly distinct from women and femininity. West and Fenstermaker (1995:22) write that the various forms of gender subordination need to seem like they are "the way they are, by virtue of the

fact that men are men and women are women — a distinction seen as 'natural', as rooted in biology, and as producing fundamental psychological, behavioural, and social consequences". When families are composed of parents of the same sex or when one parent is managing the role of two parents, it becomes impossible to clearly distinguish the genders and their special features.

Another noticeable fact about the teachers' Chaos/order repertoire is that it makes no comment about girls and their needs for relationships with either men or women. Girls are completely ignored in this discussion, which further helps to achieve the repertoire's effects. When the repertoire talks only about boys, it particularises male experience, in this case the experience of male pupils. This draws on Hirdman's (1990a) second principle of the gender order: in all cases men and masculinity are more valuable than women and femininity. As the engineers used the Body/work repertoire, the masculine engineering culture was taken as normal and did not require discussion. In the same way, here male students' needs are normal objects of concern, which require some discussion in this situation. In the engineers' Body/work repertoire the feminine — the female engineers — were talked about as somehow lacking, as aspiring towards the masculine engineering culture. In the same way, the teachers' Chaos/order repertoire talks about the feminine, the schools, as lacking, when they lack masculinity in the form of male teachers.

While the teachers use the Chaos/order repertoire to rhetorically mend the chaos resulting from the crumbling of the two-gender family model, the engineers use the repertoire to repair the 'chaos' that occurs in the interview situation when the topic of gender equality is raised. The repertoire uses various discursive tactics and strategies to avoid the discussion topic, to confuse the goal of the talk, or to individualise the gender gap problem to concern individual engineers, not the field.

The Chaos/order repertoire is indeed chaotic: it includes internal conflicts, contradictions and dead ends that complicate the talk. In the other repertoires the direction of the discussion in clear, but in this one, everything becomes somewhat blurred. Nor does the repertoire comment on essentialist gender or gender differences as the other five do. The Chaos/order repertoire is more focused on dynamics, not on people as gendered beings.

The teachers' Chaos/order repertoire was very uniformly formulated from one quote to the next. The engineers' Chaos/order repertoire uses a variety of means to achieve its objective. What identifies this repertoire is not only the recurring expressions of content, but a set of discursive tactics that aim to maintain harmony in the discussion about gender and the gender gap in the profession. Therefore, like the teachers' Chaos/order repertoire, the engineers' one also works to prioritise the

patriarchal order: its strategies dictate the issues that can be talked about, and by doing so, devalue issues of the Other.

Summary

To summarise the discussion this far, the Mars/Venus and the Body/work repertoires both reproduce discourses of gender difference and the gender contract. The Mars/Venus repertoire creates a complementary split: on one side are the characteristics and working styles of female professionals, and on the other side those of male professionals. Gender is fixed into physically observable characteristics, which leads speakers to generalise about female characteristics so that they apply to all female teachers/engineers, and male characteristics to all male teachers/engineers. This stereotyping further leads to a hierarchy: despite their minority position, male teachers enjoy the higher status associated with the masculine. In the case of the engineers, the gender contract is reproduced when female engineers are associated with skills and characteristics that are useful in the support functions of technology companies, and male engineers with those needed to create new technologies. In this way, the Mars/Venus repertoire works in both professions to line up femininity with reproduction and masculinity with production.

As both the teachers and the engineers use the Body/work repertoire, it works to reproduce the discourse of the gender contract in the professions. The teachers' Body/work repertoire rearticulates the profession of teaching as a sphere where female teachers feel content, and which does not fit with male teachers' career expectations. By presenting male teachers' bodies as not belonging to the feminised teaching profession and female teachers' bodies as fitting in it, the repertoire reproduces teaching as a feminine field, in which the rewards are in line with the capacities of female bodies. This leads to the reproduction of the gender contract in working life.

This gender contract resembles the dynamics of a heterosexual family contract, where work is either emotionally rewarded or financially rewarded. When combined with the Mars/Venus repertoire, other dynamics become present: female teachers seem to be in the role of the mother, taking care that the household runs smoothly (and nagging the male teachers). Male teachers take the role of the father, being involved with only those household tasks that are in line with their masculinity, that is, are productive (e.g. giving lessons instead of helping with decorations).

In representing the field of ICT as a masculine domain to which female engineers aspire and where they work to fit in, the engineers' Body/work repertoire normalises masculinity in the field, and narrows femininity down to universalised female bodies,

which are excluded from technology work at the outset. This process evades any discussion as to why the gender bias exists in the field and whether anything could be done about it. Nor does the teachers' Body/work repertoire manage to challenge the profession's gender bias. It uses the techniques of gendering and individualising the poor salary structure in the profession and consequently the gender gap; it genders the discussion by saying that men and women have different wants and objectives, and individualises it by saying that the choice between values and pay is a personal choice. Through these techniques it bypasses any discussion of why the poor salary conditions exist in the first place.

In these ways, the Mars/Venus and the Body/work repertoires sustain and reproduce the discourses of the gender system in all the ways described in the theory: the repertoire essentialises the socially constructed gender characteristics (Butler 1990), and works to sustain gendered practices (West and Zimmerman 1987, Veijola and Jokinen 2001); based on these moves, it reasserts the symbolic order of gender, the gender contract, and hence the gendered distribution of work (Acker 1990, Gherardi 1995, Hirdman 1990a).

Contrary to the Mars/Venus and the Body/work repertoires, the Chaos/order repertoire is not used to talk about gender differences in working styles or differences in gendered careers. The Chaos/order repertoire is used when the issue of gender imbalance in the profession is brought to the table. Teachers use it to restore the normative gender; engineers use it to restore gender harmony in a discussion about the gender imbalance.

When the teachers draw on the Chaos/order repertoire, the talk seems to be about the lack of male teachers in schools, but in fact it centres on the crumbling of the patriarchal two-gender family model. When the engineers draw on the Chaos/order repertoire to attend to the gender bias problem in engineering companies, the repertoire works to avoid and confuse the topic, so that the topic does not disturb the harmony of the discussion. Unlike their use of the other two repertoires, neither the teachers nor the engineers use the Chaos/order repertoire to describe gender differences or differences in gendered careers. The engineers' rhetorical tools for talking about gender seem to be fragmented and vulnerable, showing that the discussion topic is not established, but merely emerging. At the same time, the teachers' almost antagonistic expressions of concern over *women only* raising children could underscore not simply a worry about pupils' perceived wellbeing, but also pressures on the limits of the normative gender. This may present opportunities to further challenge the already unstable gender order that the repertoire presents. I will return to this analysis at the end of this chapter, after first analysing the interpretative

repertoires the professionals use to talk about good professional practices. In Chapter 6, I will examine the practical implications that can be drawn from the analyses.

Representations of professionalism in interviews

In the first half of this analytic chapter I examined the meanings gender acquires in the interviewees' talk: what kinds of interpretative repertoires the teachers and the engineers use to give meanings to gender in their professional context. I identified and named three such repertoires that members of each professional group frequently use to talk about the topic. Each of the six repertoires has a different way of positioning gender in relation to the profession, but they all reproduce discourses of gender in one way or another.

In this half of the chapter, I also identify and name interpretative repertoires that the interviewees use to give meanings to a specific discussion topic. However, I now switch the perspective to the second phrase in my title 'doing gender/doing profession'. More precisely, I now bring the second phrase into the discussion. In the first half of this chapter I examined how the interviewees make sense of gender in their talk; now I conduct the same analysis focusing on professionalism. That is, I identify and name a set of interpretative repertoires that the interviewees use to discuss *good professionalism in their work context*.

The analysis follows the same formula as in the first half of the chapter. I introduce each of the six professionalism repertoires by describing their central ideas and the rhetorical constructions I used to identify them; I then show, using examples, how the repertoires work in the talk of the interviewees. In the discussion sections of this analysis, I use my conceptual framework to reflect on the speakers' use the repertoires, and the effects of that use. In this discussion, I also include the insights gained in the previous discussion on the gender repertoires. My goal is to understand how gender and professionalism intertwine in the discourses available to the professionals to talk about their work and professional selves, and what this means in terms of gendering the professions.

Unlike my practice in the first half of this chapter, I will not arrange the teachers' and the engineers' repertoires under identical headings, but will first describe all the repertoires the teachers use to make sense of their professionalism, and then all those the engineers use. The two professions are founded on specific cultural, historical and social discourses, so the interpretative repertoires representing these discourses can differ greatly. That is why I believe it is more consistent and explanatory to first talk about one profession, then the other. Although gender is dynamically adaptable and can hook onto discourses of professions in different ways, it is first and foremost informed by the patriarchal discourse. Therefore, as we saw above, similar kinds of ideas about it can be identified across the two professions. This fact allowed me to

discuss the engineers' and the teachers' gender repertoires under the same headings: Mars/Venus, Body/work and Chaos/order.

For each professional group, I identified three primary repertoires which the interviewees use to give meanings to professionalism in an interview situation. As I described in Chapter 4, the interview discussions consisted of a range of topics related to the professionals' thoughts and feelings about their work and their professional subjectivities. From this it follows that I found the interpretative repertoires which give meaning to professionalism scattered throughout the interview material. They were especially identifiable in those sections of the interviews where I asked the professionals to explain why they think they are good at what they do, to describe how they approach their everyday tasks, to recall experiences of professional accomplishment, or to describe a good teacher, top talent,[65] typical teacher or typical engineer.

I first started to identify the professionalism repertoires by learning that both the teachers and the engineers engage in a way of talking about their professionalism, which I named *Own professional repertoire*. In interviews, such repertoires often emerge when people talk about their core professional tasks, interests and knowledges — the work activities at which they are most competent and in which they regularly engage. The content of such repertoires may vary greatly from one interviewee to another, since they depend on the speakers' professional orientations, their different subject positions and their professional environment.

Despite the differences in the content, these repertoires are quite easy to identify in the interview material. During an interview, when a person starts citing their Own professional repertoire, the talk is fluent; compared to other parts of the interview, they less often stumble over words or search for words. The speech sounds like the kind of casual discussion one might hear in a workplace, either over lunch or in a meeting. To highlight the fluency and familiarity of this repertoire, I contrast it to the engineers' Chaos/order repertoire that I described in the first half of this chapter. When using that repertoire, the engineers did not appear very familiar with the discussion topic; the talk did not flow fluently, but meandered and stumbled, and often did not have a clear direction. Listening to a speaker recite their Own professional repertoire, I felt I had a small opportunity to peek into their work world,

---

[65] For the teachers I used the term "good professional". For the engineers, I mostly used the term "top talent". In the Finnish language, the term has stabilised during the recent years to signify desirable professional skills and capabilities, often with reference to the ICT field. For example: "As a global top talent, Finland needs to profile itself as a R&D locomotive to attract investments and R&D driven enterprises" (Ruokanen 2004:42, my translation). When asked about top talents, the engineers mostly described skills and capabilities that are relevant in their own professional setting. Many related the top talent skills and capabilities to themselves. Hence, I take the descriptions of top talent to signify good professionalism in the engineers' work contexts.

into a place that was not determined by our discussion. It also gave me an intense feeling about the ways that professional is subject to the knowledges and practices associated with their work function (see Hall 2001).

Even though identifying these repertoires helped me to locate the different meanings the interviewees give to professionalism, this analysis required further categorisation so I could see commonalities across different interviewees. To this end, I took the Own professional repertoires as pointers, along with other linguistic regularities in the interview data, to help define the sets of professionalism repertoires presented here. I now have two sets of interpretative repertoires, one for the teachers and one for the engineers, on which the two sets of professionals draw to talk about their work and their professional selves. The teachers most frequently, and almost uniquely, talk about themselves as being a *Guide*, as a *Nurturer* and as an *Instructor*. The engineers primarily talk about themselves as being an *Achiever*, a *Navigator* and a *Team player*. In the following section, I introduce and elaborate on each of the six repertoires connected to professionalism.

Teachers' representations of professionalism

To start identifying and organising the professionalism repertoires across the teachers' talk, I asked myself: *how do the teachers in their talk construct good teaching practices?*[66] This question helped me to arrange the rough ideas provided by the different Own professional repertoires and the different linguistic regularities in individual interviews into entities that cut across the interview material. Some teachers seemed to use different psychological concepts and vocabulary to describe their interaction with pupils, some others spoke in humanistic, and even altruistic terms, while others spoke in maternal terms. Finally, some teachers seemed to approach their tasks from a rather distanced theoretical position. Identifying these frames, I could further specify the subjects and objects of the talk, and how often the speakers used the different repertoires. In the end, I named three main repertoires that are readily available to the teachers to talk about professionalism in their work context.

1) *Guide:* teacher leads work in a classroom in ways that make the atmosphere ideal for learning.

---

[66] One important part of teaching work is interaction with parents. The teachers in this sample also talked about this dimension of professionalism. I did not include this talk in the analysis, however, as it was necessary to limit and focus the material.

2) *Nurturer:* teacher relates to pupils as children and caringly fosters their development.

3) *Instructor:* teacher utilises theoretical and methodological knowledge to achieve the educational objectives.

To talk about their work, the teachers in this sample use these three repertoires on their own or in combination with one another. In the following sections, I introduce each repertoire, show their central linguistic constructions and give examples of the ways they achieve their effects in the interviewees' utterances.

Guide: Manager of emotions

The Guide repertoire is the one the teachers use most often to give meanings to their professionalism. When the interviewees draw on the Guide repertoire, the talk is about managing, controlling and leading pupils in ways that make the classroom atmosphere ideal for learning. A good teacher is someone who can produce these activities as part of their professionalism. The teaching approach is empathetic and equitable, and utilises professional and psychological insights.

The Guide repertoire presents the goals of the professional practice — teaching — as being educational. But the educational goals are not the focus of the talk. Rather, it is the way they are reached: through a process where managing emotions is central. In this picture teacher is the leader and the main voice in classroom, an embodied character, someone who observes, and is observed by, the pupils. Guide teachers use their understanding of pupils' needs and reactions to tailor and accommodate the teaching approach so that pupils' emotions are met in positive ways. This makes it possible to achieve the educational goals.

The central idea of the Guide repertoire is management of emotions to achieve a positive learning atmosphere. Two rhetorical constructions were helpful in identifying the repertoire across the interview data: *management of emotions by use of empathy* and *management of emotions by reflective use of authority*. The first construction focuses on a teacher's ability to align with the pupils' experiences, and through this ability to choose actions that create positive emotions in the pupils. The second construction is about a teacher's reflective use of their situational power, which aims at ensuring and producing positive emotions in pupils. The two quotes below exemplify how the Guide teacher manages pupils' emotions by using empathy. Both describe a professionally thought-out approach, which helps to create positive emotions in pupils. This allows the teachers to get their pupils' attention and thus to achieve educational goals:

I don't plan lectures very much. But I have my sensors towards pupils all the time. I always know what I'm going to teach and what we'll do and in this way I have the subject knowledge. But I also manage the methods because of my education. After all I'm an old dog, twelve years experience. So I feel I can keep steady in the classroom and really cooperate with the pupils. I really hear what they say and notice if someone is in a bad mood. For this reason, I believe everyone has a pretty good time there. Pupils, teenagers, they do notice when you really listen to them. Or if you just want to push your authority, by commanding that we do this and this and this, or not. I think that maybe being easy-going like this makes me a good teacher. (4, f)

A good Finnish teacher must have acting skills and must be able to empathise. And one needs to be able to *narrate;* narrating skills are *really* important. Because pupils like to stop and listen when a teacher *narrates* a story or a plot. So your oral presentation skills should be reasonable. Then you must be able to transmit the information in a way that a child, a teenager, can understand. (10, f)

In the first quote, the teacher empathises with pupils' need to feel understood. The teacher uses this and different professionally thought-out approaches to manage pupils' emotions. The teacher's experience, co-operative style and subject knowledge are paired with empathetic insight in order to create positive emotions in pupils, and thus to achieve a good teaching outcome. In the second quote, the teacher empathises with the emotional experiences pupils get from listening to narratives. The teacher tailors her professional skills of narrating and presentation to the pupils' needs, and in this way can create positive emotions in them, which help her to teach the required content.

Both excerpts therefore focus on the idea of managing pupils' emotions by using empathy. In the first quote this happens because of the teacher's insight into pupils' needs to feel understood, in the second, by the teacher's alignment with pupils' enjoyment of a literary experience. Central in both quotes is the teacher viewing the classroom activity from the perspective of teenagers, and using this capacity to create a good learning atmosphere. This process could be summarised as follows: empathise – create positive emotions – achieve educational goals. The same idea is repeated in the following quote, but now the empathy element is addressed to the pupils' experience of intellectual discovery:

If I could strike a bit of a spark in them towards mathematics. When I see that people come back with even rather laborious voluntary assignments and I know they have worked many hours and then the reward is that one bonus point, I get the feeling that one way or the *other* this may be a question of getting a bit of something extra. That the pupil too feels they're getting something more than just that one bonus point, that there is a reward, like now I learned something, figured out something important and fine. (...) Of course I cannot get all the pupils, but if for example 20 to 30% voluntarily ponder some bonus assignment, I think it is a good outcome for me. I feel that something moved, something happened, some lamp lit up somewhere or is just now lighting up. (1, m)

In the description the speaker virtually goes inside the skin of a pupil, feeling the hours the pupil spent on the assignment and the pupil's pleasure in learning something new. This ability of the teacher to empathise with the pupils' feelings helps in planning a professional approach, to create bonus assignments which stimulate the motivation to learn. Therefore, as in the two earlier quotes, in this one good teaching is also spoken of as an activity where the teacher's ability to align emotionally with the pupils' feelings leads to a learning outcome.

Another characteristic of the Guide repertoire in the above three quotes is that all the descriptions of the teacher-pupil interaction contain a corporeal dimension: "I hear what they say", "I notice if someone is in a bad mood", "pupils stop and listen when a teacher narrates", "I see people come back with laborious voluntary assignments". In this sense, the Guide repertoire describes a setting where human beings are present at an abstract intellectual, emotional and physical level.

The above three quotes describe teaching approaches in which the teacher empathises with pupils' emotional experiences to enhance learning. In the following two quotes the teachers' ability to empathise with pupils is also central. But while the above quotes all had a different focus for the emotional alignment — feelings understood, literary experience, and intellectual discovery — the quotes below describe how humour can be used to align emotions between the teachers and their pupils:

> I have noticed how I can keep a handle on things by fooling around quite a lot. Talk a bit eccentrically and say funny things, so they stop and wonder, like, what's up now? That's something I think I can do quite well. E: For example how? I: I have a strange habit of making up my own words. I use sort of verbs that do not exist at all, in Finnish you can make up onomatopoetic verbs and so forth. The kids know what I mean but the word is funny and they chuckle a bit and understand what to do. So there is some amount of show in the classroom. I like to laugh with the children, but I also like to make *them* laugh. (9, f)

> I use things like I say something a bit wrong or comical and suddenly I notice that aha, they are listening to me. This way I can *also* pull in the one with attention problems, if I happen to hit their interest range. For instance I talk like well, 'Hmm, that, that play-x-box', Play Station and X-Box together. Not one second and they go like 'Naah, that's not!' So it is really like these kinds of ways of arousing their interest. Or I count whatever on the blackboard, just so that someone can experience: 'I notice the teacher is doing it wrong!' Or I might invent sort of, never any humiliating, but sort of funny names or something. Or we together make up a story of a name or something. These sorts of things, it's a lot about expressiveness maybe, we create new things around old ones. And the more they touch the child and their interest range, or their acumen— these are really juicy packages. (14, f)

Both these quotes describe a specific thought-out teaching method, based on the teacher's ability to understand pupils' reactions and feelings. In this way, the quotes are methodological descriptions of emotional management. In these descriptions,

linguistic and visual humour plays a central role in creating positive emotions that support teaching. Both quotes' final sentences, "I like to make *them* laugh", and "these are really juicy packages", show that while the teachers manage the pupils' emotions, they also manage their own emotions. The teachers take pleasure in the humour as well as the pupils, and translate this pleasure into a good classroom atmosphere and the pupils' increased motivation to learn.

Similar to the quotes presented a bit earlier on the Guide repertoire, here also the talk constructs the teachers and pupils as intellectually, physically and emotionally present in the situations. In the first quote, the embodied characters "talk eccentrically and say funny things", "stop and wonder", and "chuckle". In the second quote, the embodied characters "say something comical", "go like 'Naah, that's not it!'", and "count whatever on the blackboard". In this way, again, the talk is about both abstract learning and emotionally invested physical interaction.

In all the Guide quotes shown this far, a teacher's ability to generate positive emotions — security, intellectual discovery, humour — was described as an element of good professional practice. These actions all came about because the teacher had insights into the pupils' pleasures. But the Guide repertoire's management of emotions also seems to work through the ability to empathise with negative feelings. In the following quote, the teacher responds to a pupil's difficult learning experience:

> I try never ever to put a child down or say that you cannot do it. Instead, I say something like, you have done this *really* well, but shall we take one more look together? Like, hey, maybe you could think this over once more, and see if it's possible to do it some other way. This is all right, but let's study some more. I try positively like this. Of course I can't accept something that is totally wrong, but when you can say something like, you have really put a lovely effort into this, but let's take one more look together. Or could you try once more, could you figure out some other way to do it. Or do you remember when we did this last week, did you do it this way or some other way or how. Then some of course go like 'Naah, I cannot, this is wrong'. But I'll try this way somehow. (11, f)

This again is a description of a process of emotional management, which aims to create positive emotions in the pupil, and in this way lead to a positive learning atmosphere and eventually to a positive learning outcome. The description contains the same elements as the quotes above: understanding the situation from a pupil's perspective, attending to the pupil's emotions through a specifically thought-out teaching method, and thus guiding the pupil towards a good learning experience. The quote also shares the physical element that was present in the other examples: the bodies of the actors are present in the form of the teacher's voice, the pupil's voice and in both parties' physical presence when they "once more look together" at the assignment.

The second rhetorical construction by which I identified the Guide repertoire appears somewhat less frequently in the data. I call the second construction management of emotions by reflective use of authority. The idea and goals are the same: to manage the pupils' and one's own emotions to bring about a positive learning outcome. In the first construction, empathy is the central vehicle for managing emotions; here it is a humanistic, supportive use of authority. This could be called a use of steering power. When the interviewees draw on the Guide repertoire via this rhetorical construction, they often describe a classroom situation where they channel the action through their authority as a teacher. This authority contains a great deal of situational power, but the power is used reflectively, in a way that makes it constructive to the learning atmosphere:

> Of course there are certain limits as to how one can behave, because in a classroom other pupils cannot lose the peace they need to work because of one person. But you don't make it a question of pride with a pupil. If nothing else helps, you carry the pupil out, but there is no point in arguing. E: Staying above the situation probably takes a bit of consideration? I: That takes, yes, and the kind of humility that no one can ever always be right, that teachers make mistakes too. But my motto is, even though the teacher is often wrong, they are nevertheless the teacher. E: Yes, the authority is at that end. I: Yes. That's my function in the classroom and it cannot be questioned by the pupils. They can go complain at home, but these are the facts. From the power perspective. It also happens that teachers give too much power to pupils and then the whole thing gets out of hand. (3, m)

> I wouldn't put on my own show. I can't do that kind of a lecturing system. Instead, I want the feedback rather quickly. Like after every few sentences I must check where we are. E: Do you ask the children then? I: There is no need to ask, they'll only stay quiet a short while. They comment immediately. E: But you present it so that they have the space to comment? I: A little bit provocatively, yes, that way. I provoke *positively,* so that it raises thoughts in them. So that they *want* to comment. (9, f)

These quotes also describe a process of emotional management via a professionally thought out approach. In the first quote, the talk is about maintaining classroom harmony, even through coercive power if needed. The description contains many expressions to show that it is the teacher who possesses the sole authority in the classroom. At the same time, many other expressions assure that this authority is used in a reflective manner, towards a shared good of having a peaceful classroom environment. In this extract, the teacher manages his own emotions and those of the pupils. He manages his own emotions by consciously taking a patient and humble approach: "you don't make it a question of pride with a pupil", "they can go complain at home". He manages the pupils' emotions by making it clear that he has the authority and will use it equitably. This provides the pupils with feelings of security and trust.

In the second quote, too, the speaker's authority is clearly articulated. At the same time that she acknowledges her authority, she recognises the potential to misuse

it: "I wouldn't put on my own show". This the teacher's reflective approach leads to an equitable teaching approach that creates positive emotions in pupils. The teacher manages her own emotions, such as the motivation to teach, by allowing the pupils to participate in the teaching. At the same time, she manages the pupils' emotions, and their motivation to learn, by provoking them to participate.

Again, both quotes contain an interactional, corporeal dimension. In the first quote, this dimension comes about in the expressions "carry the pupil out", "you don't argue with the pupil" and "the whole thing gets out of hand". These all refer to the physicality of classroom situations, people being at a touching distance from one another, people making noise. In the second quote, the expressions "put on my own show", "lecturing system" and "stay quiet only for a short while" also refer to the physicality of teaching: to seeing and hearing people in the classroom. With all these elements, the second rhetorical construction of the Guide repertoire works to the same effect as the first one. When talking about the first construction, I showed how it comes about as a step-by-step process: empathise – create positive emotions – achieve good learning setting. A similar type of process is also apparent in this second construction: reflect authority – create positive emotions – achieve a good learning setting.

The above two quotes articulated the teachers' reflective use of authority in a classroom situation, where it was connected to a specific thought-out teaching approach. In the following two quotes, authority is again a central element in managing emotions. But here the management of emotions is not presented as part of a specific teaching approach; instead it is part of a general interaction with pupils. The first quote talks about a teacher's fairness and openness, the second about transparency and consistency:

> Relaxed, but in some ways I am also strict. But I hope I can be fair, at least I try to be. And I try to be open, I say if I have been wrong about a fight or something, someone has hit the other first and I did not realise that they are not being honest about it. I say sorry, I did not realise that it went that way. (11, f)

> If you are consistent, there won't be many problems. If you demand one thing one day and the next day something else, that is not consistent and things don't move forward. And then if something changes, you have to make it clear that this changes *now* and for everyone. (8, m)

Again, both quotes describe the teacher using a professional thought-out method linked to their authority. This leads to positive emotions and consequently to a positive learning atmosphere. The embodiment of the activity is clearly present in the first quote's physical fight; in the second quote, it is implicit in the leader-follower setting.

Both quotes articulate the teacher as having clear authority, and reflecting its correct use. In the first quote, the teacher manages her own emotions as a result of this reflection, by taking a sincere, humble approach. This further helps her to manage the pupils' emotions by recognising their need for justice. In the second quote, the teacher reflects his use of authority as the sole leader of the class; the pupils follow what is said and get confused if the message is not consistent. The management of emotions occurs when the teacher requires clarity and consistency from himself, and delivers the security of consistency and transparency to the pupils; a good guide or leader does not leave the followers feeling lost and confused.

In both rhetorical constructions of the Guide repertoire, managing emotions is central. Yet in the world where these repertoires are used, emotions have instrumental meaning, even though they may seem spontaneously assumed and adapted, as part of the overall workflow of schools, and even though they trigger positive feelings in both teachers and pupils. The Guide teacher's actions are consciously framed and professionally thought-out; their goal is to enhance learning. Some of the quotes articulate this clearly: "If I could strike a bit of a spark in them towards mathematics". Others merely imply an educational goal. For instance, a just teacher, one who resolves fights fairly, can maintain their credibility in the eyes of the pupils. The same credibility is needed in teaching. In this way, the Guide repertoire is about managing emotions, not about experiencing them.

When we look at how the Guide repertoire constructs professionalism in the interviewees' talk, we see three ideas converging. First, the speakers' actions are instrumental, even when they are based on empathy and reflection. More than describing the pleasures and pains of the different situations, the talk is about professional action to meet specific goals. Second, the repertoire constructs teaching as an activity where the teachers and the pupils are present with their minds, emotions and bodies. The intellectual activity takes place when the Guide teacher thinks out and logically follows through with certain teaching methodologies; the emotional activity takes place when the teacher's empathetic reflection helps them to manage both their own and the pupils' emotions; the corporeal activity is present in the physical, visual and audio scenery of the descriptions.

Third, the repertoire presents pupils as objects. Whether the repertoire applies to a group of pupils or a single one, the children are anonymous participants in the situation. Even though the talk presents pupils' emotions as decisive to the action, the pupils themselves are at the receiving end of their teacher's choice of action. The teacher is the speaking subject of the discourse, a leader with the power, the insight and the skills to guide the objects of the discourse, the follower pupils, to a positive learning experience. This teacher-pupil relationship is characterised by an

understanding, wise use of power, rather than by a forceful imposition of it. A good teacher guides the pupils in ways that let them achieve the set objectives.

Nurturer: Adult to children

Almost all the teachers in this study use both the Guide and Nurturer repertoires to give meanings to the professionalism of teaching. Both repertoires describe teaching as an embodied activity, which involves not only an abstract-level distribution of information, but physical interaction between the teachers and their pupils, as well as a degree of emotional investment by the teacher.

The Guide repertoire presents teaching as an activity with a means to an end; its managing of emotions leads to the achievement of curriculum objectives. The Nurturer repertoire, instead, presents teaching as an interaction that is not necessarily oriented towards a future objective, but has value in itself. If there is a goal, it is more a moral desire or obligation to nurture pupils towards a good adulthood, than to pass on curriculum knowledge to pupils. The latter does not play a visible role in the Nurturer repertoire's representations of teaching. In some utterances, the focus on humanistic rather than curriculum goals gives the Nurturer repertoire a degree of rebelliousness or assertiveness; the speakers seem to hold themselves as swimming against the current of what they present as the administrative educational discourse. In the imagery of the Nurturer repertoire, teaching is more than transferring educational knowledge. It is about caring for and nurturing pupils, and sometimes these activities are presented as competing with the knowledge-transfer activities.

When teachers use the Guide repertoire to speak about understanding pupils, they present it as an activity with a further agenda: achieving good learning outcomes. When they use the Nurturer repertoire to speak about understanding pupils, they present the activity as meaningful in itself. For the Nurturer, teaching is about caring for others and communality, not because these help to achieve the curriculum goals, but because these are the core of what the Nurturer teachers passes on to pupils. This imagery is repeated in the two overlapping rhetorical constructions which help to identify the repertoire: *moral lesson to pupils* and *ethical-pedagogical insight to teachers*. The first construction's framing of teaching resembles a sort of maxim, an insight the pupils can also use in their outside lives, not only in school. The second construction's framing of teaching resembles an unconventional, even controversial, guideline for teachers.

Below are two examples of the first construction. Both quotes present a specific approach to teaching or to being with pupils, with the deliberate aim of giving pupils a moral lesson:

> Some teachers are quite fixed on the idea that we have to know everything and always be like ten times better than the children to be able to teach. But children sometimes need us to say that hey, we cannot do this. It is an enormous enjoyment to them to find out that they can do something better than I can. And to realise that one can fail. This is a big thing for a child to figure out. You don't always need to know. That lets you practice. (11, f)

> I think the most important task for a teacher is nurturing. In addition to educating. And specifically so that you could install in the pupils some kind of a sense in between the ears that only by studying can you succeed. And even when the background is not good, there is no point complaining about it or mulling over it. You can do something for your own life. There are two possibilities: either you choose the good way or the bad way. Especially in the marginal cases, you can't go on pleading that I have this or that thing wrong. Okay, we can *understand* that, but when we are here at school most of us want to work and then these— Do you understand what I mean? Like even if there are some problems there, they cannot destroy everything *else*. *These* are the biggest challenges. E: And you help them in your nurturing role to choose the path that leads to a positive life? I: Yes, the good one. Avoid bad, do good. (6, m)

In the first quote, the speaker relates to a child's discovery of self-confidence through their own failure or through observing a teacher's failure. She summarises the maxim at the end: "You don't always need to know. That lets you practice." The second speaker talks about socially disadvantaged pupils and how a teacher can support them in finding their strengths, rather than falling victim to their background. In this quote, the maxim is spelled out: "Avoid bad, do good." Educational objectives are present in both quotes, but only in the background. Pupils are described as getting a larger lesson than the content of the teaching. In both quotes the speaker also seems to approach pupils at eye level, rather than from a dominant position. The Nurturer teacher is not there in order to create a good learning environment for achieving the curriculum goals, but to work together with pupils towards positive experiences and a humanistically-oriented lesson. The same ideas arise in the quote below:

> Let's start from the idea that it's about showing feelings. When I have a bad day, you can see and hear it. When I have a good day, you can see and hear it too. But that's also a sign to pupils that you have the right to act this way. When *you* have a bad day you can show it. And when you have a good day, you can show it too. (12, m)

Again a moral lesson is included in the teacher's deliberate approach, as he talks about having a good or bad day. This quote especially highlights the pupils' equality in relation to their teacher: because the teacher behaves in a certain way, the pupils have the right to do the same. Again, the focus of the action is somewhere other than achieving the curriculum objectives. They are not even mentioned.

The second construction by which I identified the Nurturer repertoire is what I call ethical-pedagogical insight for teachers. One way they articulate this kind of insight is by using psychological terminology. In the quotes below, the first speaker describes her teaching subject, Finnish and literature, as an important element in

pupils' identity development. The second speaker talks about pupils finding self acceptance through positive group dynamics:

> To a pupil, whatever their age, the most important thing is tranquillity. And Finnish [in the curriculum] is a *skills and art* subject, not an information packaging system. It is a subject where one should get to be at peace and restful. (...) This I have recently figured out for myself, that this is probably the idea, that in the Finnish course you should get to read in peace. And discuss in peace. And above all write your own thoughts in peace. These are the most important building blocks of one's humanity and self-knowledge. In schools the skills and art subjects are the only ones that help to build one's own identity. (...) There is no need to accomplish, no need to look at the curriculum all the time, but we see a bit how the children feel. And then we do that. That's probably important. (4, f)

> My *especially* successful experiences are of certain moments when the group really functions together. And I tell, using a narrative method, about something, no matter what. It is like, almost like *a spell* falls over the class. These are the sort of moments that give me goose bumps when I think about them. It's quite a lot about the children feeling successful and good about themselves, because their self image is so *very* fragile. It would be *lovely* if I could, you know, nicely shore it up. And share acceptance. So that the children feel that this person accepts me, the entire *group* accepts me. Because there then starts to grow this feeling of 'I accept myself'. (14, f)

These quotes contain many expressions familiar from common talk in psychology: "building blocks of self-knowledge", "identity building", "fragile self-image", "self-acceptance". This imagery appears to be much less connected to the educational curriculum than to pupils' development as human beings. This orientation is underlined by the speakers talking mostly about 'children' rather than 'pupils'. The psychological language and relating to pupils as children in need of caring (rather than in need of education), are the elements by which the Nurturer repertoire's ethical-pedagogical lesson becomes apparent. In the first quote, the lesson is articulated in the final sentence: "There is no need to accomplish, no need to look at the curriculum all the time, but we see a bit how the children feel. And then we do that. That's probably important." That is, teachers do not need to follow the curriculum like sheep. A better way to support pupils is to slow down, adjust to pupils' needs and rhythms. In the second quote, the speaker articulates the ethical-pedagogical insight of sharing acceptance. No curriculum goals are visible.

The Nurturer repertoire speaks of communality and human development. While drawing on these ideas, the Nurturer repertoire also works to construct the activity of teaching as an embodied one. However, the actors, although physically present in the repertoire's descriptions, do not take similar physical actions as in the Guide repertoire. The Guide teacher's actions are the core of the descriptions; the physical presence of the Nurturer teacher and the pupils creates the setting and the background for the action, not the action itself. This setting is vividly described in the quote above:

a "spell" falls over the silent, fascinated class. A sort of 'self-evident' corporeality is present in the Nurturer repertoire's action and in its subject–object relations. Everything — the emotions and the physical presence — belong there. The people acting in the classroom are the teacher adult and the pupil children relating to one another.

Below are further articulations of the Nurturer repertoire's ethical-pedagogical insights for teachers. They also talk about identity development and the teacher's influence in it. But unlike the above two quotes, here the identity development is not just about a supportive teaching approach. Rather, the Nurturer teachers appear to take on responsibility for their pupils' overall future:

> There should be some kind of an orientation, so that you don't ruin the little lovely darlings by your own cynicism or something. You really have to be careful, because the first school year shapes children most; during the first year they get the biggest understanding of 'how am I as a learner?' And if the teacher makes fundamental mistakes there and ruins the child, this can fundamentally affect the rest of their life. (...) You must be really careful and in a way strengthen a positive self-image, realistic self-image and self-confidence. From this come the skills too. (11, f)

> I feel you can never measure my work to the end, because I cannot see my pupils twenty years from now. Even though they are little kids when they are within the range of my influence, which is not a *small* range, I do hope that I could influence how they are as people when they are thirty, forty years old, what becomes of them. (12, m)

The first quote speaks about "ruining" a child, the second about pupils being decades older and still being influenced by their elementary school teacher's actions. These are strong expressions which assume teachers have an extensive responsibility. Both quotes thus contain the same ethical-pedagogical idea: that a teacher's actions with pupils can leave life-long marks, and that a teacher is responsible for their pupils' future. This way of articulating the professional duty takes it far from knowledge transfer, and closer to parenting.

Indeed, the term nurturing is often used in connection with parenting, and above the Nurturer teacher is articulated as taking on parenting types of responsibilities. The actions that are described as part of the professionalism could also take place in pupils' homes. In this sense, the teacher is no longer described as a holder and user of disciplinary knowledge, but as working in a more intuitive, less academic, manner. This point is exemplified well in the quotes below. The first speaker talks about "clashes" with girls in puberty, the second about setting limits for youth, and the third about being there when a child needs an adult:

> I have gotten positive feedback from parents about the classroom atmosphere. This is mentally important to me. We can learn and take cooperation positively. Every now and then, since these

kids are at the beginning of puberty, there are clashes. But tomorrow they are over it and we are on good terms again, the pupils with each other and I with the pupils. (3, m)

It's awful to give too much responsibility to too-young people. Or *shove* too much responsibility on a too-young person. Responsibility for their own actions. That's something you can see at schools; pupils seem to like me precisely because I don't tolerate, they have clear limits. I have small children at home, have been three years at home, so I've learned to say that this is what we do and this is what we don't do and we don't discuss it. That's just the way it is. These things are quite easy to rationalise, especially to teenagers. It's really easy to rationalise that we have rules, just take a look. And then there is the unwritten rule, good manners. That also is a rule which we don't need to discuss, everyone knows it. (4, f)

Knowing when it really is a situation that you have to stop to listen what a pupil has to say. Or when it is they just want a bit of additional attention from the teacher or they just fool around, they are tired or they are hungry. These are everyday situations. And it's not the purpose that you stretch into all of them, but that you find when a pupil really is on a bit of thin ice and relies on you and wants to tell you something or ask you something. (12, m)

All the quotes speak of an adult way of relating to pupils, based on emotional impulses and insights rather than on knowledge that can be studied in a book. Also, they all contain an ethical-pedagogical insight into teaching: "we can learn to cooperate positively", "teenagers need clear limits", "you need to know when a pupil relies on you". All these ways of articulating teaching activities construct an adult-child subject–object relationship, where the Nurturer teacher is positioned as emotionally available to pupils.

The Nurturer quotes I have presented all repeat the imagery of a teacher supporting pupils on a more personal level, not only in knowledge transfer. In fact, any academic objectives seem to be brushed to the background; they are the implicit frames for the action rather than the core of it. This shift in perspective distinguishes the Nurturer repertoire from the Guide repertoire. Both contain descriptions of feelings and psychological insights, but in the Nurturer repertoire these are not used in an instrumental sense to achieve the rational learning objectives. Instead, they are taken as meaningful in themselves, for their face value. Furthermore, while the Guide repertoire's subject–object relationship is that of a teacher-pupil, the Nurturer repertoire's is an adult-child pair.

Another distinguishing element is the Nurturer repertoire's orientation towards humanistic goals, rather than educational ones. Sometimes the repertoire's descriptions even clash with knowledge-centred ways of conceptualising teaching. All the quotes above present somewhat rebellious ideas about following the curriculum, such as "no need to accomplish, no need to look at the curriculum all the time, but we see a bit how the children feel". The two excerpts below contain an even more assertive message:

> I have never felt that teaching *any* fact is more important and urgent than if there is some kind of a developmental situation. Now of course all teacher educators get touchy and say 'remember your task is to *teach* and nurturing comes second'. But personally I *totally* disagree with this. (12, m)

> It is not necessarily about the stuff that we teach or what is emphasised in schools' and communities' curriculums or their framing. They rant all kinds of babble there and heck of sublime things. But then really it is like, or that's the way I feel, it's about simple grassroots actions and caring. This is the most important work. And Math and Finnish come along nicely. (12, m)

Here the speaker openly counter-identifies with the administrative educational goals. His slightly hostile vocabulary suggests that the educational institution is not always in line with what really happens at the grassroots level in schools. The underlying ethical-pedagogical lesson is that teaching is more about children and their needs than adults and their needs. This again works to extend teachers' responsibility outside the formal curriculum and into nurturing. Good teaching is about a desire for human development and about sensitivity to pupils' needs. The Nurturer teacher prioritises humanistic goals over curriculum goals and fosters pupils to grow up to become considerate and self-confident members of society. This implies being available to pupils not only physically and mentally as a teaching professional, but also emotionally and physically as an adult to children.

Instructor: Methodological teacher

I identified and named three major interpretative repertoires in the interview material that the teachers use to describe the meaning of good teaching professionalism. In the two previous sections, I have shown how the teachers use the Guide and the Nurturer repertoires. The Guide repertoire presents teaching as an activity in which the use of empathy and steering power help to achieve the teaching objectives. The Nurturer repertoire reproduces teaching as an activity where raising pupils as human beings is crucial, even more meaningful than educational goals. The teachers frequently drew on a third interpretative repertoire to talk about their professionalism. This one makes sense of teaching via the most abstract — as opposed to emotional or corporeal — meanings. When the teachers use what I have named the Instructor repertoire, they present teaching as an activity that centres on the methodological transfer of knowledge. This differs from the representations of teaching professionalism in both the Guide and the Nurturer repertoires.

In the Guide repertoire, even though transferring the curriculum knowledge is the ultimate goal of teaching, it is not the core action in the repertoire's depiction of

professionalism. In the Nurturer repertoire, the educational context mostly functions as an established setting for actions that centre on fostering pupils as children.

When the interviewees use the Instructor repertoire to talk about teaching professionalism, they talk about the theory, content, methods and measured learning outcome of teaching. I identified two central rhetorical constructions by which the repertoire works: *objectifying knowledge* and *identification by closure* (see Hall 2000). Both constructions centre on theoretically and methodologically defined professionalism, but in the former the focus is on the transfer of formal knowledge, and in the latter, on the formal transfer of knowledge. Of the three interpretative repertoires that give meaning to teaching professionalism, the Instructor repertoire presents teaching as the least embodied activity.

When the teachers use the Guide and the Nurturer repertoire, their talk is largely about teacher-pupil interaction taking place in the corporeal reality of classrooms. These produce a representation of teaching as a whole-body activity. Teaching professionalism is about utilising theoretical teaching knowledge as well as psychological insight, and it is about being present as an emotional and physical being. In the Instructor repertoire's representations of teaching, no perceptible material reality is present. The talk is about professional actions on the intellectual level. For instance, the two excerpts below focus on pedagogical knowledge and students' academic learning outcomes:

> Sometimes I have weaker groups and when they take an exam and all get close to excellent, that feels good. Just a while ago I had a group that is normally weak, around seven minus, seven and a half. Now they got like nine minus to ten.[67] This makes me feel really successful. (2, f)

> One has to have good subject knowledge. *Must* know authors, literary history, different methods of text analysis, discourse analysis, all this. (10, f)

> I try to be open and for special education pupils it is really important to be clear. I try to cut out all additional frills. Linguistic jokes for example are not going to work. Jokes must be visual, maybe a bit easy for the age level. A person with linguistic difficulties cannot do linguistic jokes. (11, f)

In the first two quotes, the teachers do not describe any physical interaction between themselves and their pupils. In the third quote, the interaction takes place in the joking, but here the speaker also analyses the activity on an intellectual level. Moreover, the use of professional-theoretical language draws attention. The citing of grading scales and the use of terms "literary history", "text analysis", "age level" and "linguistic difficulties" indicate the teacher's identification with formal knowledges about teaching. This identification leads to teaching professionalism, which in the first quote

---

[67] The grading scale in the upper elementary school is from 4 to 10. 10 signifies excellent, 4 is failing.

is about producing good learning outcomes, in the second quote about theoretical knowledge, and in the third quote about pedagogical knowledge. All three descriptions place the teacher outside or above the classroom, so to speak. The talk moves on a general level, across different classroom groups of pupils, on which the teacher acts. They provide an overall, conceptual-level description of teaching professionalism. This differs from the Nurturer and the Guide repertoires, in which teachers are placed as physical persons among pupils, often in specific situations. To clarify this point, I return to a Nurturer passage, to compare it with one of the Instructor passages presented above:

> My *especially* successful experiences are of certain moments when the group really functions together. And I tell, using a narrative method, about something, no matter what. It is like, almost like *a spell* falls over the class.

Here the expression "spell falls over the class" describes a situation where a group of people are physically together. In the quote below, this kind of imagery is not present. The teacher's actions appear to happen in their individual sphere: the teacher says 'I' instead of 'us'. The actions are also described as intellectually driven instead of being felt physically or emotionally; the analysis of pupils' capabilities moves on an abstract level:

> I try to be open and for special education pupils it is really important to be clear. I try to cut out all additional frills. Linguistic jokes for example are not going to work. Jokes must be visual, maybe a bit easy for the age level. A person with linguistic difficulties cannot do linguistic jokes. (11, f)

Comparing the Nurturer quote and the Instructor quote, we see a shift in perspective. In the Nurturer quote, the particular situation would not exist in the first place without the situational responses of both pupils and teacher. The talk describes a specific classroom interaction. The analysis in the Instructor quote does not describe any particular interaction situation. It is theoretically oriented and in fact no classroom situation is necessary for the teacher to produce its content. The information could be read in a book.

In this way, the Instructor repertoire reproduces teaching as a one-way activity: the Instructor teacher uses and gives knowledge separately, rather than producing it within a teacher-pupil interaction. Increasing pupils' knowledge is the object of the work, but pupils are not present as participants in this work. In all the quotes I shared at the beginning of this section, the teacher stands alone: the teacher gives exams and enjoys the results, the teacher knows authors and theories, the teacher decides what kind of humour to use. These are constructions of a subject–object relationship where

the Instructor teacher is the subject and knowledge the object. In the repertoire's imagery, the activity of teaching acquires meaning when a teacher subject acts on a knowledge object:

> The teacher must aim at completing the curriculum. Try and finish a book within a certain time frame, so that nothing is left out. If you are short of time, you should just hurry up and have pupils work more. You cannot be flexible and teach less; you must teach the whole thing. And if at the end of the year time is running out, pupils just have to work more. In my understanding you must aim at pupils learning what they need to here, if they want to continue to a gymnasium or to a vocational school. (13, f)

In the Instructor quotes presented earlier, the knowledge objects of the teaching were evaluation results or theoretical/methodological ideas about teaching. In this quote, the knowledge object of the work is teaching the full curriculum. The Instructor teacher's task is to ensure that pupils get all the knowledge required for future studies. In the Guide repertoire's representations the work also aspires towards knowledge transfer, but it is presented as happening via a different subject–object setting. The Guide teacher's actions are towards their pupils. In the Instructor repertoire, the speaker talks from a position that is distant to pupils; the action is on the knowledge.

These ideas highlight a further point about the Instructor repertoire. That is, when the repertoire places formal knowledge and formal teaching objectives at the centre of its teaching activity, these compete with other ways to make sense of teaching professionalism, other types of teaching activities or behaviour. This competition becomes evident when we contrast the above quote with one I used earlier to illustrate the Nurturer repertoire:

> It is not necessarily about the stuff that we teach or what is emphasised in schools' and communities' curriculums or their framing. They rant all kinds of babble there and heck of sublime things. But then really it is like, or that's the way I feel, it's about simple grassroots actions and caring. This is the most important work. And Math and Finnish come along nicely. (12, m)

The content of this utterance is in direct conflict with the content of the Instructor repertoire quote. The Nurturer quote suggests that teaching is everything but transferring the curriculum knowledge. The Instructor quote suggests the opposite: that a teacher must complete the curriculum whatever else happens. The Instructor quote's expressions "you cannot be flexible" and "pupils must learn what they need to here" talk about the academic content taking priority. The Nurturer quote's "heck of sublime things" and "Math and Finnish come along nicely" conflict and compete with these ideas; they represent imagery in which the teacher prioritises everyday classroom life, caring and sharing. This competition between the representations of the two repertoires

corresponds to a conflict between the formal content of learning and 'non-formal' teaching activities taking place in classrooms. This conflict and prioritisation is clearly evident in the second rhetorical construction that helped me to spot the Instructor repertoire in the interview material. Here the Instructor repertoire elevates formal knowledge through *identification by closure* (Hall 2000):

> I've said to parents that they can come anytime and follow the teaching and ask, and I can pedagogically ground everything. I always keep *so* strongly in mind why we are doing things, I can explain it. I think this is the idea in being a teacher. Of course anyone can take a teacher's guide book and teach, but you cannot utilise it if you don't know the pedagogy, in the right way. Last spring, for example, my assistant taught the entire class next door while their teacher was on sick leave. Sure you can take and say read this and this and this assignment, but they don't have the pedagogical view on it. And that is what I think comes from teacher education. (11, f)

> The physiological state and the mind have to be open in a certain way. There has to be a specific physiological state. One cannot pour knowledge in over the edges. And if a pupil does not want to learn, they will not learn. Not until the *motivation* is awakened. (...) Many an unqualified teacher unfortunately thinks that when you teach they learn. And that is *not* so. If the interest does not arise, you can teach as much as you like. (11, f)

In the above quotes, the object of the work is again knowledge. But in this case, the speaker describes actions on the knowledge by contrasting them to non-formal ways to be a teacher and to teach. This presentation of oneself as a qualified teacher utilises a construction that excludes non-qualified teachers.[68] In both extracts the speaker's professionalism is articulated by a comparison to unqualified teachers' lack of professionalism. They underline this lack and then articulate the exclusion by using theoretical terminology and by epitomising non-professional behaviour: "everyone can take a teacher's guide book", "one cannot pour knowledge in over the edges". In this way, the Instructor repertoire is used to identify with the 'correct' knowledge and the 'correct' teacher identity, and to dis-identify with those teaching knowledges and identities that are 'the other'.

The Instructor repertoire helps these speakers to make sense of teaching professionalism by presenting it as an activity of transferring formalised knowledges. The speakers do this by describing their actions on theories and methods of teaching, or by constructing a qualified teacher identity that they compare to a non-qualified one. Whereas the Nurturer and the Guide repertoire are placed within the physical reality of the classroom, the Instructor repertoire's meaning-making moves at an abstract level. In this repertoire, formal knowledges and formal methods of teaching are prioritised over non-formal ones and any other possible classroom activities are irrelevant and invisible. This further contradicts the Guide and the Nurturer repertoires, whose meaning-makings involve professional processes outside the

---

[68] In Finnish basic education, about 85% of teachers are officially qualified (Statistics Finland 2005).

methodological knowledge transfer. These are the instrumental management of emotions described by the Guide repertoire and the experienced emotions described by the Nurturer repertoire. In these repertoires' descriptions, corporeal reality is visible: "I get goose bumps when I think about it" (the Nurturer repertoire), "if nothing else helps, you carry the pupil out" (the Guide repertoire).

This physical dimension does not exist in the intellectually oriented representations of teaching by the Instructor repertoire. The teacher who is speaking in the Instructor repertoire uses their theoretical-methodological knowledge as a tool to achieve objectively measurable educational goals. The goals are intellectual, rather than social or ethical. The repertoire hides any action that takes place outside these frames. It describes teaching as an activity isolated from pupils and a physical classroom context, as an activity taking place between the Instructor teacher and the knowledge they possess and teach.

Sustaining and challenging gendered practices in teaching

In the sections above, I identified and named three interpretative repertoires, which the interviewed teachers primarily use to give meanings to good professionalism in their work context. The Guide, the Nurturer and the Instructor repertoires all present practices of teaching that encompass different central ideas and subject–object relationships. In the earlier part of this chapter, I applied my theoretical framework to understand more about the ways the Mars/Venus, Body/work and Chaos/order repertoires reproduce gendered practices in the professions. In this discussion, I again use my conceptual framework, along with the insights I gained in the previous discussion, to understand how the professional practices and discourses of gender may be connected: what kinds of gender normativities the Guide, the Nurturer and the Instructor repertoires "sustain, reproduce and render legitimate" (West and Zimmerman 1987:146).

This analysis is again guided by my research question: *What kinds of gendered practices are articulated in Finnish primary school teachers' and ICT engineers' discursive representations of gender and professionalism, and what implications does this have for the professions' gender biases?* In this section, I aim to understand the gendered implications held in the practices the teachers present as good professionalism. Different discourses inform the boundaries of action within any context. Identification with different discourses presents different possibilities and constraints for action within the context.

I have organised the discussion on the professionalism repertoires similarly to those in the previous discussion. I contemplate the problematic by examining the gendered meanings of each individual interpretative repertoire, and at the same time contrast and compare the different repertoires with one another. Since I include all three teaching repertoires in the same discussion, it is useful to first summarise their key features.

Table 5.1   Summary of interpretative repertoires giving meanings to teaching professionalism

	Guide	Nurturer	Instructor
Central ideas	Creating good learning atmosphere by management of emotions	Raising pupils as human beings	Methodological and theoretical approach to teaching
Rhetorical constructions to achieve the effect	Management of emotions by use of empathy Management of emotions by reflective use of authority	Moral lesson to pupils Ethical-pedagogical insight to teachers	Objectifying knowledge Identification by closure
Subject–object	Teacher–pupil	Adult–child	Professional–theories/methods of teaching

In Table 5.1, I summarise the repertoires' central ideas, rhetorical constructions and subject–object relationships. The Guide teacher focuses on managing emotions, the Nurturer teacher on fostering pupils on their way to adulthood, and the Instructor teacher on theories and methods of teaching.

A useful concept to start examining how the professionalism repertoires are connected to discourses of the gender system is Gherardi's (1995) symbolic universes of the masculine and the feminine. As we remember, Gherardi conceptualises patriarchal societies as resting on this gender order, where the symbolic universes of the male and the female are separated, and where whatever is affirmed by the one is denied by the other. The distribution of work in society reflects these dynamics of the two symbolic universes. The symbolic universe of the feminine would for example reflect certain types of practices and characteristics that our society associates closely with the subject position woman — so closely in fact, that they are taken as part of

being a woman. At the same time, these ways of being and doing are considered not to be natural to men. This femininity of meaning then carries over to activities that women traditionally engage in and to professions where women act traditionally, even when the actors are not physically women.

Considering the central ideas of the repertoires and their subject–object relations, the Nurturer repertoire mostly seems to work via ideas about professionalism that become conflated with the symbolic universe of the female. The Instructor repertoire works via ideas about professionalism that would fit the symbolic universe of the masculine. The Guide repertoires' ideas do not clearly settle on either the feminine or the masculine universe, as they represent meanings that cannot necessarily be made binary.

The symbolic universes of gender represent gender stereotyping: certain characteristics and practices are associated with men and others with women. This is a narrow and tapered way of describing people. It restricts complex human behaviour into simplified dimensions defined by their sexed bodies. Women are not caring and nurturing just because they happen to be women, and men are not rational and aggressive just because they happen to be men. At the same time, the historic and cultural associations of these behaviours with womanhood and manhood are so strong that they survive in our discursive realities and continue to guide the ways we view things and make choices (see Veijola and Jokinen 2001). I chose to examine these repertoires by means of the symbolic universes in order to see how notions of femininity and masculinity carry over to the professions themselves. How do the professional practices reflect the notions of women's work and men's work? How does this continue to sustain the division into women's fields and men's fields?

The Nurturer repertoire describes practices of good teaching that are closely associated with the gender system's subject position woman, the symbolic universe of the feminine. The Nurturer repertoire's subject–object relationship corresponds to that of adult-and-child, which is typical of what Veijola and Jokinen (2001) call female habitual behaviour. These are the kinds of actions and preferences the gender system stereotypes as connected with female bodies, such as being focused on emotions and co-operation (note that the Mars/Venus repertoire did not describe female teachers via this kind of imagery). Women are assumed to think, feel and act in the interests of others, both at home and in their work lives (see Wager 2000).

The same discourse is sustained by the teachers' Body/work repertoire, which talks about female teachers as relating to their work emotionally (rather than professionally). The discourse is also sustained by the engineers' Mars/Venus repertoire, which describes female engineers as being good at relationship building and communications. Below, the first quote exemplifies how the ideas in the teacher's

Body/work repertoire become conflated with those of the Nurturer repertoire. The second quote shows how the representations of female engineers in the engineer's Mars/Venus repertoire build on similar ideas:

> I think this is much more valuable than what I'd do with big money, training some bigshots there [in training business people, a job the speaker was offered]. I feel this work is much more valuable. (14, f)

> E: Why are women good as project managers? I: In my experience project management is excessive organising and networking and solving political problems and these are the sort of things— Ok, emotional intelligence is one of the things where women on the average are in a whole different league than men. And project management is exactly where that is needed, when something bothers a customer or a team member or they are dissatisfied about something, it needs to be spotted well before it escalates into a situation where even men notice it. (…) And again the people I have run into in working life, women are better organised which is extremely important in project management. (1, m)

In the representations of the Body/work repertoire, teaching is a women's profession that people engage with not for career or financial motives, but because they are interested in living out their nurturing calling, or because they want to devote more time to taking care of their own family. When the Nurturer repertoire constructs teaching professionalism as an emotionally driven activity, it builds on similar imagery. In the discourses on teaching in the Nurturer repertoire subjects and objects are human beings and work is something more than achieving measurable objectives, measurable either in terms of remuneration or learning scales:

> I feel you can never measure my work to the end, because I cannot see my pupils twenty years from now. Even though they are little kids when they are within the range of my influence, which is not a *small* range, I do hope that I could influence how they are as people when they are thirty, forty years old, what becomes of them. (12, m)

The Nurturer teacher takes on both tasks: passing curriculum knowledge to their pupils and supporting pupils in growing up as human beings. As described earlier, this is an embodied relationship, where interaction between the adult subject and the child object of action, and the emotions involved in this interaction, are central. The rationally described goals, such as curriculum knowledge, are present, but they are part of the setting rather than the central action. The split between the symbolic universes of the masculine and the feminine is described in a similar way: rational and masculine belong together, as do emotional and feminine. This construction of professional action in the Nurturer repertoire takes it away from the rational domain of work. Nurturers are not doing the abstract "job" Acker (1990) describes, because they are physically and emotionally involved in the activity. The Nurturer teacher assumes responsibilities that go beyond the teaching responsibilities defined in the curriculum.

The professional activity moves outside financial discourses: it evades any possibility to financially evaluate its value.

In this sense, even though the low value of female-dominated professions stems from their low value in the gender binary, the Nurturer repertoire does not rearticulate this low value. A similar focus can be traced in the ways the Body/work repertoire articulates the femininities in teaching. The repertoire describes women as putting up with poor salaries out of choice. This formulation is dangerous, because it can work to individualise the basis for gendered organisation of work. However, when teachers use the Nurturer repertoire to talk about the feminine-signed activities of teaching, they do not describe them as belonging to the gender binary. The articulations contain the possibility of elevating the feminine, the caring, from its own independent place, one not tied to binaries. That the representations completely bypass rational valuation demonstrates this potential for an empowered representation. The ways the Nurturer repertoire is articulated do not necessarily fix it in a hierarchically low position in the gender contract, but move it outside of patriarchal thinking. Teachers use the repertoire to express criticality and autonomy, coming from a strong professionalism which they describe not using administrative discourses, but by referring to experience with human beings:

> There is no need to accomplish, no need to look at the curriculum all the time, but we see a bit how the children feel. That's probably important. (4, f)

> It's about simple grassroots actions and caring. This is the most important work. And Math and Finnish come along nicely. (12, m)

I showed how the teachers' Mars/Venus repertoire reproduced the gender binary, which has masculinity and autonomy on one side, and femininity and dependence on the other. The above Nurturer quotes seem to draw on this masculine autonomy. They are constructed as either outside of, or against, the administrative professional discourses. The emotionally driven activities are presented as a result of autonomous decisions, regardless of the administrative teaching guidelines. Recent cultural shifts in gender positioning articulate the same kinds of autonomic positions, which lie outside the gender binary. For example parts of the HBO series *Sex and the City* present versions of femininity that are not fixed opposite the masculine, but have a voice from an independent location.[69] These articulations of womanhood are self-defining. The Nurturer repertoire contains the same autonomous articulation that defines professionalism as caring and nurturing, not caring and nurturing within the masculine-feminine binary, but outside of it.

---

[69] http://www.hbo.com/city/

The teachers frequently draw on the Nurturer repertoire when talking about good professionalism. This frequency suggests that the Nurturer repertoire mobilises one of the major discourses in teaching. The assertive vocabulary suggests that the repertoire is quite a strong marginal discourse in society, especially when outlines of the education system are being drafted. The care and love that teachers put into their work cannot be defined within the economic discourse and therefore they cannot be rewarded financially. Nor do they fit into the neoliberal agenda, which is increasingly influential in the Finnish education system (Vuorikoski 2003). But I suggest that the Nurturer repertoire, precisely because it draws so strongly on the discourses of care and nurturing, includes an opportunity to keep those discourses alive in schools and in society. The care discourse is reinforced in two ways: in articulations *of* the Nurturer repertoire and *in* the articulations of the Nurturer repertoire. Framing nurturing as a valuable and prioritised activity outside the masculine-feminine binary can help to revalue the discourses of care outside the gender hierarchy; it can challenge the value of the market discourse against the discourses of caring for and sustaining life.

The Instructor repertoire is articulated as directly opposite to the Nurturer repertoire. The former presents teaching as an activity where the key is emotional good: bringing children up to be wholesome people. This is prioritised over rational good: achieving the professional objective of completing the curriculum. The Instructor teacher emphasises the rational objectives of the work, the theories and methodologies of teaching, and achievement of professional objectives measurable in numbers. The repertoire talks about curriculum goals and formal qualifications as a source of professionalism. The subject is the professional person, knowledge the object. In the Nurturer repertoire, teachers and pupils interact in a physical and emotional domain; in the Instructor repertoire, pupils are visible only as recipients of their teacher's knowledge. Both the activity of teaching and the actors within this activity exist only in an abstract domain. Also the rewards from the work are of an intellectual, not emotional nature:

> Sometimes I have weaker groups and when they take an exam and all get close to excellent, that feels good. Just a while ago I had a group that is normally weak, around seven minus, seven and a half. Now they got like nine minus to ten. This makes me feel really successful. (2, f)

The teachers use articulations from the Instructor repertoire only marginally as they represent professionalism, even though the repertoire subscribes to the official objectives of teaching: achieving the curriculum goals. The teachers use both the Nurturer and the Guide repertoires much more frequently to talk about their professionalism; this indicates that purely rational discourses are difficult to fit into the profession of teaching.

The Guide repertoire for teachers does not clearly delineate behaviour or characteristics that in our culture are associated either with the feminine or the masculine side of the gender binary. Instead, teachers draw on its central ideas and subject–object relations directly from their professional context. The Guide repertoire's subject is the teacher, and its object the pupils. The goal is to deliver knowledge, but in an emotional and physical domain of pupil-teacher interaction. The Guide teacher aims towards rationally definable teaching objectives, but in an embodied domain of the classroom:

> A good Finnish teacher must have acting skills and must be able to empathise. And one needs to be able to *narrate;* narrating skills are *really* important. Because pupils like to stop and listen when a teacher *narrates* a story or a plot. So your oral presentation skills should be reasonable. Then you must be able to transmit the information in a way that a child, a teenager, can understand. (10, f)

In this sense, the Guide repertoire combines the ideas of the Nurturer and the Instructor repertoires. If the symbolic universes of the masculine and the feminine complement one another, if the masculine is represented by logic and rationality and the feminine by emotions and body, the Guide repertoire reproduces neither the discourses of masculinity nor those of femininity. Since the Guide teacher's activities take place within the physical domain, while the goals of the work are intellectual, it seems to avoid reproducing the gender binary, but is still a professional discourse within which both the masculine and the feminine fit. This way of conceptualising teaching could represent a discursive space where teaching moves away from a position of the feminine to a position of profession; it is not defined within the gender binary, but in terms of the multiple content of professionalism.

Table 5.2 summarises the three repertoires' possibilities of challenging gendered discourses in the profession:

Table 5.2   Teachers' professionalism repertoires and discourses of gender

Interpretative repertoire	Relation to the normative gender	Possibilities to challenge gendered discourses of teaching
Nurturer	Feminine-signed characteristics can be considered to reproduce the normative gender. However, the repertoire is articulated as moving outside the gender contract.	By nudging in the margins, it may work to strengthen the discourses of care in society and weaken the discourses of the market economy, which currently define the profession's gendered positioning.
Instructor	Draws on the masculine-signed discourses of the gender binary.	Even though it reproduces rationalistic discourses in teaching, these can hardly penetrate the profession, because the nature of the work does not allow purely rational thinking.
Guide	The repertoire's descriptions of teaching do not settle on either side of the gender binary.	Discourses of teaching reproduced by the Guide repertoire have the potential to elevate teaching out of the gender binary and to gender-neutral representations of professionalism.

While the Nurturer repertoire presents some possibilities for redefining society's important discourses, the discourses it sustains and reproduces are unlikely to be able to challenge the discourses of the market economy. The use of the Nurturer repertoire is more likely to keep the profession of teaching on its side of the gender universes of professions, which would continue to be demonstrated via the "choice" discourses and thus by poor salaries. Nor can the discourses the Instructor repertoire reproduces, which belong to the domain of rationality, challenge the profession's position in the gender binary. The purely rational discourses are not in line with the corporeal reality of the profession and therefore are unlikely to gain dominance in the setting. The Guide repertoire presents the most potential to fracture the binary in which the profession of teaching is locked. The Guide teacher does not deny the 'feminine-signed' reality of teaching, the physical and emotional interaction among pupils and teachers. Nor does the Guide teacher deny the 'masculine-signed' objectives of achieving teaching results. Therefore the representations of the repertoire do not build on the gender binary, but on discourses of professionalism. By articulating these

discourses, the work can be talked about in the same rhetorical domain as other, 'normally' paid professions.

Engineers' representations of professionalism

In the previous section I introduced three interpretative repertoires that the teachers use to talk about good and successful professionalism. The repertoires represent different ways the teachers reproduce discourses of teaching, that is, do teaching. I now apply the same analytic ideas to my second group of interviewees, and review the kinds of interpretative repertoires the engineers use to talk about professionalism in their context.

As with the teachers, I identified and named three primary interpretative repertoires that the engineers use to give meanings to their professionalism. The process of narrowing down the extensive interview data to three central repertoires followed the same pattern as with the teachers. I first looked for passages where the interviewees seemed to cite their Own professional repertoire. I then searched for linguistic constructions that appeared regularly across those repertoires, and across any other parts of the interview data. I compared and contrasted these patterns from one interview transcript to another, grouping sections of talk under headings and subheadings to reflect their content: "interactional", "humanistic", "technological". The categories of interpretative repertoires I now present crystallised during this process via the question: *how do the engineers construct good professionalism in their talk?*[70] The question helped me to identify three primary interpretative repertoires the engineers use to talk about good ICT professionalism:

1) *Achiever:* engineer accomplishes organisationally defined professional objectives.
2) *Navigator:* engineer can respond to the demands of today's work environment via a mix of skills that are not self-evident in the context.
3) *Team player:* engineer focuses professional action on fair, fulfilling and successful cooperation with colleagues and customers.

These three repertoires operate on their own or in combination within one person's talk, and across the talk of different interviewees. As described earlier, in the course of the interviews, the repertoires appear in connection with many different discussion

---

[70] My question setting relies on the general term 'professionalism'. The engineers I interviewed all identified themselves as ICT engineers, even though they did not all *develop* technologies in their work, which is the often understood definition for engineering (see e.g. www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Engineering). My broader formulation takes into account the full scale of functions ICT engineers actually engage with in their work.

topics. They are especially identifiable in those sections of the interviews where I asked the professionals specific questions about their work: why are they good at what they do; how would they describe a top engineering talent[71] and a typical engineer; how do they approach their everyday tasks; and what are some experiences of professional accomplishment? In the following section, I introduce each of the three repertoires consecutively, using examples from the interview data to discuss how the repertoires operate in the talk. I conclude the discussion by examining how the ways of doing engineering that the repertoires represent connect to the discourses of normative gender.

Achiever: Wins in the job role

The Achiever repertoire seems most readily available to the engineers as they talk about professionalism. All but one of them cited that repertoire to give meaning to their professionalism. The repertoire constructs professionalism as closely tied to the speaker's organisational context; its representations of good engineering practices are about successful completion of the work, as determined by the engineer's particular job role. The professional's goals are aligned with the goals of their organisation, so that professional success acquires its meaning via its potential to generate organisational success. When professionalism and success are conceptualised this way, their measure is set by the organisational context and is likely to be financial. This obviously differs from the teachers' representations of professional goals, in which financial measures are not present even by implication.

Another difference from the teachers' professionalism repertoires is that in the engineers' representations of professionalism the employer company and job role are very important. As described earlier, these engineers work in many different functions in the ICT field. The teachers have a more limited span of functions; even though my sample included teachers in many different specialties, they all primarily teach in a classroom. Meanwhile, a characteristic that is particularly evident in the engineers' Achiever repertoire is references to many different professional functions, as well as to the contents of these functions. A point I made earlier about Own professional repertoires is relevant here: it was precisely the function-specific descriptions in the

---

[71] For the teachers I used the term 'good professional'. For the engineers, I mostly used the term 'top talent'. In the Finnish language, the latter word has stabilised during the recent years to signify desirable professional skills and capacities, often with reference to the ICT field. When asked about top talents, the engineers mostly described skills and capacities related to their own professional setting and eventually to their conceptions about themselves. Hence, I take these descriptions to signify good professionalism in the engineers' work contexts.

Achiever repertoire that first helped me to spot the Own professional repertoires in the interview data.

When using the Achiever repertoire, the interviewees describe work processes and job role objectives, and in doing so they use richly professional terminologies. This resembles the teachers' Instructor repertoire, which also draws on specific terminologies to articulate professionalism, connected to theoretical and methodological knowledges about teaching. Another similarity to the teachers' Instructor repertoire is that the Achiever repertoire's professionalism does not come about through physical interaction. The professionalism is an individual's 'private' act, even when the descriptions include other people. A difference, however, is that in the Instructor repertoire the talk moves on a general level, not within any particular situation or context, while the Achiever repertoire describes specific work situations.

Whatever the particular context within which the talk is placed, the Achiever repertoire talks about good engineering via completing the given work well: fulfilling the requirements of the job role. Two rhetorical constructions help to identify the Achiever repertoire: *accomplishment storyline* and *causal relations between personal capabilities/actions and professional success*. In the first construction, the speaker organises the described professional task and its successful completion in a logically advancing sequence. In the second, the speaker pairs specific skills and actions of the protagonist professional with successful accomplishment of the work. The two extracts below exemplify an interviewee using the storyline construction in a sequential description of a successful accomplishment of a professional task:

This autumn I designed a systems interface for a large customer. There was this customer who for a couple of years had not cooperated with our firm, had somehow got his skis crossed with us.[72] This was supposed to be like a new start and I did the design and based on that we managed to sell the delivery, which was remarkable, strategically really important to the corporation. So of course when you, with your own work, can especially bring in the user perspective, which is new to the customer and in which the previous system failed the customer. The customer had put millions into a system that no one was able to use or wanted to use. In other words, everything washed out. Now I brought in this new perspective, which clearly worked for the customer and the customer saw, the customer was very progressive in a sense that they saw that this is really an important thing. And because of this they wanted us also to deliver it and now I am involved in the delivery project. (1, m)

Our entire process is being developed and I instantly knew to dig out the user-based product development process, ISO standard, which we now use as the basis. They had like fiddled and fiddled with the process before I came around, and I think what they had done was miserable. I was like, how about we try this and then they were instantly with me. But earlier it had not even occurred to them that something like that exists. (4, f)

---

[72] A Finnish idiom meaning a relationship grew sour.

Both quotes describe, in a sequential story line, how the speaker's professional skills and actions solved a pressing organisational problem. Both quotes also include expressions that contextualise the talk within the speaker's specific organisation and function: "systems interface for a large customer", "our entire process is being developed". In the first quote the starting situation is the possible return of a valuable customer the firm had previously lost. In the description, the speaker emphasises the objectives of the work/organisation by repeatedly using the word "customer". The quote's storyline is about the organisation winning back the customer via the engineer's professional actions. In the second extract, the starting problem is the co-workers' inability to define a necessary process. Here the repeating mention of "they" suggests that the objective is to add value within the company. The storyline describes how the professional managed to bring in skills and knowledge that were lacking in the starting situation, which then solved the difficulties "they" faced, and led to a new standard of process development.

In both cases the engineers' specific professional skills and approaches are central in resolving the issues that caused trouble. This shows how the Achiever repertoire works in a similar way in quite different contexts, reproducing the kind of engineering professionalism where it is crucial to achieve specific job-role tasks.

In the following quotes the Achiever repertoire is also built around a storyline, with problem solving as the thread that weaves it together. But here the action is more routine, compared to the above quotes where the action takes place in specific situations as value is added to customer and co-worker relationships. The talk is about management of one's own work, rather than an organisational success story:

> There are certain moments when you finally get to do some evaluation. You send the report beforehand to all, like in the EU project, you send like, hey, here is my report. Then nothing happens, for a while they are like, 'Well, I don't know', they do not start applying the findings. Then you go to a meeting, show some video clip on user tests, how users really cannot do it and how they search for some specific thing there. And then they are like 'Aha!', the problem is not my own invention, but it really came from the users. They are like aha and they fix the thing. So this is always a breakthrough, I feel I've made it. (4, f)

> You have been thinking about some small detail for two days and suddenly it just comes together. (...) You started out of nothing, gathered all sorts of information and tried to read and comprehend and get the entity together. And then all of a sudden, as a result of some kind of internalisation or something, suddenly it's there. (12, f)

These two extracts contain a structure of articulation similar to that in the earlier two. In all of them, professionalism is constructed via or within descriptions of job-specific tasks and professional processes. Expressions such as "doing evaluation", "video clip on user tests" and "read and comprehend and get the entity together" reflect the speaker's function and context. The first quote describes a process of presenting and

convincing designers to attend to a usability issue. The storyline is about the designers' scepticism and the usability expert's capacity to overcome this scepticism through her professional approach. The second quote describes a solitary problem-solving situation related to a job role. The storyline is a sequence of professional actions that lead to a revelation.

In all four of these quotes, the speakers describe satisfaction as coming from the problem solving and from professional revelations; it seems to be personally and intellectually relevant. But at the same time, this satisfaction is tightly aligned with organisational goals; by succeeding in their task the professionals claim their place within their job role in the organisation. In the quote below, the alignment of professional goals with those of the employer organisation is especially visible:

> When someone afterwards sends for example an email, saying 'Hey, that was really a good course'. Or even like, 'That was a really good thing, could we get some more of it?' Even if the further subscription would not come to me, that they specifically want me [to teach], but if they want the course from us anyway, I feel successful. It's like, good, we opened a door there. They got a good learning experience, they thought it was good. (5, f)

In this quote, the storyline is about customer feedback following a successful completion of the speaker's job role as educator. The expressions "us" and "we" to refer to one's company, and "they got a good learning experience" to refer to customers, are revealing. The speaker identifies with the company and its objectives. A successful course and a new subscription from a customer give her satisfaction as a professional in two ways: through feelings of personal accomplishment and through the success of "we", the company. This directly aligns the professional's goals with those of the organisation.

Thus far, I have exemplified the Achiever repertoire via quotes that are articulated in a storyline form. In this form, the Achiever engineer's professionalism is the decisive input when advancing from a (problematic) starting situation to a successful end result. The described accomplishment is tied to the specific organisational context, the job role and organisational goals defined within it. The same idea of aligning one's personal professional goals with those of the work organisation is also present in the second rhetorical construction characterising the Achiever repertoire. However, the descriptions do not appear as sequential stories of specific events or work processes, but are articulated to contain a causal relationship between the engineer's abilities and the professional accomplishment:

> I've participated in many projects especially in their first phases. That's where you define the customer needs, and the requirements: what the system must be able to do, what you can do with the system. I did lots of this requirements definition and realised that I'm good at it, I can find out stuff. It is often like being a detective. Or these days when I teach the subject, I always

say that you need many characteristics. You have to be able to see the forest from the trees, understand entities. You must be a detective, because often things are not what they first seem to be, you must dig deeper. You need to be a diplomat, because there are conflicts of interest and you need to balance in between. And you must have psychological skills, because people are different, they communicate differently. From some people you have to squeeze it out, some can express it straight away. So you really need diverse skills. (5, f)

You need a patient approach, it's patient tinkering, because it's all about trial and error. The phenomena can sometimes be *really* knotty. Sorting them out may take really a long time, because you cannot do all the changes yourself. You cannot prop them up by hand, but you must have them done someplace else, for example built into a new prototype. So this can take a long time. And then again it requires a sort of belief in your stuff. To push your own stuff into a new prototype, you have to have a firm belief in it, because it's far from cheap. (9, f)

Again, both quotes contain descriptions and terminologies that are specific to their speaker's particular organisational function. In the first excerpt, the speaker lists skills and characteristics that one needs to succeed at defining requirements. Here the Achiever engineer is a professional who can utilise a number of skills and viewpoints to find out and understand the customers' needs. In the second quote, the speaker considers why certain personal characteristics, patience and self-belief, are needed to succeed in the job role. In both excerpts, then, good professionalism is equated to job role and to organisation-specific objectives. Should the requirements specialist fail to understand the customer or should the tester fail to justify the expensive production of a new prototype, their professionalisms would be questioned and the organisational goals would suffer.

In all six quotes presented thus far, professionalism is defined as accomplishing the work organisation's goals. In the earlier four quotes this idea comes about in the form of a rather linear storyline, but in the above two quotes it is articulated into a causal relationship. Statements about the professionals' characteristics and approaches are matched with their corresponding outcomes: "you need to be a diplomat, because there are conflicts of interest", "you must have psychological skills, because people are different", "you need a patient approach, because it's all about trial and error", "you have to have a firm belief in it, because prototypes are far from cheap". These cause-consequence constructions help to describe professionalism in terms of a successful accomplishment of the job role.

The above two quotes were detailed descriptions of a relationship between personal characteristics and the accomplishment of a specific task related to a job role. The quotes below exemplify the same causal formula, but instead of being descriptions of specific tasks, they draw on an overall causal relationship between personal abilities/actions and good professionalism in the speakers' particular contexts:

I think quite rationally about the work setting. And make fast decisions, think analytically and make fast decisions. This is often critical so that projects move forward and succeed. (3, m)

> Even though I must study all the time, I also in a way share what I've done in practice. My own background is not at all in education, I have done a long practical career in ICT. And I can apply *that* to a large extent, the practical experience I have. So this is kind of helpful to me. E: Is that why you feel you are a good educator? I: Let's say it's an important part of it. Because I always get feedback about it, people say it's great to have someone [teaching] with concrete pragmatic examples. (5, f)

> You have to start from the customer need. Otherwise they are not ready to pay anything. If they don't get what they need. So you need negotiation skills. (6, f)

In the first quote, a causal relationship exists between the speaker's analytical and decision-making skills and the project's success. In the second one, the relationship is between the speaker's practical experience and being a good ICT educator. In the third quote, negotiation skills are presented as necessary for producing customer value. In this way, all three speakers present a causal relationship between the professional's capabilities and a successful achievement of organisationally defined objectives. But here the causal relationship does not pertain to a specific task or process, but describes more general 'requirements' for successfully accomplishing the work. Professionalism becomes constructed as possessing certain capabilities and taking certain actions, which lead to achieving the job role and consequently the organisational objectives.

As seen in all these examples, when the engineers use the Achiever repertoire to give meanings to good ICT professionalism, their talk is composed of language related to their specific organisational function. The talk of a usability expert is composed of descriptions of processes and focuses related to that organisational role, and the talk of a requirement specialist to those of their function. The vocabulary of the Achiever repertoire can adapt to a multiplicity of activities and of professional capabilities, which the repertoire can be used to describe. Yet they all reflect the Achiever repertoire's central idea: to align professionalism with job role and organisation-specific goals. The Achiever engineer's activities are directed towards reaching their organisation's goals. Consequently, the Achiever repertoire's subject is the professional, and the object of the action is the work to be done.

Two ideas converge in the effects of the Achiever repertoire. First, the Achiever professional works towards rationalistic, observable and measurable objectives. The accomplishments, even when expressed as personal intellectual satisfaction, ultimately lead to a positive organisational outcome. Such an outcome, for example, could be an improvement in customer satisfaction or in a prototype; either one would improve the firm's competitive positioning, and thus be financially significant. Second, the Achiever repertoire's subject–object action takes place in the domain of the abstract and the intellectual. Even when the repertoire's descriptions include other people and interaction between people, the activity is described as taking place in the professional

'privately', intellectually, not in a human, physical interaction. In this way, the professional in an abstraction *achieves* what the job role requires.

Navigator: The new ICT subject

I have chosen the term Navigator for the second repertoire that many engineers used as they talked about professionalism. Like the Achiever repertoire, the Navigator repertoire also presents engineering professionalism that is based on well-founded professional capabilities and aims to achieve objectives defined by the professional context. However, the Navigator repertoire's subject–object relationship differs from that of the Achiever repertoire. The Achiever repertoire presents a professionalism where the professional's goals are aligned with those of their organisation. The Achiever achieves professionalism by achieving these goals. When the engineers quote the Navigator repertoire, they do not talk about specific job role goals, and the capabilities, actions, tasks and processes required to achieve them. Instead, they use the repertoire to describe good engineering practice by what it is *not*. They use a structure like the *identification by closure* that was present in the teachers' Instructor repertoire. In some presentations of the teachers' Instructor repertoire, the teacher establishes a correct teacher identity by excluding unqualified teachers. In the Navigator repertoire, engineers define good professionalism in terms of skills and capabilities lacked by a professional who is not a Navigator.

The Navigator professional commands an extended set of varied professional skills and is sociable, making it possible to communicate these skills within and outside of the work organisation. The engineers construct this Navigator professionalism by describing both the idealised skills, and the people who do not possess these skills. The Achiever professional successfully completes a specific job role and in this way claims a place in the organisation. The subject–object relationship is between the professional and the work to be done. In the Navigator repertoire, the professional subject is a person who can respond to contemporary organisational demands, but the object is its opposite:

> It's really important that you can communicate with people, it's surprisingly important. Even though you work and work, if no one knows you and you never talk, that's a big setback. After all, there are quite a few people in this field who never say anything if you don't ask. (7, m)

> It can't be emphasised enough that you must be cooperative. You have to be able to talk with people. (...) When you need information, the communication has to work. Also in job interviews I think that's most important, that you can talk with people and get along with people. (…) There are people whom you really have to ask every now and then, like, how does this work, do you have problems, can I help you, will you get it done sometime? (...) There are people who just work by themselves. No one really knows what they do. (12, f)

Compared to the first-person singular used in the Achiever repertoire, here the speakers are using a passive form. The focus of the talk is no longer a specific person completing a specific job role, but engineering work more generally. Also working to this effect is the repeated use of the word "people" to refer to co-workers, management, customers etc. The expression reveals no specifics about the nature or purpose of the relationships between the (non)communicative professional and the other people who appear in the talk. These constructions highlight the positioning of the professionalism. It is not tied to any specific organisational function, but to the context of engineering work as a whole. The quotes used in the Achiever repertoire pose quite a different effect. They specify the particular professional setting, the function and context of the speaker, as well as the objectives of their work.

Both the utterances above focus on the significance of communication skills in getting oneself and one's work recognised. The speakers say it clearly: "it's really important that you can communicate with people", "you have to be able to talk with people". And this idea is presented via a negation: "if you never talk, that's a big setback", "people who never say anything", "people who just work by themselves". This assertion-negation pair is a typical construction in the Navigator repertoire. When the engineers use this repertoire to define professionalism, they simultaneously describe what it is and what it is not. What Navigator engineering is *not* seems to be a stereotypical character, someone present in engineering companies who lacks the correct identity:

> It's really important, I've noticed that even though your thing was on slightly shaky ground, as long as you present it convincingly, they'll buy it. Meanwhile some big-time technology guru presents their own seamless design by mumbling under their eyebrows. No one is going to buy it. (1, m)

Again, in this quote the assertion of a successful form of professionalism "as long as you present in convincingly" is followed by its opposite. The utterance's construction of non-successful professionalism — "big-time technology guru presents their own seamless design by mumbling under their eyebrows" — poses an intertextual link to the above two quotes. The three quotes converge to represent a certain type of character (see Hall's (1997) description of intertextuality), whose identity is not in line with organisational demands. The Navigator repertoire uses this closed, solitary, non-communicative professional to define its opposite: a successful, communicative professional.

Furthermore, utterances using the Navigator repertoire appear to draw conveniently on this 'antitype' to construct representations of good professionalism. This makes the character seem typical to the field, a stereotype that everyone can name

and characterise, but no one claims to be. The quotes below are somewhat more specific about the setting than the three presented above. They articulate contextual dynamics, where the changing technology requires a new type of professional behaviour. At the same time, it designates the antitype's behaviour as outdated and stagnating.

> These days projects don't function if everyone fiddles in their own corner. You must ever more— Let's say these days systems are increasingly about integration and precisely when you start integrating you really have to understand what the different parties say. So the importance of communication is growing. (5, f)

> These days almost systematically each solution contains a ready-made part. And finding the skills that can utilise the ready-made stuff, it's different work than coding on your own. (...) It requires more consultative skill. On the one hand, you must be familiar with the ready-made part and be able to utilise it; on the other hand, you must know when you need to code. (...) You must understand much more than just the technology. (6, f)

Above, the repeating expression "these days" draws our attention. The quotes quite uniformly articulate how the focus of technology companies has shifted and how this places different requirements on employees today. In earlier days it may have been acceptable to "fiddle in your corner", but today a coder must interact and understand different parties. Whereas earlier one could get by, by "coding on your own", these days that coder also has to understand what other people do. Both utterances follow the same structure as those presented above: the right type of professionalism is articulated by implying and stating what it is not. But while the first three quotes use a closed, inarticulate professional as the antitype, the latter two make this person out of date, narrow-visioned and unable to communicate. Thus they expand the set of stereotyped characteristics that are used to define good professionalism. The two quotes below also contribute to this variety. In them, good engineering is articulated in terms of being able to understand the wider context of the work, or lacking this ability:

> We sort of need multiple skills, multiple talents on projects. It's not enough to have just technology people. This is the challenge. And also the technology people understand that hey, we should know something else than just pure technology. (5, f)

> One thing that helps to succeed is understanding the big picture. That's what many lack, they are too fixed on details. But if you see the entity and then of course also the smaller details, this sure is important. I at least aim at first clarifying the big picture of what I do. I try to go through the whole thing first and only then focus on the most important smaller details. (7, m)

In the first excerpt, "technology people" are compared with "multitalents". Multitalent is a new expression in the Finnish language signifying a professional who has all-

round skills and thus is useful to the employer in multiple ways.[73] In the first quote, while the speaker constructs the multitalent character in contrast to the narrowly-skilled professional, she also suggests aiming towards this new standard: "the technology people understand that we should know something else than just pure technology".

The second quote repeats similar ideas of good professionalism: "understanding the big picture"; and bad professionalism: "being too fixed on details". The first quote implies that technology people can elevate their professionalism by recognising that they need a wider skills base. Similarly, the second quote implies that one can and should do both: know the big picture and then drill down to details using that picture. In this way, even if the talk constructs correct professionalism via closure, this closure is not complete. The Navigator professionalism is instead an ideal towards which everyone can aim, even those who are lacking some skills.

The Navigator repertoire constructs good engineering by negation. The character being negated is a stereotypical one who lacks various skills and capabilities that make a successful ICT engineer. Further, the repertoire presents good professionalism as a dynamic response to changing organisational demands, again by way of the antitype, who is placed within the domain of old technology. The Navigator repertoire, in its extended definitions of good and not-good professionalism, works via a subject–object relationship where the subject is the 'new' professional, the object the 'old' one. This way the negated stereotype is excluded from the desirable professional identity and positioned as aspiring towards it. The Navigator repertoire does not define professional success in terms of organisational success as the Achiever repertoire does, but as successfully possessing specific characteristics. However, because these characteristics are needed to manoeuvre among organisational demands, the Navigator engineer also aims, ultimately, to achieve organisational goals. But the work to be done does not constitute the object on which the repertoire builds. The object is the stereotype against which the subject, the Navigator, is constructed.

Team player: Co-operation first

I have now presented two interpretative repertoires the engineers use to give meanings to professionalism. I first illustrated how the Achiever repertoire constructs

---

[73] The Finnish language distinguishes between 'multitalent' and 'multiskilled'. For example, an artist who succeeds in different forms of art, say, playing an instrument, singing, acting and writing poetry, could be called a multitalent (and also needs multiple skills). For example, a professional who succeeds in writing code, negotiating with customers, presenting in seminars and leading projects could be called multiskilled. That is, in the latter the focus is on skills that can be (partly) acquired rather than on talents that are normally considered internal to a person. However, for the sake of fluent expression I use the word multitalent, even though the emphasis of the speech is on multiple skills.

professionalism that is tied to successfully accomplishing the job role objectives. I then spoke about the Navigator repertoire, which articulates good professionalism via a binary opposition, with a multiskilled professional on one side and a stereotypical expert on the other. Both repertoires, even with different subject–object constructions, reproduce a vision of professionalism in which the action leads to fulfilling organisational goals. The third interpretative repertoire that I identified in the engineers' talk about professionalism is less obviously directed towards fulfilling organisational goals. I named this the Team player repertoire. It is about interacting with other people in the professional setting, about experiencing fulfilling cooperation. The engineers use this repertoire the least frequently to talk about professionalism. In fact, it is the least often used of all the six professionalism repertoires. However, because it is clearly distinguishable in the engineers' talk, this repertoire, even if it provides fewer examples, deserves its share of discussion.

The Team player repertoire constructs good engineering professionalism in ways that remove the focus on skills and task-oriented actions as determinants of professionalism, and place more focus on actions taken with and towards other people. The repertoire's central imagery is about interaction with people, about communality and integrity. In the repertoire's rhetoric, good professionalism is about cooperating with colleagues and customers in fulfilling ways, rather than achieving task-specific objectives or possessing certain capabilities. The talk may include descriptions of work processes and skills, but the professionalism of the Team player does not acquire its meaning via these descriptions. Rather, they are merely a setting within which speakers place the object of the talk: action towards and with other people.

The Team player engineer identifies with 'alternative' professional discourses. This identification can be constructed via a similar type of negation structure as the Navigator repertoire's identification by closure. The Navigator engineer is constructed against a stereotype with undesirable professional characteristics and approaches, but the Team player engineer is constructed against what the talk names as undesirable professional behaviour or outcome. I call this linguistic structure *counter-identification with mainstream professional discourses.* The Team player repertoire can also identify with alternative professional discourses via descriptions of actions and behaviours that are atypical to the field. The descriptions are not necessarily contrasted to the opposite types of behaviours and actions, those that are presented as typical. I call this structure *identification with alternative professional discourses.*

In the first construct, the counter-identification can happen against discourses that are common but harmful in the work environment. It can also occur via discourses that are proper and formalised in the work environment. The two quotes below construct the Team player professionalism against harmful professional behaviour.

The first quote names professional behaviour that lacks integrity, the second an emotionally dissatisfying way of leading a project, the object of counter-identification:

> To me it's really important that I never lie. I already said this in the job interview. Under no circumstances will I sell something that we can't deliver, which actually happens quite a lot in the field. I definitely have to believe that we can live up to all the promises I make. (1, m)

> When a project ends well, if all the subscribers and project participants are relatively satisfied with their life and their position after the project, I can say I feel successful. ICT projects, even though there may be research evidence one way or the other, by experience I can say that they always contain tiny crises. And these can cause stress, frustration, bad feelings. (...) E: What could the bad feelings be? I: For instance you feel unfairly treated or, well, there are countless possibilities. For example your professionalism is not respected, your opinion not appreciated. These things can happen in the course of a project. (3, m)

Both quotes describe a work situation where the central component of the subject's action is respecting other parties in the situation. The task orientation of the Achiever and Navigator repertoires has shifted to a people orientation. The action is no longer in the domain of abstract technology work, but in the physical domain of feelings and interactions with people.

The first quote talks about integrity of action, the Team player professional's understanding of fairness when negotiating with customers. The second quote talks about equitable management of projects so that the results are emotionally satisfactory to all parties. These actions are framed in terms of what would otherwise take place. In the first quote, the speaker refuses to make promises that cannot be delivered, and describes them as fairly likely. In the second quote, a set of unfortunate consequences would follow a poorly run project. These are also described as quite possible. Expressions such as "to me it is important", "I definitely have to believe" and "by experience I can say" then suggest that the speaker is taking a position that is not self-evident, but alternative, and possibly not the most available one. That the choice of position is an alternative one is further underlined by utterances like "which actually happens quite a lot in this field" and by the second quote's list in the passive form: "countless possibilities, your professionalism is not respected, your opinion not appreciated". In this way, the speakers construct representations of undesirable professional behaviour, against which they can then construct, and identify with, alternative, desirable professional behaviours.

Even though the behaviours in the first two quotes are presented as possible courses of action, they are not formalised parts of work. Rather, they could be considered side effects of an overly high orientation towards results (the first quote) or insensitive behaviour (the second quote). Below, in turn, the undesirable behaviour is described as part of formalised processes:

> I always try to approach people in my project on a bit more personal level. Less through the official routes, more informally. I think I'm rather informal. E: Compared to? I: Compared to normal practices. And when it comes to theoretical knowledge and so on. I base my project management less on that, more on people management and relationship skills and this sort of thing. (...) To me it works better than a more routine, formal project management. (3, m)

In this quote, the speaker repeats the comparatives less and more several times. Expressions such as "on a bit more personal level" and "less through official routes" again reveal that the mentioned behaviour is not the only and the most readily available choice of action in the situation. In effect, the formulation distinguishes between formalised methods of project management and methods of project management that are focused on people and relationships. They are articulated not as supplementary, but contradictory: "routine, formal project management" based on "theoretical knowledge" does not include the informal "personal level" approach, project management based on "people management" and "relationships skills". This opposition of formal and informal project management matches the binary opposition of rational (i.e. theoretical knowledge and action) and emotional (i.e. affective and people focused action). Like the two earlier Team player quotes, the desirable professional behaviour becomes clarified through articulations of its opposite. The focus of the professional action is not abstract work instructions and results, but what is described as its opposite: emotions and interaction with people.

The second rhetorical construction of the Team player repertoire also talks about good engineering professionalism via human interaction. This approach to engineering can be considered marginal in results-oriented engineering companies. The two quotes below show how the Team player engineer identifies with these alternative professional discourses:

> You have to be able to communicate with different people, get along, distribute tasks, ask for decisions. Sometimes be a little strict. Sometimes you must sniff the air, consider how to approach people when there is a bit more problematic issue. (3, m)

> I believe I am a good listener. And good at cooperation. I can get along with different people in my work and I can understand different viewpoints. Also in situations where people use the same concepts to talk about different things. Or different concepts to talk about the same things. These skills I think you need when the worlds of developers and users meet. (8, m)

Again, the focus of action is not on job role tasks, but on people. The action takes place within a physical domain; it is about communicating with people, approaching them and listening to them, not about abstract computing tasks or theoretical project management. In the first quote the Team player is a professional who deals with team members and subordinates in a variety of ways. In the second quote, the Team player engineer says he can bridge the worlds of different engineering professionals. Both

quotes place communication and sensitivity to people at centre stage. In this way, the Team player's focus of action is the people, not the tasks, even though the ultimate goal is work done well.

The representations of good professionalism in the Team player repertoire are constructed either against 'normal' or formal ways of acting in the profession, or by identification with approaches that focus on communication and interaction with people rather than on abstract tasks. The repertoire's meanings for engineering professionalism imply recognition of the rationalistic objectives of the work, but they are not the focus of the action. The work is described in terms of human relationships and interactions in the workplace. This constructs the professionalism in ways that leave technical skills, technical knowledge and professional objectives in the background, and even push them out of the picture — while emotions and feelings for people get priority. In this way, the Team player repertoire moves away from presenting engineering as an abstract activity, and instead presents it as an activity where people with their mutual relationships and emotions are present and important. This makes the repertoire's subject–object relationship delineate that of the Team player professional, and community, meaning integrity and cooperation with other people in a work setting. The repertoire's descriptions of professionalism focus not on the work to be done or the skills needed to get the work done, as in the Achiever and the Navigator repertoires, but on what happens between people.

Sustaining and challenging gendered practices in engineering

In the earlier discussion on the teachers' professionalism repertoires, I examined how the Guide, the Nurturer and the Instructor repertoires work either to sustain or to challenge gendered discourses in teaching. I now do the same for the three interpretative repertoires that the interviewed engineers use to talk about good professional practices in their work contexts. Like the teachers' professionalism repertoires, the Achiever, Navigator and Team player repertoires are all based on different ideas about engineering professionalism. Each repertoire is also organised around a unique subject–object relationship. These can be linked to differently gendered discourses acting in the professions.

As in the earlier discussions, I apply my theoretical framework and the insights I have gained in the course of my analysis, to understand more about the ways the three professionalism repertoires connect to gendered practices in the ICT field. As in the previous discussion, I contemplate this problematic by going back to the analysis. I look at the individual professionalism repertoires and talk about the gendered positions

they may enforce, and I contrast and compare the different repertoires with one another. Since this discussion focuses on the three professionalism repertoires, I first summarise them. Table 5.3 shows the key features of the repertoires that give meaning to engineering professionalism.

Table 5.3   Summary of interpretative repertoires giving meanings to ICT professionalism

	Achiever	**Navigator**	**Team player**
Central ideas	Successful achievement of job role goals	New ICT subject vs. stereotyped subject	Fulfilling cooperation with other people in the professional context
Rhetorical constructions to achieve the effect	Accomplishment storyline Causal relationship between personal capabilities/actions and professional success	Identification by closure	Counter-identification with mainstream professional discourses Identification with alternative professional discourses
Subject–object	Professional–work to be done	Navigator–stereotype	Team player–community

As with the teachers, I use Gherardi's (1995) idea of symbolic universes of the masculine and the feminine to structure my discussion of the engineers' professionalism repertoires. Considering the repertoires' central ideas and subject–object relations, the Team player repertoire seems to work via ideas about professionalism that most closely overlap with what Gherardi describes as belonging to the symbolic universe of the feminine. The Achiever repertoire seems to work via ideas about ICT professionalism that fit in the symbolic universe of the masculine. The Navigator repertoire's ideas, in turn, do not clearly overlap with either gendered universe.

The Achiever repertoire's representations of engineering draw on masculine-signed discourses of the gender binary. The subject of the action is the Achiever engineer; the object is the work to be done. The Achiever engineer aligns their professional goals with the goals of the work organisation. Success is measured in terms of the organisation's success. With this, the Achiever engineer acts right in the

centre of engineering discourses. The Body/work repertoire's representations of engineering spoke of the profession of engineering as by definition a masculine activity, where a masculine culture prevails. The repertoire also represented boys and men as automatically having an affinity with technology. The Achiever engineer, when acting in line with the discourses of engineering companies, can similarly be understood to reproduce these masculinities.

We can also see discourses of masculinity reproduced in the Achiever repertoire's subject–object relationship. I spoke earlier about Acker's (1990) theorising of 'job'. To Acker, job is an abstract concept, where a non-physical, non-emotional person accomplishes the work. The Achiever repertoire reproduces this idea. As the quotes below, copied from earlier passages, show us, the relationship between the professional person and accomplishment of the work develops at an intellectual level, not at a level of human interaction, as happens with the Team player repertoire, or the Guide and Nurturer repertoires of teachers:

> Our entire process is being developed and I instantly knew to dig out the user-based product development process, ISO standard, which we now use as the basis. They had like fiddled and fiddled with the process before I came around, and I think what they had done was miserable. I was like, how about we try this and then they were instantly with me. But earlier it had not even occurred to them that something like that exists. (4, f)

> You need a patient approach, it's patient tinkering, because it's all about trial and error. The phenomena can sometimes be *really* knotty. Sorting them out may take really a long time, because you cannot do all the changes yourself. You cannot prop them up by hand, but you must have them done someplace else, for example built into a new prototype. So this can take a long time. And then again it requires a sort of belief in your stuff. To push your own stuff into a new prototype, you have to have a firm belief in it, because it's far from cheap. (9, f)

In both these quotes, the Achiever engineer is acting on the work. The action is not with or on other human beings, even if they are described as being present in it. The Achiever engineer works in intellectual isolation.

The engineers' Team player repertoire resembles the teachers' Nurturer repertoire in that it also focuses on interaction between people, and specifically on interaction where ideals of communality and consideration for others are central. Whereas the Achiever engineer identifies with goals defined by the organisation and the job role, the Team player engineer identifies with goals that the repertoire describes as marginal in the context, not necessarily the usual ways of acting and fulfilling the job role expectations:

> When a project ends well, if all the subscribers and project participants are relatively satisfied with their life and their position after the project, I can say I feel successful. ICT projects, even though there may be research evidence one way or the other, by experience I can say that they always contain tiny crises. And these can cause stress, frustration, bad feelings. (...) E: What

In this way, the Team player engineer operates on the margins of the normative discourses of engineering. As I said earlier, in the descriptions of the Body/work repertoire, ICT engineering is by definition a masculine activity. The Achiever repertoire aligns professional goals with the goals of the organisation. In this way the Achiever, too, can be taken to identify with masculine-signed discourses of engineering.

The Team player repertoire works via counter-identification with these practices and via identification with alternative, feminised activities. In the rationalistic discourses of technology, which the Achiever repertoire sustains and reproduces with its goals of professional accomplishment, the objective of the work is to produce and make revenue. Cooperation becomes a secondary goal. Business discourses are rationalistic, they know only financial outcome; team spirit in business can only be rewarded insofar as it produces financially observable results. Perhaps this could be delivered via successful management of customer projects, but because the Team player repertoire does not have the vocabulary to measure its objectives in financial terms, it remains outside the discourse: "When a project ends well, if all the subscribers and project participants are relatively satisfied with their life and their position after the project, I can say I feel successful."

The Team player repertoire does not manage to elevate its feminine-signed representations from their marginalised place within the discourses of ICT engineering, as the Nurturer repertoire possibly could do in teaching. The Team player repertoire presents its central ideas of communality and care against or within the normative discourses of engineering. This makes it difficult for the repertoire to gain more than a marginal status in engineering practices and so disturb the masculine normativities of engineering. This is similar to the ways femininities act in the margins in the engineers' Body/work repertoire. The repertoire presents a possibility of acting from the margins of the mainstream discourses, creating alternative professional identities, but these identities remain within the fixed setting of the masculine, rationalistic discourses of ICT engineering. Therefore, the Team player repertoire cannot work to liberate engineering practices from the gender binary.

The Navigator repertoire does not seem to be located in either gendered universe. In this it is unlike the Team player repertoire, which is located in the symbolic universe of the feminine and constructed against the dominant discourses of engineering, and the Achiever repertoire which is located in the symbolic universe of the masculine, in the centre of engineering discourse. Instead, the Navigator engineer

is constructed against its opposite: the anti-social and narrowly-talented technical expert. The opposite of this expert, the Navigator engineer, is the multiskilled, communicative professional subject with broad vision.

The representations of the Navigator engineer include descriptions of the current technology business; they clarify what characteristics are required from the 'new' type of engineering professional. The changing nature of the industry, in which technology companies focus on producing tailored or standardised technology services rather than on manufacturing technologies, requires a professional subject who is both a technical and a social expert. At the same time, this expert does not counter-identify against either the Achiever (i.e. an embodiment of the masculine-signed discourses of engineering) or the Team player (i.e. an embodiment of the feminine-signed discourses of engineering). The Navigator engineer counter-identifies against the outdated ICT subject:

> These days almost systematically each solution contains a ready-made part. And finding the skills that can utilise the ready-made stuff, it's different work than coding on your own. (...) It requires more consultative skill. On the one hand, you must be familiar with the ready-made part and be able to utilise it; on the other hand, you must know when you need to code. (...) You must understand much more than just the technology. (6, f)

The Mars/Venus repertoire's representations of male and female engineers were organised so that female engineers were described as having a broad overview of the work environment and good communication skills, and male engineers were described as narrowly specialised technical experts. The Navigator repertoire reorganises these subjects into one: it articulates them as supplementing one another. When the characteristics become conflated in this way to create the Navigator engineer, the setup escapes any gendered binary. Even though the Navigator engineer works towards achieving the goals of the employer organisation, these actions do not take place in the domain defined by discourses of masculinity like those of the Achiever engineer. Even though the Navigator engineer is described as sociable, this sociability is not aligned with the Team player engineer's counter-identifying ways.

When I spoke about the teachers' professionalism repertoires, I concluded that the Guide repertoire has the most potential to challenge teaching as an activity that is located on the feminine side of the gender binary. Of the engineers' three representations of professionalism, the Navigator repertoire has the most potential to do the same in ICT engineering. By conceptualising professional practices and the professional subject along the lines of the Navigator engineer, it may be possible to challenge the masculine discourses of ICT engineering. This would shift the initial, masculine technology subject to the margins, and install the gender-neutral Navigator

subject in contemporary corporate life. In this discourse, the professional subjects are production resources providing for the global capital market, instead of the early industry experts, who speak from a gendered position.

In Table 5.4 I summarise the engineers' discursive representations of professionalism and their relations to the discourses of gender.

Table 5.4   Engineers' professionalism repertoires and discourses of gender

Interpretative repertoire	Relation to the normative gender	Possibilities to challenge gendered discourses of engineering
Team player	Positioned in the marginalised feminine place of engineering discourses by its counter-identification structure.	Cannot challenge the masculine discourses of engineering.
Achiever	By directly identifying with organisational and job role objectives, draws on the masculine-signed discourses of engineering.	Reproduces masculinities in the profession.
Navigator	Does not draw on discourses of gender binary.	Can potentially challenge the gendered discourses of engineering.

As we have seen, two of the teachers' professionalism repertoires and two of the engineer's professionalism repertoires work to reproduce gendered practices in the context they describe. At the same time, discourses of professionalism whose meanings are not fixed on gender binaries can challenge the professions' gendered practices and consequently their gendered positioning in employment markets. The gender system may be durable and flexibly adaptable, but it is not impenetrable. Discourses are subject to change in the ways they normalise and regulate social practices. As we have seen, there are multiple ways of articulating teaching and engineering professionalism, including ways that do not enforce the gender binary. These articulations can create cracks and reconfigurations in the dominant gendered discourses of the professions and create possibilities for more equal structures in working life.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have analysed and discussed the different interpretative repertoires that the interviewed teachers and engineers use to talk about gender and professionalism in their work context. I identified and named three sets of repertoires that the engineers and the teachers use to organise their talk about gender. The Mars/Venus and the Body/work repertoires reproduce discourses of essential gender, linked to gendered working styles, preferences, distributions of work and hierarchies. The interviewees also use what I call the Chaos/order repertoire. In the teachers' talk, the Chaos/order repertoire reproduces discourses of gender normativity. In the engineers' talk, that repertoire works strategically rather than via specific linguistic constructions. The engineers use it to restore harmony in a discussion about gender.

I further identified and named six interpretative repertoires, which the teachers and the engineers use when talking about good professional practices. The teachers organise this talk primarily by using the Guide, Nurturer and Instructor repertoires. The engineers mainly use the Achiever, Navigator and Team player repertoires. All six repertoires contain different central ideas and subject–object relationships, which have specific implications for the capacities of the presented practices to reproduce discourses of gender.

In the tables below I summarise the key features of all these interpretative repertoires, with the gender repertoires in Table 5.5, and the professionalism repertoires in Table 5.6.

Table 5.5   Summary and frequency of interpretative repertoires giving meanings to gender

	Mars/Venus	Body/work	Chaos/order
Teachers			
Central ideas	Gendered hierarchies following essentialised gender characteristics	Female and male professionals' career choices align with the gender contract	Restoring normative gender
Rhetorical constructions to achieve the effect	Hierarchical opposition of gender characteristics Hierarchical dynamics between men and women	Women's reproductive orientation Men's productive orientation	Particularising male experience Single/divorced mothers as a problem
Frequency*	*9 out of 14* *64%*	*11 out of 14* *79%*	*8 out of 14* *57%*
Engineers			
Central ideas	Gendered distribution of work in line with essential gender characteristics	Female engineers' bodies outside of and aspiring to the masculine norm of engineering	Maintaining discursive harmony
Rhetorical constructions to achieve the effect	Essentialising gender characteristics Essentialising gendered distribution of work	Normalising the masculine culture Scrutiny of female bodies	Avoidance Confusion
Frequency*	*9 out of 12* *75%*	*10 out of 12* *83%*	*5 out of 12* *42%*

* Count of professionals using the repertoire

Table 5.6   Summary and frequency of interpretative repertoires giving meanings to professionalism

Teachers			
	Guide	**Nurturer**	**Instructor**
Central ideas	Creating good learning atmosphere by managing emotions	Raising pupils as human beings	Methodological and theoretical approach to teaching
Rhetorical constructions to achieve the effect	Management of emotions by use of empathy Management of emotions by reflective use of authority	Moral lesson to pupils Ethical-pedagogical insight to teachers	Objectifying knowledge Identification by closure
Subject–object	Teacher–pupil	Adult–child	Professional–theories/methods of teaching
Frequency	*12 out of 14 86%*	*11 out of 14 79%*	*8 out of 14 57%*

Engineers			
	Achiever	**Navigator**	**Team player**
Central ideas	Successful achievement of job role goals	New ICT subject vs. stereotyped subject	Fulfilling cooperation with other people in the professional context
Rhetorical constructions to achieve the effect	Accomplishment storyline Causal relation between personal capabilities/actions and professional success	Identification by closure	Counter-identification with mainstream professional discourses Identification with alternative professional discourses
Subject–object	Professional–work to be done	Navigator–stereotype	Team player–community
Frequency	*11 out of 12 92%*	*7 out of 12 58%*	*4 out of 12 33%*

Throughout this work, I have focused my analysis on interpretative repertoires. Understanding the local deployment of these repertoires can help us identify the discursive boundaries within which interviewees act in relation to the topics discussed. In my study, this would concern the kinds of possibly gendered practices that take place in the professions. Since I did not examine the interviewees' internal processes, such as feelings and motivations, I do not expect the interviewees to be consistent in their presentations of the discussion topics. On the contrary, at any one time, several different discourses may be relevant to a profession, each with its own sets of ideas providing meanings. My analysis demonstrates this: the interviewees cite different, sometimes conflicting, interpretative repertoires when talking about issues related to gender and professional practices. The repertoires all represent, sustain and reproduce certain ways of organising the interviewees' understanding of the topics discussed. We can assume that these understandings are acted out when people go about their work in the professions. We can also assume they indicate similar kinds of practices in other, similar types of contexts, such as other male- and female-dominated professions in Finland. In this sense, analysing interpretative repertoires can help us identify how the use of different discourses has material effects on the context being studied.

To point out the variety of ways individual interviewees can talk about the same topic, in both tables I added a line that shows roughly how many of the teachers or engineers used the given repertoire in the course of their interview. (However, the figure does not reflect how many *times* each interviewee used the particular repertoire in the course of their interview). The number is really only suggestive. When spotting and naming interpretative repertoires in interview material, a researcher must completely rely on their subjective interpretations. There is no way to objectively determine which repertoire belongs to which category, and then create waterproof statistics on the frequency of their use. Appendix 3, which contains my full set of interview extracts exemplifying the different interpretative repertoires, reveals the ambiguity and overlaps in the categories of repertoires. Still, it is my duty as an analyst to commit to certain interpretative decisions and follow through on them. The figures in the tables reflect these decisions, and aim at helping to understand how available the different repertoires were to the different interviewees.

According to my interpretations of the data, the largest number of both the engineers and the teachers used the Body/work repertoire to talk about gender, nearly as many used the Mars/Venus repertoire, and the smallest number in both interviewee groups used the Chaos/order repertoire. Considering the repertoires used to talk about professionalism, most teachers drew on the Guide repertoire, followed by the Nurturer repertoire, and then the Instructor repertoire. The largest number of the engineers used

the Achiever repertoire, then the Navigator repertoire. Only four engineers drew on the Team player repertoire to talk about engineering professionalism.

Comparing the figures, we can see that in both groups the interviewees use more than one, and often all three, interpretative repertoires together. This applies to both the talk about gender and the talk about professionalism. According to Potter and Wetherell (1987), varying use of interpretative repertoires to talk about a topic or an issue shows complexity and diversity in the person's identification with it. The fewer different repertoires a person uses, the more limited the range of discourses they have at their disposal to construct themselves in the context. With the majority of the interviewees using all three gender repertoires and all three professionalism repertoires, it appears they have a range of discourses available in their work context among which they can navigate. This enables them to present different and even conflicting versions of the professions' content and practices in an interview situation.

Then again, I discussed how all the *gender* repertoires reproduce discourses of the gender order in one way or another. This suggests that there is little variety in the ways gender acquires meanings in the professional contexts. It also shows how flexibly discourses of gender adapt to their context, hook onto discourses that are beneficial to them, and so maintain their normalising and regulatory effect. But it is also auspicious that both groups can articulate gender in three different ways. This possibility of representing gender in multiple ways shows it is not silent as a discussion topic, but active and variable.

Silenced topics, or those that can be articulated in only one way, represent the most controlling discourses. The more opportunities people have to talk about a topic or an issue, the more it is exposed to mediating discourses. These can then modify the initial discourse's depiction of the world. I described earlier how the discourse of computing and the discourses of male and female sexualities have evolved over time, through interactions with other discourses. The teachers' Chaos/order repertoire, which is one of the ways they can talk about gender in their context, also clearly demonstrates how vulnerable discourses are to evolution. In that repertoire, the discourse on the nuclear family hooks onto several other discourses which then work together to defend patriarchal ideas of families. However, as the discourses interact and speakers articulate the repertoire, its rhetoric is exposed to new formulations and to scrutiny: both my analytic scrutiny and the scrutiny of the repertoire's users. In turn, as the engineers articulate the Chaos/order repertoire, it is less open. It does not combine different discourses to come up with any specific representation of its theme, and the ways it is articulated circumvent the discussion topic rather than exposing it to scrutiny.

Unlike the gender repertoires, which all draw on the discourses of the gender system, the *professionalism* repertoires reveal various ways to talk about good professional practices. This further illustrates that both the teachers and the engineers can use a variety of ways to identify with their work, which lead to possibilities to fracture the professions' discursive formations. The Navigator engineer can be taken to personify an evolved professional discourse. Even acting within the same context, the Navigator engineer is radically different from the initial technology subject with whom the Navigator counter-identifies. The Navigator professionalism comes about through the evolving orientation and globalising context of technology companies. These allow new discourses (business is about selling standardised service packages) to interact with and gain dominance over the existing ones (business is about producing mainframe computers). This can further redefine the subjects and objects of the professional action (multiskilled professional vs. narrowly skilled coder).

Comparing *how* the two professional groups articulate the different repertoires, I find several differences. The talk between the groups differs in both its construction and its content. The teachers' talk is more homogenous than the engineers' talk. Across the interviewees, the teachers use parallel terminology and imagery, especially when talking about gender. The teachers articulate each of the three gender repertoires almost uniformly. The characteristics and preferences designated to male and female teachers vary little from one speaker to the other. This suggests that they are a common way to describe men and women in the context. The teachers also talk richly about gender and the gender gap in their occupation. This indicates that these topics are frequently discussed among teachers, and that they can easily draw on the particular repertoires when the topic pops us in a conversation.

The resemblance of the Mars/Venus repertoire's characterisations of male and female engineers and their working styles is clearly recognisable from one interviewee to another, though less uniformly than with the teachers. This indicates that the engineers are familiar with the discussion topic, but less practiced than the teachers.

The engineers' Body/work repertoire is even more variable in its representations. Even if the repertoire's central ideas converge, it allows speakers to approach the gender gap issue from different angles: historical, societal, cultural. This shows that the topic is not very frequently discussed among the engineers. Moreover, when the engineers use the Body/work repertoire to talk about their profession's gender gap, their talk is deterministic: they look backwards to the history, speculate on the cultural problems women face when entering or working in the field, or see the source of the issue in society. This makes the engineers' Body/work repertoire sound static, full of flat statements, so that the gender problematic in the field becomes hard and irresolvable. The teachers orient to the current moment in their talk, which gives the

impression that the gender imbalance is not necessarily fixed, but a result of active choices by the professionals themselves.

As already described, the engineers' Chaos/order repertoire is particularly full of heterogeneity and internal conflicts. Problems of inequality become hidden under the repertoire's confusing and meandering articulation. It is not comparable to the clearly identifiable linguistic constructions of the other gender repertoires, and certainly not to the teachers' Chaos/order repertoire, which is almost identically articulated from one speaker to the other, and very assertively oriented.

Like the gender repertoires, the teachers' professionalism repertoires also present the professional practices consistently from one interviewee to another. This suggests similarity in the content, methods and everyday practices of teaching in different schools. Even when differently specialised teachers bring into discussion their particular subject areas, the Guide, the Nurturer and the Instructor teachers are clearly recognisable characters, both because of the uniform way they describe their approach to pupils, and because of the uniform vocabulary they use.

The engineers' descriptions are, again, more heterogeneous. This can stem from both the multiplicity of the interviewees' job roles and the variable organisational contexts in which the interviewees operate. Because of the vocabulary, the Navigator engineer is the most easily recognisable character, even though this also encompasses a rather extensive set of characterisations. The Achiever and the Team player engineers are less consistently described across the interviewees.

A certain individuality is present in the engineers' ways of talking about their work as compared to the teachers'. The engineers describe more personal experiences and particular professional situations, both when talking about gender and when talking about professionalism. The teachers talk at a more general level, describing life in schools as a whole, so to speak. This could reflect their actual professional activities. That is, ICT professionals deal with abstract tasks and non-human concepts. Even if they produce programs that humans use for human purposes, the object of action is normally an abstract electronic tool or a project. This shows in the subject–object relationships of the professionalism repertoires: two out of the three teachers' professionalism repertoires have a human object, while in two out of the three engineers' professionalism repertoires the object is abstract. Teachers, literally, engage in physical labour, which I already described to include seeing and being seen, using voice (extensively!) and bodily gestures. Engineers engage in intellectually oriented labour, where the central tool is a computer and in today's companies (speaking from my own experience) co-workers may meet purely through electronic contact. Even when interacting with physical people in the professional context, the orientation of the work is towards things that cannot be seen, that take place in abstraction.

To conclude, the differences between the teachers' and the engineers' use of the repertoires reflect both the availability of the discussion topics in the context, and the structuring of the work. Moreover, they could reflect the ownership structures of the professions. Public financing of the basic education system makes it a commonly owned good. This involvement of the teacher interviewees shows in the critically oriented formulation of the gender repertoires, and in their generally open tone of speaking. Engineers' work, in turn, is privately financed, often via the global capital markets. This can limit the employees' feelings of ownership. Economists may theorise about the global capital markets, where they describe humanly triggered events as phenomena outside the control of individuals, such as "the invisible hand" and "globalisation", and also not influenced by political decision making. The same determinism can be traced in the engineers' talk about gender, and the individuality of the work in the engineers' talk about professionalism.

6. Implications and conclusion

In the previous chapters, I described how the interviewees use the different interpretative repertoires to give meanings to gender and professionalism in their work context. After first presenting the repertoires that provide meanings to gender and professionalism, I extended the analysis and by using my theoretical framework showed how the professionals' ways of talking about gender work to reproduce or challenge discourses of gender in the professions. These issues triggered my study, and the analysis was guided by my research question: *What kinds of gendered practices are articulated in Finnish primary school teachers' and ICT engineers' discursive representations of gender and professionalism, and what implications does this have for the professions' gender biases?*

Towards the end of this research project, something began to change in Finland. Now the public discussion aims less at the language of gender harmony, and increasingly echoes debates on feminist issues. In the early winter of 2007, *Helsingin Sanomat*[74] and the two national tabloids (*Iltasanomat* and *Iltalehti*[75]) covered feminist topics almost every day. Within a span of two or three months there were editorials on the salary gaps between male- and female-dominated fields, on problems related to prostitution and the trafficking of women, on gender biases in leadership, on the sexist titles of occupations, on discrimination against female priests, and on many other topics, some of which have only recently come into public discussion. As if to underline this discursive shift, a small group of prominent men published a "male anthology" to draw attention to their concern that the Finnish discussion on gender equality is skewed to favour women: "In reality the gender equality discussion only drives improvements in women's positions and ignores the problems faced by men" (*Helsingin Sanomat,* 18 September 2007, my translation).

Still, the biggest and hottest topic is nurses. In spring 2007, the Conservative Party sailed through the Parliamentary election on a promise to lift female-dominated professions out of the salary dump. In the heat of the moment, someone promised a EUR 500 salary raise to public-sector nurses, and an "equality round" to everyone working in female-dominated fields (*Helsingin Sanomat,* 3 March 2007). When the real salary rounds started, the goods were not delivered as promised. Tehy, the Union of Health and Social Care Professionals,[76] picked up a heavy weapon: 12,800 nurses threatened to walk out en masse unless a satisfactory outcome was found (*Helsingin Sanomat,* 30 October 2007). This shock triggered a lively debate on the state of the

---

[74] www.hs.fi
[75] www.iltasanomat.fi; www. iltalehti.fi
[76] http://www.tehy.fi/in_english/

health care system, on the value of women's work, and on the responsibilities of nurses (not of the government) to patients. The feminist association Unioni got publicity for encouraging all women to strike to show their solidarity with the nurses (*Helsingin Sanomat,* 12 October 2007).

In Chapter 5 I presented extracts from my interviews, the pieces of talk I selected from hundreds of pages of transcribed interview material. They are what I chose as worthy of presenting here, worthy of discussion, representative of my analytic realisations and conclusions. They are the result of many conversations with professionals, in meeting rooms of high-tech corporations, in classrooms of small and large schools, in cafés, in universities and in libraries. I met a range of women and men, young people just starting their careers, and seasoned professionals about to retire. I met people with open personalities and others with considerable reserve, articulate speakers and some who were quite minimalist in their expression.

I took part in exciting discussions and sluggish question-and-answer sessions. I experienced interactions that ranged across nearly the full scale of human reactions: together with my interview partners I reflected, laughed, giggled, got emotional, got carried away, got bored, flirted, and argued. After 26 separate conversations, I took all this home, pondered what had taken place between the interviewee and me during the hour or two we sat together, and jotted down my ponderings.

I took the recordings, played them back and forth, and typed out the talk word by word. During these long and monotonous days and weeks I mulled over the words, the breaks, the sighs and the bursts of laughter. I wondered about the interviewees' ideas and about my responses. I had time to feel affectionate about "my interviewees", and I had time to resent those I found unsympathetic. I had time to agree and disagree. In my mind I carried on with the discussions.

They turned into piles of paper and bunches of icons on my laptop screen. I drowned in their words. Deeper and deeper I dived into their meanings, highlighted sections of text, jotted down strings of notes, printed out copy after copy, scrolled through documents. I designed tables, gave commands: "find", "go to", "copy", "paste". I named headings, collected words and paragraphs under the headings, and moved them around, and then moved them again to a different place. I translated the paragraphs from Finnish to English, flipped through my dictionary, translated, mined my linguistic memory. Finally, my analysis began to take form, my sensations of the interview situations faded, my feelings for individual speakers weakened. The interview material became its own autonomous entity, a community of words and ideas to represent discourses.

Now, at the end, I have a mosaic of what I call "central ideas and imagery", "primary rhetorical constructions", quotes, and subject and object relations, to put on

show here. They are neatly grouped under different headings in different chapters, their constructions meticulously elaborated. Pieces of talk, cut off from their users, sit on the pages of this thesis, broken apart and autopsied. What used to be organised as the talk of individual interviewees is organised not according to who said what and why, but by topic. They are now abstract accounts of my research. You cannot see on the pages of this thesis the vibrant interaction, the human beings with their interests, motivations and emotions. What you can see is a view through the windows of my house of research.

Inevitably, a question hangs over my analysis. Does it say anything at all about the real, material world in which the interviewees act? What does the radical surgery of talk that I conducted in my analysis tell us about everyday life at Finnish elementary schools and high-tech companies? Where is the sense in collecting hundreds of pages of talk and then breaking it down into tiny pieces in the final work? *Am I coming up with any meaningful attempt to connect my analysis with the actual social reality?*

Or did I merely get lost in a maze of analysis, drowned in abstract details, fixated onto the conceptual naming of things and phenomena?

In the discussion parts of the analysis I theorised about the possible effects of articulating gender in terms of the Mars/Venus, Body/work and Chaos/order repertoires. I further discussed how the Guide, the Achiever, and the Instructor teacher would or would not reproduce gendered discourses as they go about their work, and how the Achiever, the Navigator, and the Team Player engineer would or would not reproduce gendered discourses when doing their work. But now it is time to put the theory aside and consider what we gain by learning about these ways of articulating gender and professionalism.

In Chapter 4 I depicted a discourse psychological analysis of interpretative repertoires; in that analysis, talk is formed of a collection of ideas that we learn in our social environment. These different ideas converge in our talk to build up a representation of a topic or an issue we are discussing. Discourse theory takes these statements as reflecting not our inner opinions and motives, but the historical, social and cultural conditions under which ideas about the topics and issues emerged. The repertoires we use become the vehicles that reproduce these ideas, these discourses, in our social interaction. The same ideas can also be represented at any other site of representation, including the media, art, legislation, technological artefacts, research, and so on, so that they are easily available for us to 'borrow' for our talk. In this way, our way of being and doing is part of the machinery called the regime of representation that generates and regenerates the beliefs we live by. By using different interpretative repertoires in our talk to give meanings to different topics and issues, we

are, for our part, ensuring their social existence and paving the way for the action that follows these beliefs.

In any social situation, the ways we talk about topics and issues and thus create the possibility of social action towards them, are not singular and fixed. The field for representation and action is endless. A game of chess only makes sense when the board and the soldiers, along with the castles, kings and queens are named for their roles in it (Gergen and Gergen 1997), but we can also use a chess board to nail a picture on a wall, to start a fire, or as a drawing board. To users of discourses, choices are available only insofar as they exist as realistic ways of behaviour in our society: "One cannot cross a fence that has not been built no matter how many times one walks across the field" (Rust 1993:73). The more dominant a discourse is, the more available it is for us to use. But discourses can also evolve in the margins of the dominant discourses, or in their cracks, or as surprising connections occur between other discourses, and thus become realistic ways of thinking and acting.

Whatever the discourses available in our context, and whatever the ones we personally draw on in our talk, nothing we say is meaningless. *This is what my work demonstrates.* Our seemingly trivial or offhand comments, or the comments triggered by a particular situation or by a discussion partner's response, all converge into meanings and representations, in our talk and across the talk of different people. It turns out our words do not float isolated in the universe of things to say, but are part of something much more durable and supra-individual. It turns out our colleagues are talking about the same things, with the same or similar expressions, with ways that lead to the same possibilities for action. And if our colleagues do this, it is not far-fetched to believe that there are more people who may have similar ways of talking about things, which lead to similar actions in their social environment.

It may well be that many sorts of people — nurses, police officers, firemen and secretaries; university professors, corporate leaders and politicians; people hanging out in parks and people browsing in shopping malls; people watching football and people throwing a party — say similar things about men and women, males and females. And, in this way, they sustain the distribution of rights and responsibilities based on gender difference. In sum: together we make our world. Our words and practices *are* the reality, to us and to people around us.

The danger in these realities is their lack of transparency. When I classify people in my talk, for instance by generalising about men or women, I often do not reflect what I say. But I certainly do not mean to be part of the machinery generating gender inequalities. And if I, with all my interest in gender, generalise so easily, how do the rest of us speak about it? *The very requirement for transparency is what drove me to radically break down my interview material.* I broke it down to open it up, to slice the

talk of different interviewees into pieces that demonstrate how, in the end, we just say things that other people say too. We may think we are airing our own opinions, but sometimes it seems a monkey could reproduce those opinions by copying and pasting representations into its talk! The ideas we put together in our talk converge across people and in this way produce real-life effects, discourses that make different social practices possible.

I did the surgery at the risk of losing the people I interviewed. In fact I did lose them. They are no longer present as people with opinions. They would be hard pressed to recognise their own intentions in what I made out of the talk. Some might even get a bit upset and say I have distorted their meanings, that I stripped them out of context and turned them around to fit my theories. Fair enough. But if that did happen we should remember not to take it — in a very literal sense — personally. We must remember that we are, after all, only the sum total of the discourses we personalise. We are the speaking subjects who make the discourses possible by articulating them.

Let me return to the nurses and their negotiating tactic of mass walk-outs. This will help to review some of the practical implications of the various interpretative repertoires I identified in my study. Over the years, people must have experienced many sensitive moments, which grew into cracks and then into expanding fractures in the discourses of state patriarchy (Hirdman 1990a,b) and societal motherhood (Rantalaiho 1994). With Finnish women and men behaving more and more alike at universities and work places, in politics and in relationships, the conflict of equality (Hirdman 1990a) became too obvious to ignore. No longer was it only feminists who took seriously the idea of gender equal compensation; these demands were flowing into mainstream discussions. At the same time the discourses that maintained the welfare state were also cracking. Discerning voices announced that a sustainable welfare state is only an illusion, that the newly installed neoliberal-minded management is saving money on the health care system at the cost of human lives, and that the system is not functioning properly because hospitals do not have enough personnel taking care of sick people.[77]

Let us continue on from here, and make up a little fantasy about how it became discursively possible for the nurses to use such a harsh negotiation tactic — and find support from 61% of the public (*Yle* 19 October, 2007).[78]

---

[77] "Patient security is endangered by the unacceptably long waiting times in the [Maria hospital] emergency room" (31 August, 2007); "Is ten hours a safe waiting time for a seriously ill patient?" (15 September, 2007); "Politics is a set of value-based choices and now you have a good chance to show if you value professional personnel". Tehy Chair Jaana Laitinen-Pesola (11 September, 2007). All quotes from *Helsingin Sanomat*, my translation.

[78] http://www.yle.fi/uutiset/kotimaa/oikea/id72729.html

Maybe at first people were using something like the Chaos/order repertoire I heard the engineers using. People were aware that something was not right, but did not quite know how to articulate it. Some people may have begun to raise the topic, to say that professional nurses were earning peanuts. Perhaps this was when the Chaos/order repertoire started to appear in talk, to put things back in their place. As we remember, when the engineers use the Chaos/order repertoire it can indicate vulnerabilities of meaning, a need to return to discursive harmony. Discussion about gender inequalities in the profession was avoided or articulated in a confusing way. The talk was not consistent; the speakers stumbled over their words. Maybe this is how it happened in hospitals too, and in other places where the topic of the low salaries in women-dominated fields came up. First the inequality of the pay led to only a faint recognition of a problem, and people were wary of putting it into words so as not to disturb the harmony, being careful about saying that caring should be rewarded financially. The Body/work repertoire was too easily available. Remember the one the teachers used, which placed emotional rewards against financial rewards: "Women put up with the low salary and anyway they like the work maybe as a calling". The use of the Chaos/order repertoire revealed that the discourse supported by the Body/work repertoire is cracking, and needs repair.

Perhaps, at the same time, the Nurturer repertoire started elevating discourses of care. People were growing dissatisfied with the market economy rhetoric, which had been demonstrated in the poorly-run reorganisation of the health care system, in Finnish companies being sold abroad and Finnish workers being dismissed, in the growing income gap between rich and poor, and in the absurdly large option rewards collected by leaders of privatised government companies. All these developments strengthened the Nurturer repertoire. This was a good opportunity for discourses of care, located in the universe of the feminine, to gain dominance: which is more important in our society, caring for people or making a profit?

It could be that the use of the Nurturer repertoire helped nursing gain in status, but only when the Guide repertoire became intertwined did real changes begin. The Guide repertoire, as we remember, draws on discourses of professionalism, not on discourses that are settled on either side of the gender binary. Perhaps the Guide repertoire started to fracture the Nurturer discourses of nursing when nurses' education was professionalized to universities of applied sciences. Nurses liked to work with human beings, but were also professionals with a long education and lots of responsibility. Yes, the work is emotionally rewarding, but it also involves theories, methodologies and the management of emotions. The discourses that informed the "Guide nurse" refused to watch their profession settle on the undervalued feminine side of the gender binary.

Now the Finnish nurses were no longer talking from the undervalued feminine place in the gender binary, from within discourses of gendered distribution of work and societal motherhood, which are included in the masculine field of operation. The discourses that kept nurses in the low pay category began to fracture. To more and more people it no longer made sense to use the Body/work repertoire to talk about women's career choices and men's career choices. It was no longer meaningful to say: "women are not so concerned about pay". Especially because the two-gender family model was crumbling, fewer families were based on the traditional male family breadwinner model. People could sense this as they heard more people use the teachers' Chaos/order repertoire, and its assertion of the normative gender: "Because these days there are so many broken families and patchwork families and single-parent families and whatever variations, I'd see it's little boys who suffer, because many of them are then left with mothers."

In fact, the entire gender setting began to seem old fashioned. How could people still use the Mars/Venus repertoire to make a distinction between manhood and womanhood? That is, who would believe that women universally are gossipy nitpickers, and men are lenient and great to have around? And it would have been rather embarrassing to use the engineers' Body/work repertoire. It would seem rather ridiculous to say: "The different genders have different areas of intellect that are statistically prominent." That men and women shared a similar humanity had become too apparent, and the discourses of gender role distribution were outdated. The independence-dependence relationship between genders — if it ever had existed — now turned into a relationship of interdependence (Gherardi 1995). The gendered ideas about pay and work could no longer be kept hidden.

I would not be surprised if the teachers' Chaos/order repertoire stepped in again at this point: women should not be running this show, the genders must stay in their place or the whole society would suffer. There had already been talk that nurses — not the government, the employer — were disregarding their responsibility to ensure proper care. The vocabulary already sounded at least as assertive as in the teachers' use: "people may die or become paralysed", "sick children will be left without care" — in other words, chaos would follow. Now we are talking. The normative gender is clearly being contested. Only when something is threatened must it be defended. Not only is the occupation of nursing rising out of its feminine position; the discourses of gender are also crumbling.

We can imagine further scenarios like this, using the twelve interpretative repertoires I named. This is what I want to do: use these repertoires to *open spaces for alternative realities; and understand how the discourses acting in professions can sustain or challenge their gendered position.* To underline this point, let me throw in

one more thought: would the increasing use of the Navigator repertoire lead to more gender-neutral practices in the ICT industry? (From personal experience I would say yes. I believe that the changing demands of the industry are creating more gender-neutral ways of working).

This shows how talk reflects the discourses that inform our social settings. It also shows how smaller can grow into bigger, how fractures in discourses and interactions between discourses can grow into change. Some things no longer need to be said because people are used to saying them, as they are now in line with the dominant discourses. Because, actually, if I say things in a different way it may just turn out that I am not the only one doing that. Patriarchy is powered by a web of secrets and suppression. As long as people are silent, inequalities can continue. As long as we find different fences to cross, and take advantage of the possibility of using different discourses, we can expose and challenge patriarchy. How I talk about people is not insignificant. Nor is the way we work in our professions. I can change a word — and in doing so, the world.

Throughout this thesis I have talked about men and women. I could not avoid doing so and still make my point. But now I want to make a suggestion: let's ditch our thinking about 'women' and 'men' and start thinking about 'people'. We are a sum total of different social determinants. We are all hostages to fixed systems of meanings, but we also have the possibility of historical reflection (Carabine 2001). We can decide how we want to see our reality. *We* fix the systems of meanings. Let's question everything we know about our social world and how people ought to behave in it, how we speak of ourselves and what we say about others.

There is no predetermined interpretation for any human act; all interpretations are constructions that serve some discursive function (Potter and Wetherell 1987). There are indefinite possibilities as to how social, political and economical relationships between people could be arranged. In my analysis, I have identified some ways people can be marginalised through practices and forms of signification which in our social world are allowed the claim of knowledge. Knowledge is *never* impartial in its implications — we all reproduce a particular interpretation of our social world as we go along. As Deutsch (2007:108) optimistically announces: "Doing gender approach implies that if gender is constructed, then it can be deconstructed. Gendered institutions can be changed, and the social interactions that support them can be undone." She sees this "revolutionary potential of human agency" as the most important contribution of the West and Zimmerman (1987) approach.

Limitations of the study and suggestions for future research

I emphasised reflexivity when I spoke about feminist knowledge production and now it is time to come back to the topic. While I would like to my findings to radiate an aura of validity, at the same time I realise that they can be subject to criticism. After all, what is written in this thesis is just one person's account of the ways the professionals do gender/do profession through their language use. The account is based entirely on my interpretations of the vast material I had at my disposal. Some other analyst, using the same material, could have found a completely different universe of things to talk about.

This criticism is difficult to refute and the best way to do so is to be as transparent as possible. I have taken steps to explain very clearly how I arrived at my ideas about the interpretative repertoires and the effects of their use. I have incorporated many examples; the Appendix includes even more translated quotes, so that readers can evaluate my conclusions themselves. By doing so, I hope to avoid what Carabine (2001) warns against: having an analysis and interpretation that seems to draw upon 'suitable' extracts to support my arguments.

I also followed the advice of established discourse analysts. Carabine (2001), Potter and Wetherell (1987), and Taylor (2001) advise researchers to immerse and contextualise their ideas and interpretations within the accounts of other researchers. For this reason, I have referred to other gender researchers' work throughout my discussions, to help draw connections.

Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen (2000) write that central to any discourse analytic research is ensuring that the interpretations are related to their context. Valtonen (1998) writes that understanding the findings in the data requires understanding the culture and cultural habits and the general societal climate within which the language use is embedded. As part of this process of understanding, Potter and Wetherell (1987) advise us to collect material from many sources and combine it with interviewing, so as to build up a rich idea of the historical and social context against which to analyse how people organise their talk. The researcher must use their own cultural and disciplinary capital to understand the data. To make the analysis applicable to its context, and also to social institutions and culture, the researcher should extend it outside its own micro-world. Intertextuality is a defining element of discourse theory and therefore it is impossible to conduct an analysis in a vacuum. I took steps to make my analysis transparent and applicable by embedding it in its context. This is why I have made many references to my own cultural and disciplinary capital.

I also wanted to open up Finnish culture to my readers. In fact, this has happened simply because of who I am: the things I say and the ways I say them. I can hardly

influence these ways of carrying my cultural capital into this work, but I can pay particular attention to my translation practices. I elaborated on these in the beginning of Chapter 5. For instance, in translating the interview quotes I used idioms that are typical to Finns, in the ways the interviewees articulated them. I also used gender-neutral language as much as I saw reasonable within the English writing convention. This gender neutrality is a conspicuous feature in the Finnish language. And of course, because my mother tongue is Finnish, I am sure I used Finnish ways of expressing myself even when I did not mean to. I cannot escape the way my background constructs me.

To embed my study even more in its cultural context, I have elaborated on different aspects of Finland, like gender in Finland and professional life in Finland. I have used Finnish theorists. I have also made many references to Finnish legislation, Finnish practices and Finnish citizenship. Finally, throughout this work I brought in the Finnish cultural context, especially the media environment, to underline the societal context at the time of my study. I did so to ensure that my analysis is set in a larger context than the employees' local use of language, to help examine how the discourses reproduced in the professionals' talk are legitimised. 'Doing gender/doing profession' takes place within the social, cultural and historical contexts of the professions I studied. The reproduction of gender requires an interplay between the socio-cultural context of the professions, their historical discourses and these discourses' enactment in the identities of the professionals. My task as the analyst is to deconstruct and explain the systems of these reproductions, and look for discursive fractures where resistances are occurring.

Of course much of the cultural insight within which my interpretations are embedded result from intuitive processes. It is not possible to explain the cultural capital and collective memory in a few hundred pages of one dissertation. I still hope I *can* help readers see behind the repertoires and their direct interpretations, to their socio-cultural setting. I am sure my Finnish voice and the tone of the Finnish language come through in the lines I write, and help locate the interpretations in their context.

Other issues also need attention here. In Chapter 2 I cited Ahl (2002:30): "What you look for and how you look affects what you see and there is no way to get around this". I recognise that some in-built structures in my work may make it appear to be a self-fulfilling prophesy: I look for gender in talk, I get gender in talk. I look for differently gendered ways of doing profession, I get differently gendered ways of doing profession. An obvious example: it is no coincidence that the participants made a distinction between male and female professionals, when I asked them to do so. Even so, I believe that the ways they used repertoires to respond to my invitation to discuss gender, and the differences between the two professions that I discussed in the

conclusion of Chapter 5, do reveal how different ideologies, particularly discourses of gender, act in the professions. For example, the teachers fluently and consistently used the same vocabulary and stereotypes to respond to the discussion topic of gender, and the engineers responded to the same topic by examining the issue primarily as related to women, not men. These reactions do reveal the different ways that the discourses of gender operate in the professions. In addition, we must remember that these were not the *only* ways to talk about gender, just the most frequent ones. Not every interviewee essentialised gender.

And what about the 'coincidence' that in each of the professional groups the interviewees used professionalism repertoires that reproduced discourses from the symbolic universe of the masculine, and from the symbolic universe of the feminine, along with practices that did not apply to either symbolic universe? This is no coincidence. To illustrate my point I decided to also include the less frequently used repertoires in my presentation: the engineers' Team player repertoire, on which only four engineer drew; and the teachers' Instructor repertoire, on which only a few teachers drew. The three and three interpretative repertoires were used almost only to give meanings to good professionalism, but some were barely marginal, others prominent. I decided on the presentation.

Having said this, a point from Deutsch (2007) is very relevant here. She says that despite its huge contribution to our understanding of the social accomplishment of gender, the West and Zimmerman (1987) theory of doing gender has typically been used to show how gender relations are maintained and even to argue that the more things change, the more they stay the same: "Doing gender has become a theory of conformity and gender" (p.108). To talk about and study doing gender, it surely does help to emphasise the continuous social accomplishment of gender, but at the same time it points out the accomplishment of gender difference rather than dismantling this difference. I have tried to attend to this criticism in my work. This is why, as soon as I showed how some people conform to gender difference, I took steps to show how gender can be challenged in the professions. I am here to help understand and conceptualise different ways to do things, not to reinvent the wheel. Therefore I think it is important to reveal the doings of gender, however predictable it may be. We can find gender in interaction because gender *is* there. Gender is intertwined in just about everything we are and do. Studying gender can reveal the automaticity — the lack of reflexivity — in our gendered practices. This understanding will generate what is called change by helping us to reflect on and reconceptualise our social interactions.

Despite my battle cry for reflexivity, I am of course wrapped within the discourses of my own ideologies — into the discourses of my own life. I have taken ownership of the resources that enable me to talk about gender research and constitute

its realities. This makes it difficult — impossible — to step outside them and look at the analysis through a different window, from some other perspective. I cannot, ever, reveal truth. I am here to create my version of my study object, of the theories that drive this research. It is also clear in my use of the theoretical and methodological tools that I speak in a world where I have the opportunity to do interesting work and where I am not very involved with discourses of care. It is also clear that I speak from a position where I have agency, that I see potential in 'doing gender' theories purely because of my own (relatively) free choices of action. This is me 'doing research'. This is my story of events taking place in my social world, which is situated within the boundaries of the discourses to which I have made myself subject.

In Chapter 2, I spoke about different feminist theories and their recipes for challenging gender inequalities. I named myself a standpoint feminist, meaning I have assembled my views from a collage of theories, spiced by ideas I took in from the creative arts, particularly literature and the visual media, and glued together by my experiences of the world, including my current subject positions and my personal history. I have purposely held on to some contradictory epistemological and ontological views, as well as theoretical inconsistencies in my writing. To me, this is what feminist knowledge production is all about. Understanding is key: being able to study phenomena from different angles, to get something to chew on, to contemplate, to express in my own way, and perhaps to generate change within the modest sphere of my power. Therefore, I cannot but embrace Burr's (1995:171) brilliant words: "The question becomes not how truthful the account is, but how useful it may be in understanding and perhaps doing something about the theme discussed".

I do not want to tell my readers what is true and what is not. But I want to tell one woman's version of things, grounded as well as possible in the theories and methodologies of my field. I would also like to invite other researchers to join the conversation. The same type of analysis can be applied to almost anything we want to know about inequalities. We could study more about my fictional representations of the nurses' situation. For example we could analyse what kinds of repertoires are acting in the profession: are they really the same repertoires I described above? We could compare the teachers' ways of doing gender/doing profession with the nurses': what enables the nurses to be more assertive in their demands? We could also study the media representations that I used to support my description of the situation: what do they tell us about the gendered working life?

To me, discourse analyses of the way gender operates in its many forms in society provide frames with great potential for recognising how social structures are rhetorically constructed and how the articulations of power and ideologies position different people, and ultimately affect the real lives of real citizens. It can be applied

successfully to all kinds of textual representations. This kind of analysis is useful not only theoretically, but especially in policy formulation, where we must make transparent the operation of possibly oppressive discourses, and convincingly argue different points of view.

Finale

My research project has made me more serene and more theoretical and more bitter and more confident. It has made me hopeless and hopeful. I have become softer and harder. I have become tremendously insecure about my validity as a grown-up person and I have been fully validated. I have not yet found my place in the world but I have already found a million questions.

Last year in addition to my studies I read all of Alice Munro. I fell in love with her stories and learned gender theories and found so many things that it must have made me a whole new person. So much came to me. Oh, did I suffer and did I see!

I lost and gained my faith in love. No longer could I enjoy Hollywood cinema. No longer did I know who I am, how to look, who to want. The same autumn saw me leaving the identity of a young woman and welcoming one of an adult woman. So I thought. Quite late, said Mom.

Finishing my preliminary study meant finishing with my relationship. I was an exotic colony striving for independence, losing and gaining at the same time. I read Butler and applied it on a fling and failed miserably. I no longer knew what anything means to me.

By the second summer I was able to live with myself again, but life has forever stopped being easy.

Ella handling new knowledges

I started this dissertation the way they normally start: by describing what drove me to it. I detailed some academic objectives: I wanted to learn about the gender segregation of Finnish employment markets, about the discursive production of gender in professional life, and ultimately about economic inequalities created by the gender system. I then I described a set of feminist objectives: I wanted to make a feminist contribution, based on my belief that economic inequalities are the basis for a universe of feminist issues; and on my belief that the gender system controls, limits and stops people from being full human beings. On false premises it forces people into behaviours and experiences that have nothing to do with their needs and wishes.

And then I also spoke about the motivations directly related to my standpoint: I wanted to contribute to the radical feminist project of making women's experience visible. As a researcher I wanted to shift from positivist to feminist knowledge production. I wanted to satisfy the curiosity that hit me when I started reading feminist texts. I wanted to mobilise change, by giving myself and my readers something we did not have before. I wanted to curb pain, to learn more in order to hurt less. In sum, I wanted to grow as a person, to learn to understand and conceptualise things differently, to have a richer world, to be informed and to act informed.

Now that I have considered how much more my personal motivations feature in my list compared to the academic, I have begun to notice that the latter were just camouflage. My scientific contribution will be minuscule compared to the contribution this project is making to me. This was more about the researcher than the research. It was about me making one woman's experience visible, about me shifting my ways of producing knowledge, about me informing myself. But more than anything it was

about getting along with my fears, doubts and isolation; my hopes, enthusiasm and creativity. It was about my collapses of confidence and moments of megalomania. About learning to deal with my desperation in the face of the endless literature and even more endless analysis. In the end, it is about me being able to let all this go and move on.

I may have started this work as an academic exercise, but it turned out to be an identity project. At that point I had no clue what a rollercoaster of emotions and identities I was stepping onto. These feelings — I want to emphasise — were not only about the work and the theories, but about *everything*. I went back in my memories, I loved and hated people close to me, I woke up from dreams with surprising realisations. I could think about one single issue the whole day, or the whole week, overwhelmed by sorrow or helplessness or resentment. Over and over I was pierced by guilt. I often felt very passionate. It all became amplified. I think I got closer to myself. Or something. Have I ever had more overwhelming experiences of personal growth than during the past years?

I feel grateful that I had the opportunity to write this thesis. As soon as I found my topic, I knew it was my thing. What I had and learned during this project has changed so many things in my life. They have not made my life easier, but they have made it *freer*. Having gained so very much, I hope I can give back something valuable: maybe someone will be inspired by this work or my work in the future, maybe being with me will change something in someone's thinking, maybe there are yet other energies that I don't know about, which mobilise positive things where I cannot see them.

Laurel Richardson (2005) says one foundation of feminism is the confidence to know that I see differently, and to trust that what I do is something special. To make a difference we must be open, and talk about the issues that are important to us. Of course, I will sometimes feel vulnerable when I say the thing I choose to say — vulnerable to criticism or to letting people see who I am. But it is important to use our voices. The good and bad thing about words is that as soon as they come out, they already begin to change things. Silenced discussion topics, things that are unspeakable, are the most controlling. Typical discussion topics, things that anyone can say, are the most flat. Our choices of words, our words growing into sentences, our sentences growing into meanings, the meanings into actions: these are at the very heart of the changing quality of our lives.

These are the things I wanted to say at this moment in time.

References

Aamulehti. *Kustannus Oy Aamulehti*. www.aamulehti.fi.

Acker, J. (1989) 'Proposal for an umbrella perspective for "Kvinnotemagruppen"', Working Paper, Arbetslivscentrum.

Acker, J. (1990) 'Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: a theory of gendered organizations', *Gender & Society*, 4(2): 139-158.

Adam, A. (1998) *Artificial Knowing: Gender and the Thinking Machine*. London: Routledge.

Ahl, H. (2002) *The Making of the Female Entrepreneur: A Discourse Analysis of Research Texts on Women Entrepreneurship*. JIBS Dissertation Series No. 015, Jönköping International Business School.

Alapuro, R. and Stenius, H. (1987) 'Kansanliikkeet loivat kansakunnan', in R. Alapuro, I. Liikanen, K. Smeds and H. Stenius (eds), *Kansa Liikkeessä.* Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä.

Andersen, M.L. (2005) 'Thinking about women: a quarter century's view', *Gender & Society*, 19: 437-455.

Arajärvi, P. (2001) 'Studia Ressu 5.11.2001', *Suomen Tasavallan Presidentti – Puolison Puheet*. The Office of the President of the Republic of Finland, Helsinki. www.presidentti.fi/netcomm.

Attwood, F. (2005) 'Fashion and passion: marketing sex to women', *Sexualities*, 8(4): 392-406.

Bass, B.M. (1990) 'From transactional to transformational leadership: learning to share the vision', *Organizational Dynamics*, Winter: 19-31.

Bem, S. (1981) *Bem Sex Role Inventory*. Palo Alto: Mind Garden.

Berk, S. (1985) *The Gender Factory: The Appointment of Work in American Households*. New York: Plenum.

Berman, B. (1993) 'Only a glancing blow: Roger Penrose and the critique of Artificial Intelligence', *Science as Culture*, 3: 404-426.

Billig, M. (1991) *Ideology and Opinions: Studies in Rhetorical Psychology.* London: Sage.

Billig, M., Condor, S., Edwards, D., Gane, M., Middleton, D. and Radley, A. (1988)

'Teaching and learning', in Billig et al. (eds), *Ideological Dilemmas: Social Psychology of Everyday Thinking*. London: Sage.

Brewis, J. (2001) 'Telling like it is? Gender, language and organizational theory', in R. Westwood and S. Linstead (eds), *The Language of Organization*. London: Sage.

Brewster, A. (June 2005) A lecture delivered at *The Nordic Research School in Interdisciplinary Gender Studies PhD Course*, Reykjavik, Iceland.

Bristor, J.M. and Fischer, E. (1993) 'Feminist thought: implications for consumer research', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 19: 518-536.

Britzman, D.P. (1991) *Practice Makes Practice: A Critical Study of Learning to Teach*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Burr, V. (1995) *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*. London and New York: Routledge.

Burr, V. (2003) *Social Constructionism, Second Edition*. London and New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1990) *Gender Trouble*. New York and London: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1993) *Bodies That Matter*. New York and London: Routledge.

Butler, J. (August 2006) 'New gender politics: tension and alliance', a keynote speech delivered at *Gender and Citizenship in a Multicultural Context – 6th European Gender Research Conference*, University of Lodz, Poland.

Cahill, S.E. (1986) 'Childhood socialisation as recruitment process: some lessons from the study of gender development', in P. Adler and P. Adler (eds), *Sociological Studies of Child Development*. Greenwich: JAL.

Calás, M. and Smircich, L. (1991) 'Voicing seduction to silence leadership', *Organization Studies*, 12(4): 567-602.

Calás, M. and Smircich, L. (1996) 'From 'the woman's' point of view: feminist approaches to organization studies', in S.R. Clegg, C. Hardy and W.R. Nord (eds), *Handbook of Organization Studies*. London: Sage.

Carabine, J. (2001) 'Unmarried motherhood 1830-1990: a genealogical analysis', in M. Wetherell, S. Taylor and S.L. Yates (eds), *Discourse as Data, a Guide for Analysis*. London: Sage.

Chernin, K. (1992) *My Life as a Boy: A Woman's Story*. Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill.

Cixous, H. (1975) *The Laugh of the Medusa*, in E. Marks and I. de Courtivron (eds) (1980), *New French Feminisms*. Brighton: Harvester Press.

Clegg, S. (2001) 'Theorising the machine: gender, education and computing', *Gender and Education*, 13(3): 307-324.

Clegg, S. and Dunkerley, D. (1980) *Organization, Class and Control.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Clegg, S., Mayfield, W. and Trayhurn, D. (1999) 'Disciplinary discourses: a case study of gender in information technology and design courses', *Gender and Education*, 11(1): 43-55.

Clegg, S. and Trayhurn, D. (1999) 'Gender and computing: not the same old story', *British Educational Research Journal*, 25: 75-89.

Cockburn, C. (1985) *Machinery of Dominance*. London: Pluto Press.

Collins, P.H. (1998) 'It's all in the family: intersections of gender, race, and nation', *Hypatia*, 13(3): 62-82.

Connell, R. (October 2007) 'Gender and global power', a talk delivered at the University of Basel, Switzerland.

Coward, R. (1984) *Female Desire*. London: Paladin.

Craib, I. (1984) *Modern Social Theory: From Parsons to Habermas.* Brighton: Harvester Press.

Crenshaw, K. (1994) 'Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color', in M.A. Fineman and R. Mykitiuk (eds), *The Public Nature of Private Violence: The Discovery of Domestic Abuse*. New York: Routledge.

Cross, S. and Bagilhole, B. (2002) 'Girls' jobs for the boys? Men, masculinity and non-traditional occupations', *Gender, Work & Organization*, 9(2): 204-226.

Davies, B. and Harré, R. (1999) 'Positioning and personhood', in R. Harré and L. Van Langenhove (eds), *Positioning Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

De Beauvoir, S. (1949) *The Second Sex.* Vintage Books Edition (1989). New York: Knopf.

Delphy, C. (1984) *Close to Home. A Material Analysis of Women's Oppression.* London, Melbourne, Sydney, Auckland, Johannesburg: Hutchinson in association with The Exploration in Feminism Collective.

Derrida, J. (1976) *On Grammatology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Derrida, J. (1981) *Positions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Deutsch, F.M. (2007) 'Undoing gender', *Gender & Society*, 21: 106-127.

Durndell, A. and Lightbody, P. (1993) 'Gender and computing: change over time?', *Computers and Education*, 21: 331-336.

Edley, N. (2001) 'Analysing masculinity: interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions', in M. Wetherell, S. Taylor and S.L. Yates (eds), *Discourse as Data, a Guide for Analysis.* London: Sage.

Edwards, P. (1990) 'The army and the microworld: computers and the politics of gender identity', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 16: 172-197.

Erwin, L. and Maurutto, P. (1998) 'Beyond access: considering gender deficits in science education', *Gender and Education*, 10(1): 51-70.

Eurostat (2007) *European Commission.* http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu.

Eysenck, H.J. (1990) 'Biological dimensions of personality', in L.A. Pervin (ed) *Handbook of Personality: Theory and Research*. New York: Guilford.

Faulkner, W. (2000) 'Dualisms, hierarchies and gender in engineering', *Social Studies of Science*, 30: 759-795.

Fenstermaker, S., West, C. and Zimmerman, D.H. (1991) 'Gender inequality: new conceptual terrain', in R.L. Blumberg (ed), *Gender, Family and Economy: The Triple* Overlap. Newsbury Park: Sage.

Ferguson, A. (1977) 'Androgyny as an ideal for human development', in M. Vetterling-Braggin, F. Elliston and J. English (eds), *Feminism and Philosophy*. Totowa: Littlefield, Adams.

Ferguson, K. (1984) *The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Fiedler, F.E. (1967) *A Theory of Leadership Effectiveness.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Fielding, N. (2001) 'Computer applications in qualitative research', in P. Atkinson, A, Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland and L. Lofland (eds), *Handbook of Ethnography*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage.

Finlay, S.-J. and Fenton, N. (2005) 'If you've got a vagina and an attitude, that's a deadly combination: sex and heterosexuality in Basic Instinct, Body of Evidence and

Disclosure', *Sexualities,* 8(2): 49-74.

Foucault, M. (1969) *The Archaeology of Knowledge.* London and New York: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* New York: Random House.

Foucault, M. (1981) *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1.* Harmondswort: Penguin.

Fraser, N. (1988) 'What's critical about critical theory? The case of Habermas and gender', in S. Benhabib and D. Cornell (eds), *Feminism as Critique*. Menasha: Banta Company/George Banta Company.

Gharajedaghi, J. (2006) *Systems Thinking: Managing Chaos and Complexity: A Platform for Designing Business Architecture, 2nd Edition.* Amsterdam, Boston: Elsevier/Butterworth-Heinemann.

Gherardi, S. (1995) *Gender, Symbolism and Organizational Cultures*. London: Sage.

Giddens, A. (1992) *The Transformation of Intimacy. Sexuality, Love & Eroticism in Modern Societies.* Oxford and Cambridge: Polity Press.

Goffman, E. (1977) 'The arrangement between the sexes', *Theory and Society,* 4: 301-331.

Gordon, T. (2002) 'Kansallisuuden sukupuolittuneet tilat', in T. Gordon, K. Komulainen and K. Lempiäinen (eds), *Suomineitonen Hei! Kansallisuuden Sukupuoli*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Gray, J. (1992) *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus. The Classic Guide to Understanding the Opposite Sex.* New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

Grundy, A.F. (1996) *Women and Computers*. Exeter: Intellect Books.

Hall, S. (1996) *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage Publications.

Hall, S. (1997) 'The spectacle of the other', in S. Hall (ed), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices.* London: Sage.

Hall, S. (2000) 'Who needs 'identity'?', in P. du Gay, J. Evans and P. Redman (eds), *Identity: A Reader*. London: Sage.

Hall, S. (2001) 'Foucault: power, knowledge and discourse', in M. Wetherell, S. Taylor and S.J. Yates (eds), *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader*. London: Sage.

Hallgren, H. (June 2005) 'The transversal language', a paper presented at *The Nordic Research School in Interdisciplinary Gender Studies PhD Course*, Reykjavik, Iceland.

Harding, S. (1997) 'Comment on Hekman's "Truth and method: feminist standpoint theory revisited": whose standpoint needs the regimes of truth and reality?', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 22(1): 382-391.

Harré, R. (1985) 'The language game of self-ascription: a note', in K.J. Gergen and R. Harré (eds), *The Social Construction of the Person*. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Hartman, H. (1981) 'The unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism: towards a more progressive union', in L. Sargent (ed) *The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism. A Debate on Class and Patriarchy.* London and Sydney: Pluto Press.

Hearn, J. (1998) 'Editorial: on ambiguity, contradiction and paradox in gendered organizations', *Gender, Work & Organization*, 5(1):1-4.

Heinämaa, S. (1996) *Ele, Tyyli ja Sukupuoli. Merleau-Pontyn ja Beauvoirin Ruumiinfenomenologia ja Sen Merkitys Sukupuolikysymykselle*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Helsingin Sanomat. *Sanoma Osakeyhtiö*. www.hs.fi.

Henwood, F. (1998) 'Engineering difference: discourses on gender, sexuality and work in a college of technology', *Gender and Education*, 10(1): 35-49.

Hirdman, Y. (1990a) 'Genussystemet', in *Demokrati och Makt i Sverige. Maktutredningens Huvudrapport.* Uppsala University, Department of Government.

Hirdman, Y. (1990b) 'State policy and gender contracts: the Swedish experience', in E. Drew, R. Emerek and E. Mahon (eds), *Women, Work and the Family in Europe.* London and New York: Routledge.

Holloway, W. (1984) 'Gender difference and the production of subjectivity', in J. Henriques, W. Holloway, C. Urwin, C. Venn and V. Walkerdine (eds), *Changing the Subject: Psychology, Social Regulation and Subjectivity*. London: Methuen.

Holmer-Nadesan, M. (1996) 'Organizational identity and space of action', *Organization Studies*, 17(1): 49-81.

Holt, C. and Ellis, J. (1998) 'Assessing the current validity of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory'. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, December.

Hooks, B. (1981) *Ain't I a Woman*. Boston: South End Press.

Hovdesven, K. (2006) 'Bem Sex Role Inventory – can you measure masculinity and femininity?', *AC Associated Content: The People's Media Company*, www.associatedcontent.com/article/72057/bem_sex_role_inventory_can_you_measure.html?page=4.

Hughes, C. (2002) *Key Concepts in Feminist Theory and Research*. London: Sage.

Hughes, G. (2001) 'Exploring the availability of student scientist identities within curriculum discourse: an anti-essentialist approach to gender-inclusive science', *Gender and Education*, 13(3): 275-290.

Irigaray, L. (1985) *This Sex Which Is Not One*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Irigaray, L. (1996) *I Love to You. Sketch of a Possible Felicity in History.* New York and London: Routledge.

Jackson, A.Y. (2001) 'Multiple Annies: feminist poststructural theory and the making of a teacher', *Journal of Teacher Education*, 52(5): 386-397.

Johansson, U. (1998) 'The transformation of gendered work: dualistic stereotypes and paradoxical reality', *Gender, Work & Organization*, 5(1): 43-58.

Jokinen, A., Juhila, K. and Suoninen, E. (2000). *Diskurssianalyysin Aakkoset*, *2. painos.* Tampere: Vastapaino.

Juhila, K. (1999). 'Tutkijan positiot', in A. Jokinen, K. Juhila and E. Suoninen (eds), *Diskurssianalyysi Liikkeessä.* Tampere: Vastapaino.

Kaihovaara, R. (2007) '5 faktaa palkkaeroista', *Tulva*, 3(5):7.

Kaiser, R. (2002) 'Fixing identity by denying uniqueness: an analysis of professional identity in Medicine', *Journal of Medical Humanities*, 23(2): 95-105.

Kansan Uutiset. *Kansan Uutiset Oy.* www.kansanuutiset.fi.

Kanter, R.M. (1977) *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.

Katila, S. and Meriläinen, S. (2002) 'Metamorphosis: from 'nice girls' to 'nice bitches': resisting patriarchal articulations of professional identity', *Gender, Work & Organization*, 9(3): 336-354.

Kirkup, G. (1992) 'The social construction of computers: hammers or harpsichords?', in G. Kirkup and L. Smith-Keller (eds), *Inventing Women: Science, Gender and Technology.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Kukla, A. (1994) 'Medium AI and experimental science', *Philosophical Psychology*,

7: 493-502.

Laclau, E. (1990) *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*. London: Verso.

Lehto, A.-M. (1999) 'Women in working life in Finland', in P. Lipponen and P. Setälä (eds), *Women in Finland*. Keuruu: Otava.

Lempiäinen, K. (2002) 'Kansallisuuden tekeminen ja toisto', in T. Gordon, K. Komulainen and K. Lempiäinen (eds), *Suomineitonen Hei! Kansallisuuden Sukupuoli*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Lie, S. (2004) '"Without your breath on my words, there will not be any mimosa". Reflections on translation', *Joyful Babel. Translating Hélène Cixous.* Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi.

Lie, S. (June 2005) A lecture delivered at *The Nordic Research School in Interdisciplinary Gender Studies PhD Course*, Reykjavik, Iceland.

Lykke, N. (June 2005) A lecture delivered at *The Nordic Research School in Interdisciplinary Gender Studies PhD Course*, Reykjavik, Iceland.

Mahony, K. and Van Toen, B. (1990) 'Mathematical formalism as a means of occupational closure in computing – why 'hard' computing tends to exclude women', *Gender and Education*, 2: 319-331.

Marshall, H. (1994) 'Discourse analysis in an occupational context', in C. Cassell and G. Symon (eds), *Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research: A Practical Guide*. London: Sage.

Marshall, H. and Wetherell M. (1989) 'Talking about gender and career identities: a discourse analysis perspective', in S. Skevington and D. Baker (eds), *The Social Identity of Women*. London: Sage.

Martin, J. (1990) 'Deconstructing organizational taboos: the suppression of gender conflict in organizations', *Organization Science*, 1(4): 339-359.

Martin, J.R. (2000) 'The gendered character of higher education', in P. Fogelberg, J. Hearn, L. Husu and T. Mankkinen (eds), *Hard Work in the Academy.* Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.

Martin, P.Y. (2001) ''Mobilising masculinities': women's experiences of men at work', *Organization*, 8(4): 587-618.

McDowell, L. (1997) *Capital Culture: Gender at Work in the City*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Mendick, H. (2005) 'A beautiful myth? The gendering of being/doing 'good at maths'', *Gender and Education*, 17(2): 203-219.

Mill, H.T. (1851) 'Enfranchisement of women', in J.S. Mill and H.T. Mill *Essays on Sex and Equality*, edited by Alice S. Rossi (1970). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Millar, M.S. (1998) *Cracking the Gender Code: Who Rules the Wired World?* Toronto: Second Story Press.

Miller, G.E. (2004) 'Frontier masculinity in the oil industry: the experience of women engineers', *Gender, Work & Organization*, 11(1): 47-73.

Mills, A.J. (1993) 'Organizational discourse and the gendering of identity', in J. Hassard and M. Parker (eds), *Postmodernism and Organizations*. London: Sage.

Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland (2007) 'Naisvaltainen hallitus näkyi alankomaalaislehtien otsikoissa', *Press Releases,* 24.4.2007. http://formin.finland.fi/ public/default.aspx?contentid=88820&nodeid=17389&contentlan=1&culture=fi-FI.

Ministry of Education Finland. www.minedu.fi.

Ministry of Labour Finland. www.mol.fi.

Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. www.stm.fi.

Ministry of Social Affairs and Health (2006) *Tasa-arvoa Tavoittelemassa*. Helsinki: Tasa-arvoesitteitä 2006:1.

Moser, I. (2006) 'Sociotechnical practices and difference: on the interferences between disability, gender and class', *Science, Technology & Human Values*, 31: 537-564.

Mumby, D.K. and Putnam, L.L. (1992) 'The politics of emotion: a feminist reading of bounded rationality', *Academy of Management Review*, 17(3): 465-486.

Nätkin, R. (1994) 'Väestöpolitiikka, abortti ja äitiys – hyvinvointivaltion ammattilaisten ja naisten suhteen tarkastelua', in A. Anttonen, L. Henriksson and R. Nätkin (eds), *Naisten Hyvinvointivaltio*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Peace, P. (2003) 'Balancing power: the discursive maintenance of gender inequality by wo/men at university, *Feminism & Psychology,* 13(2): 159-180.

Pennanen, M. (1997) *Kasvatustiede Yliopistollisena Oppinaineena Suomessa Vuosina 1852-1995.* Master's Thesis in Education. Turku University Department of Education.

Perry, R. and Greber, L. (1990) 'The computer cluster', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 16: 74-101.

Pohls, M. (1990) 'Women's work in Finland 1870-1940', in M. Manninen and P. Setälä (eds), *The Lady with the Bow. The Story of Finnish Women*. Keuruu: Otava.

Poovey, M. (1988) 'Feminism and deconstruction', *Feminist Studies*, 14(1): 51-65.

Potter, J. and Wetherell, M. (1987) *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour*. London: Sage.

Pugh, A.J. (2005) 'Selling compromise: toys, motherhood, and the cultural deal', *Gender & Society*, 19(6): 729-749.

Pulkkinen, T. (1987) 'Kansalaisyhteiskunta ja valtio', in R. Alapuro, I. Liikanen, K. Smeds and H. Stenius (eds), *Kansa Liikkeessä.* Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä.

Rantalaiho, L. (1994) 'Sukupuolisopimus ja Suomen malli', in A. Anttonen, L. Henriksson and R. Nätkin (eds), *Naisten Hyvinvointivaltio*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Rantalaiho, L. (1997) 'Contextualising gender', in L. Rantalaiho and T. Heiskanen (eds), *Gendered Practices in Working Life*. London: Macmillan.

Reskin, B.F. and Roos, P. (1987) 'Status hierarchies and sex segregation', in C. Bose and G. Spitze (eds), *Ingredients for Women's Employment Policy*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Richardson, L. (1997) *Fields of Play: Constructing an Academic Life*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Richardson, L. (June 2005) A lecture delivered at *The Nordic Research School in Interdisciplinary Gender Studies PhD Course*, Reykjavik, Iceland.

Rosenau, P.M. (1992) *Post-modernism and the Social Sciences*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rust, P.C. (1993) 'Coming out in the age of social constructionism: sexual identity formation among lesbian and bisexual women', *Gender & Society*, 7(1): 50-77.

Schein, V. (1973) 'The relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 57: 95-100.

Siann, G. (1997) 'We can, we don't want to: factors influencing women's participation in computing', in R. Lander and A. Adam (eds), *Women in Computing*. Exeter: Intellect Books.

Stakes – National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health (2003) *Lapsen Elatus ja Huolto 2002*. Helsinki: Stakes tilastotiedote.

Statistics Finland. www.stat.fi.

Staunæs, D. (2005) 'From culturally avantgarde to sexually promiscuous – troubling subjectivities and intersections in the social transition from childhood into youth', *Feminism & Psychology*, 15(2): 151-169.

Stepulevage, L. and Plumeridge, S. (1998) 'Women taking positions within computer science', *Gender and Education*, 10: 313-326.

St. Pierre, E.A. (2000) 'Poststructural feminism in education: an overview', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 13(5): 477-515.

Sulkunen, I. (1987) 'Naisten järjestäytyminen ja kaksijakoinen kansalaisuus', in R. Alapuro, I. Liikanen, K. Smeds and H. Stenius (eds), *Kansa Liikkeessä*. Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä.

Søndergaard, D.M. (2005) 'Making sense of gender, age, power and disciplinary position: intersecting discourses in the academy', *Feminism and Psychology*, 15(2): 191-210.

Tajfel, H. (1982) *Human Groups and Social Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H. and Turner, J.C. (1986). 'The social identity theory of inter-group behaviour', in S. Worchel and L.W. Austin (eds), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Taylor, S. (2001) 'Locating and conducting discourse analytic research', in M. Wetherell, S. Taylor and S.L. Yates (eds), *Discourse as Data, a Guide for Analysis*. London: Sage.

The Confederation of Finnish Industry and Employees (2003) *Naiset ja Miehet Työmarkkinoilla*. Helsinki: Teollisuus ja Työnantajat.

The Finnish Association of Graduate Engineers TEK. www.tek.fi.

Thorne, B. (2002) 'Symposium on West and Fenstermaker's "doing difference"', in S. Fenstermaker and C. West, *Doing Gender, Doing Difference: Inequality, Power and Institutional Change*. New York: Routledge.

Tong, R. (1989) *Feminist Theory: A Comprehensive Introduction*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Tong, R. (1998) *Feminist Thought.* Colorado and Oxford: Westview Press.

Trade Union of Education in Finland OAJ. www.oaj.fi

Uotinen, J. (May 2006) 'Juoksuhiekka ja tilkkutäkki – laadulliset tutkimuskäytännöt ja äänen kunnioittaminen', a paper presented at *Gender, Everyday Life and Technology* research seminar at the University of Tampere.

Valtonen, S (1998) 'Hyvä, paha media. Diskurssianalyysi kriittisen mediatutkimuksen menetelmänä', in A. Kantola, I. Moring and E. Väliverronen (eds), *Media-analyysi – Tekstistä Tulkintaan.* Helsingin yliopiston Lahden tutkimus- ja koulutuskeskus.

Vartiainen, J. (2002) 'Gender wage differentials in the Finnish labour market', Labour Institute for Economic Research, Helsinki.

Vaz, P. and Bruno, F (2003) 'Types of self-surveillance: from abnormality to individuals 'at risk'', *Surveillance and Society*, 1(3): 272-291.

Vehviläinen, M. (1997) *Gender, Expertise and Information Technology.* Department of Computer Science, University of Tampere.

Veijola, S. and Jokinen, E. (2001) *Voiko Naista Rakastaa: Avion ja Eron Karuselli.* Juva: WS Bookwell.

Virtual Finland – Your Window on Finland (2007) 'Milestones for women in Finland'. http://virtual.finland.fi/netcomm/news/showarticle.asp?int NWSAID =25731.

Vuorikoski, M. (2003) 'Opettajan yhteiskunnallinen valta ja vastuu', in M. Vuorikoski, S. Törmä and S. Viskari (eds), *Opettajan Vaiettu Valta.* Tampere: Vastapaino.

Vuorikoski, M. (2005) 'Opettaja – sukupuoleton mallikansalainen?', *Minna - Valtakunnallinen Naistutkimus ja Tasa-arvoportaali.* http://www.minna.fi/minna/artikkelit/vuorikoskiopettajat.html.

Wager, M. (2000) 'Finnish academic women, professionalism and femininities: the question of identity', in P. Fogelberg, J. Hearn, L. Husu and T. Mankkinen (eds), *Hard Work in the Academy*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.

Weedon, C. (1997) *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Weinstein, M. (1998) 'Computer advertising and the construction of gender', in H. Brompley and M. Apple (eds), *Education/Technology/Power: Educational*

Computing as a Social Practice. Albany: State University of New York Press.

West, C. and Fenstermaker, S. (1995) 'Doing difference', *Gender & Society*, 9(1): 8-37.

West, C. and Zimmerman, D.H. (1987) 'Doing gender', *Gender & Society*, 1: 125-151.

Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S.L. (eds) (2001) *Discourse as Data, a Guide for Analysis*. London: Sage.

Whishnant, R. (March 2007) 'Not your father's playboy, not your mother's feminist movement: contemporary feminism in a porn culture', a talk delivered at the conference *Pornography and Pop Culture: Re-framing Theory, Re-thinking Activism,* Boston. *Said It,* 2(4): 2007.

Wicks, D. (2002) 'Institutional bases of identity construction and reproduction: the case of underground coal mining', *Gender, Work & Organization*, 9(3): 308-335.

Wikipedia – The Free Encyclopaedia. *Wikimedia Foundations Inc.* http://en.wikipedia.org.

Wollstonecraft, M. (1792) *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. Carol Poston (ed) (1975). New York: W.W. Norton.

Yle. *Yleisradio Oy*. www.yle.fi

Appendices

Appendix 1. Overview of interviewees

ICT engineers*

Professional title**	Employer characterisation	Gender	Age
Project Manager	Public ICT design and services corporation	F	31
Project Manager	Public ICT design and services corporation	M	30
Customer Service Manager	Public ICT design and services corporation	F	44
Technology Manager	Public ICT design and services corporation	M	27
Usability Consultant	Public ICT design and services corporation	M	28
Programme Developer	Public ICT design and services corporation	M	37
EMC Specialist	Public ICT design and services corporation	F	42
Data Communications Engineer	Public ICT design and services corporation	F	31
Technology Consultant	Public technology and management consulting corporation	M	28
Usability Expert	Private ICT design and services company	F	28
Systems Engineering Expert	Private ICT training and consulting company	F	42
Researcher	Technical university	M	30

* The sequence here does not reflect the numbering of the interviewee quotes
** Self-reported professional title

Engineer interviewees total: 12
Men / women: 6 / 6
Average age / median age: 33 / 31

*Primary school teachers**

Professional title**	Employer characterisation	Gender	Age
Class Teacher	Suburban lower elementary school	M	63
Class Teacher	Suburban lower elementary school	M	41
Class Teacher	Suburban lower elementary school	M	43
Class Teacher	Suburban lower elementary school	F	45
Class Teacher	Suburban lower elementary school	F	30
Class Teacher	Suburban lower elementary school	M	29
Special Education Class Teacher	Small town lower elementary and special education school	M	35
Special Education Class Teacher	Small town lower elementary and special education school	F	33
Special Education Class Teacher	Small town lower elementary and special education school	F	41
Finnish and Literature Lecturer	Small town upper elementary school	F	59
Finnish Lecturer	Small town upper elementary school	F	36
Sciences Lecturer	Inner city lower and upper elementary school	M	36
Sciences Lecturer	Inner city lower and upper elementary school	F	40
Sciences Lecturer	Inner city lower and upper elementary school	F	41

* The sequence here does not reflect the numbering of the interviewee quotes
** Self-reported professional title

Teacher interviewees total: 14
Men / women: 6 / 8
Average age / median age: 41 / 41

Lower elementary school: Basic education grades 1-6. Pupils are 7 to 12 years old. First two years in lower elementary school are called entry teaching: the same teacher is in charge of teaching all subjects. Grades 3-6 are also led by a class teacher, but special subjects (e.g. skills and art subjects) are taught by a specialised teacher. The special education school I visited had the same kind of organisation, but included pupils up to 9th grade.

Upper elementary school: Basic education grades 7-9 (and a voluntary 10th grade). Pupils are 13 to 16 years old. In upper elementary school each class has a designated administrative teacher. The different subjects are taught by specialised teachers (e.g. by a sciences lecturer, Finnish lecturer).

Appendix 2. Interview format

I used this interview guide as a rough basis for the conversations. In each interview I refined and rearranged the discussion topics slightly.

---

1. **Introduction**
- Where I study, my research interests, what I do professionally
- A short introduction to the topic and to my question setting (i.e. the study is about gendered working life and the possibilities of challenging that)

2. **Beginning instructions for the interview**
- Conversational format
- I am interested in your work history, your thoughts about yourself as a teacher/ICT engineer, your views about your profession
- Your thoughts and opinions are important; they direct the conversation. Feel free to speak about anything that is important to you.

I as a professional

Describe what you do and what it includes

Supporting thoughts:
- Why they wanted to be a teacher/ICT engineer
- What they think is good in the profession
- Why they find the work important
- What is interesting in it, what motivates them
- How their impressions about the occupation have changed over time
- Why they are in the current job/with the current employer
- What they find good in it, what not

Describe a typical work situation, e.g. in a classroom/when starting a new project

Supporting thoughts:
- How they act
- How they approach students/teaching/co-workers/clients/problems

Teachers/ICT engineers as a genre

What do you think is a good teacher/ICT engineer?

What is meant by a top talent?

Supporting thoughts:
- Behaviours, characteristics

Do you feel you are a typical teacher/ICT engineer?

Supporting thoughts:
- An example of a work situation where it is evident
- Behaviours, characteristics
- Subcultures

Success, professional context, developments in the field

Describe a situation when you have felt especially successful

Supporting thoughts:
- What do they understand by success
- What is important for success in the field
- What kinds of behaviours does that include
- What kinds of values and attitudes
- What can be detrimental to success in the field
- Teachers: interaction with parents

What in your opinion are the current/critical issues in your field at the moment? Positive or negative.

Supporting thoughts:
- What issues affect the occupation, working life, the field today

Work-life balance & family

What does a good working life mean to you?

Supporting thoughts:
- Personal investments/sacrifices in terms of time, relationships, life quality
- Combining family and working life

Gender, equality in working life

Why do you think there are so few men/women in the field and so many women/men?

Supporting thoughts:
- What do they think would be different if there were more men/women

Differences between male and female teachers/IT engineers

Supporting thoughts:
- An example of a situation where gender was evident at work

Private life, personal goals

What else is important to you in life?

Supporting thoughts:
- How they spend free time
- How they build identity, via what kinds of activities

Would you like to mention anything else?

Appendix 3. Interview quotes representing the different interpretative repertoires

Mars/Venus repertoire – making sense of gender difference
Teachers: Upholding the hierarchy
Engineers: Men's work and women's work
Teachers: A career that follows bodies
Engineers: Female bodies outside the norm
Teachers: Order through normativity
Engineers: Don't rock the boat

Teachers' representations of professionalism
Guide: Manager of emotions
Nurturer: Adult to children
Instructor: Methodological teacher

Engineers' representations of professionalism
Achiever: Wins in the job role
Navigator: The new ICT subject
Team player: Co-operation first

Legend for the presentation of interview quotes:
I = the interviewee
E = Ella
(3, m); (5, f) = sequence number and gender of the interviewee
italics = the interviewee's emphasis
text— = unfinished sentence/thought
(…) = irrelevant part of text I removed for presentation purposes
[text] = my clarification

Mars/Venus repertoire – making sense of gender difference

Teachers: Upholding the hierarchy

Every now and then you can see [that men are indulged] in everyday interaction. In our school for example we have four male teachers and they are not, at least very often, nitpicked behind their back, or gossiped about. But women are constantly. They are almost beastly to each other. (3, m)

For example when we have outside work activities among the teachers, they *really* work hard to get the men to come along. And often men do not. There are two or three men who come along, but otherwise, I don't know, maybe it's just not that important to men. (3, m)

I know really good male teachers, in any case as good as female teachers. Then people always say that men, they shirk responsibilities. But those saying that are exactly the pedantic hair-splitter female teachers who don't accept the artistry in some men. (4, f)

Men as teachers are more relaxed. Both in a good and bad sense. They maybe don't *pamper* children so much, which I also sometimes find myself doing. (5, f)

A typical teacher, woman, 38, from a good family, girl next door, maybe a bit odourless, tasteless, colourless. Works conscientiously, is content with their own role, takes a sabbatical at some point, maybe a bit unsurprising. But I would put my own kids in their class. (...) And normally they have some specialty skill like textile work or music or arts. But does not want to teach physical education. And hates the wild boys in the back row. (7, f)

Women ponder and worry and contemplate. And of course with only a few men, if you happen to look at someone a bit wrong or say something with the wrong tone of voice, like just today I happened to say something I didn't even notice myself. About yesterday's party, like 'Yeah yeah fine party thank you thank you'. And of course someone got offended again. Even though I did not mean anything, but there they were already pondering why I didn't like it. (7, m)

But there are also good sides, like you can sort of rule the roost a bit. I often get my opinion through a bit more easily and get away with doing less. Don't need to do Christmas decorations or other of this kind of women's stuff. (7, m)

Let's say that normally male teachers are more relaxed. Female teachers can be a bit particular and dry and men are *often* more upbeat. And children like that. (9, f)

When I started in teacher education, there was a quota for males. I think they took 45% boys and 55% girls. It was easier for boys to get in. I think this was *regardless* [of men getting in easier] really good, considering children here at school. They'll see that men, too, can be interested in people. And men teach different social— they teach *differently*. Pupils normally really like male teachers. (9, f)

Male teachers often specialise in sports, crafts and the like, so to speak nice subjects. Like one male teacher in my school, really a good guy, is specialised in arts. Of course they are nice subjects also for pupils. In my course, I remember, at least half the boys specialised in physical education and technical work. They are the nice, easy subjects. (9, f)

Men have tunnel vision; they are maybe less flexible and adaptable to different situations than women. They don't look for different solutions to different pupils; do not isolate and attend to individuality. Men are more clear-cut, what I have observed of the male teachers here at school. Well, damn it, they have that one system, one method and that's it. If that doesn't suit someone— (10, f)

But why are male teachers more valued than female teachers? And why do people complain about the lack of men in schools? Why in the world? When nonetheless it's been proved that many female teachers are a lot more conscientious and hard working and even more capable, better than many a lazy male teacher. They don't bother to do nearly as much work as we women do. (10, f)

Like when we have a sports day, sure enough they dig into the sofa, sort of like who organises it and all. Or some Christmas ceremony. They prepare a program of their own there, throw some play script to the children, to fifth graders for example, throw it like 'Yeah, practice this by then and then'. And then they go announce that we have a play. Meanwhile, women set up the Christmas tree and work out who walks from where and who moderates and where the parents sit and they take care of the hall and all. (11, f)

Most men they paddle through the day pretty much playing by ear. They don't think too much, just go and do a bit of hockey in PE, without giving a second thought about whether gymnastics was scheduled for the day. Or if the plan says that you should teach set hours of gymnastics every winter. They go play hockey, end of story. And really, many men teach poorly. Like they don't give a hoot about pedagogy. (...) They hoard their hours, they may have more than thirty, and then they have no time to help in the shared responsibilities. Plus they don't plan their lectures; they plan at the doorknob of the classroom. (11, f)

A work place where there are only women, it's really awful. So men *are* needed. E: To balance it out? I: Yes, precisely, because it's just awful if *every time* you go to the teacher's break area someone is mulling over some behavioural thing. You want to discuss something totally different too. (11, f)

Men bring sort of a cool fix-up. Take for example our Christmas party, the rector played a rocker boy and then they had Abba and this sort of thing. Like they bring a kind of masculine twist. (...) Bring different kind of depth. It would be really boring if there were no men here. So in a way they are needed. (11, f)

The majority of men take it a bit more relaxed. And this does not mean that we wouldn't care or assume responsibility, but sometimes you have to be able to look a bit in between the fingers and round up the edges. (12, m)

A work place that's *too* dominated by women, or at least this is what I've experienced, all sorts of bizarre friction begins to develop. Set up much easier by women *than* by men. It's like when guys are laughing away, women are bantering around the corner, evil things behind each others' backs. (12, m)

Looking at my own work community, even though we have at least forty percent men teachers, the *closest* colleagues are women. But they are more like *work* colleagues, they are there at work. I don't know many female teachers with whom you can go like, 'Let's take a beer'. With male teachers instead— (...) A sort of a situation overview, getting things without having to twist them out of a wire, this comes easier with men. You just have to glance at the face and you know what they mean. (12, m)

Somehow men can present things in a calmer manner. (13, f)

Pupils would maybe like to have more men, they probably like male teachers more. I remember I used to like male teachers more. (13, f)

Engineers: Men's work and women's work

Men and women have on the average different talents. According to my observations, typically, or *more often*, you find men who are strong in analytical work. But then again, for example in my field, project management is a profession where according to my experiences women are better. I think one of the biggest reasons for this is that the different genders have different areas of intellect that are statistically prominent. Which of course guides the choice of career and succeeding in the career. (1, m)

E: Why are women good as project managers? I: In my experience project management is excessive organising and networking and solving political problems and these are the sort of things— Ok, emotional intelligence is one of the things where women on the average are in a whole different league than men. And project management is exactly where that is needed, when something bothers a customer or a team member or they are dissatisfied about something, it needs to be spotted well before it escalates into a situation where even men notice it. (…) And again the people I have run into in working life, women are better organised which is extremely important in project management. (1, m)

I can analyse how a customer forms an opinion on an *intellectual* level, but what it is at an emotional level, that's where I'm really weak and this is what I think is definitely women's strength in the field. (1, m)

Women can handle many things at once, for example in a situation where there are different tasks with different schedules connected to many different projects. They can simultaneously, sort of side by side, work on the different tasks. If one thing gets sticky, does not move on, they leave it in the background to ripen, and go work on something else. Their time management may be more efficient. When men run into a problem, they sink deeper and deeper into that swamp, they muse on it as long as needed to come up with a solution. (2, f)

Women can look for different solutions to solve the problem at hand. But they search for the solution from a different perspective; they want a solution that serves their purpose. Men, on the other hand, try to find a kind of an elegant, technically refined solution to a problem. (2, f)

Men typically are one-field specialists, women are multi-talents. Men do just one thing at a time: they start something, they finish it. And God forbid if you give them a new task before the old one is completed. With women you can shove a *pile* of tasks under their nose; they can handle, they can prioritise the tasks, schedule them, and do them independently so that they are all completed in time. With men you have to twist everything out of wire. You must explain that at this point you have to start this and that, and if you want to get the task done by such and such a time, even though it takes only one week and you have a month, you need to start now. Because for sure you'll have problems at this and this point, which you'll need to clarify from the outside and you won't get the answers, so it's going to take at least one week and then you'll need to have everything finished by the deadline. (2, f)

One reason can be that young girls orient— or their interests are quite far from technology. Girls like to play house and these kinds of things, boys like *gadgets* and playing war. So already then it starts moving in different directions. (3, m)

More women in the field would bring more soft values and empathy and people would talk more about emotions in work places. It is not often that we talk about any *emotional* stuff among the men, it is quite limited. (...) Overall, this field is quite hectic, full of small activities, which constantly need to move on. So it often doesn't even *occur* to you, or the mode changes very fast, even if you are feeling some emotions, you just shut them off and start with the routine. (3, m)

At school in physics or geography all the examples were really technical, like *cars*. These don't interest women. Today they have developed physics books with more examples on the environment,

less technical ones. But I don't know now if there is research evidence that people who study those books approach technology differently. But somehow all this has been presented in really boyish ways, so maybe *that's* why girls don't get interested and they think it's *boring,* there are only things like cars. Even though it wouldn't be about the car, but how it moves, the physical phenomenon. (4, f)

How many little girls have built a radio? Surprisingly many little *boys* have built a radio. So there is some kind, I don't know, electricity and small equipment, tinkering, it is more a boy thing than a girl thing. (…) Computing is based on technologies and it fascinates men. And instead of focusing on how to design a user interface, the function, they think it is great to code with words, that it's so much fun. There are still many people who like to do things with commands instead of a graphical interface. They think a graphical interface is totally stupid. But then again come to think how much easier it is for a new person to use a graphical interface than commands. (4, f)

Humanistic subjects like environmental technology or usability or information networking have pulled more women into the field. And if there are more women engineers, maybe technology will come closer to people. End users are considered, people as users of technologies. Environmental effects and psychological effects and things like that. Maybe technology will come out of its shell, and show that it is not so special and scary. (4, f)

These days you really have to understand what different parties in projects are saying. The importance of communication is increasing. In these kinds of projects, there will most likely be more and more women, precisely in project management. They don't necessarily bring in the skill, this comes from technical experts, men and women, but understanding the big picture, that may be more women's area. (5, f)

Women are traditionally trained, I don't mean the education institution but in general, to do ten things at once. And this is something a project manager must be able to do. Coordinating everything, keeping ten balls in the air at once, this is somehow more natural to women. (5, f)

What *may* come from school education, especially in ICT subjects, they may emphasise more surfing and technical skills. Traditionally boys like to fiddle with machines and they are encouraged to do it. But the kind of *applying* the technology to other things, that's maybe more women's area. So this also leads to what is evident in companies, that women plan, think how to use the technology and men implement, code. (5, f)

I have noticed that the most technical people, the coders, they are mostly men. The ones who at the start of a project do the requirements and planning, they are mostly women. So you could say there are about fifty-fifty men and women, but the emphasis is on different tasks. (5, f)

In a way the approach is different. The sort of fiddling with details fascinates boys and that's how it's been skewed the way it is. Women sure are keen to apply, try out and look for new sides— E: They have like a holistic view? I: Yes! Precisely a holistic one, how to apply. Also earlier, maybe gradually less so, but traditionally in upbringing men took care of all that had to do with machines and women took care of other stuff. (5, f)

For men technology itself is the most important thing: what is inside. Men normally can dig out new stuff and figure out some crazy ideas to do things. But it is women who have the tenacity to complete the real work, to make sure that something comes out of it too. (6, f)

Work settings where there are only men would maybe become more humane if there were women. Women team leaders understand the work and they can care for their team a lot better. Sometimes there are men team leaders who don't even know what their team members do for work. (6, f)

The field is considered really technical and traditionally technology has been more men's area. Women have maybe thought that it is boring, to work only with computers and they have not realised that the work is not only about technology. (6, f)

There is much research evidence that when technology is referred to as media, more girls get interested in it. Or when you talk about communication technologies, more women pile up there. I read about a digital photography course, how it can be positioned differently. They had one course with a focus on the art side, technology had only a secondary role. This course attracted half women half men. A course with a focus on computing, the other thing secondary: many more men than women enrolled. (8, m)

A friend of mine studied technology and gender, interviewed men and women, and found that men could not criticise technology like women did. Because it is like part of masculinity to be able to handle it. And that's why you can't criticise it. (8, m)

Women can more easily manage tasks that are most the tedious and demand the most patience. Women are perfect for this, men tend to duck out. E: Do they come to women or do women want them? I: It's probably both. Women maybe are naturally good at doing the tedious stuff. Woman's thinking flies like a May Day fritter,[79] they can think through a bunch of different things while working. So the fritter-tunnel vision analogy holds to a certain extent. Men lack the tenacity, because they focus only on the thing they are looking at. A woman can think about many other things too. (...) I always think that women can do the tedious work because of this. Their processor can manage much more than men's. Men fix themselves on the one thing; they get bored because they can't do anything else at the same time. (9, f)

Girls are attracted to information networking, because it is not *so* technical. (11, m)

Technology has this image of being a nerd thing. On the other hand, it probably stems already from the fact that women are not really interested in maths in high school. There are some women, but statistically I don't know if they manage as well. This is my impression, at least in my school more boys than girls were good in mathematics. (11, m)

The technology itself does not put girls off, but when using technology is about developing technology, they are not interested. (11, m)

The few girls I know from working life (...) they got a responsible position quite quickly. Maybe they were like, they complained and brought to someone's attention that this and that does not work and we cannot do this and that. Finally someone blows a fuse and says like 'Well, you do it better!" And then they get the job. I guess it goes like this. Men maybe just keep coding: 'As long as I can get this done, the boss is a jerk and things don't work, but we just code'. (11, m)

---

[79] A pastry that looks like a ball of spaghetti.

Teachers: A career that follows bodies

Maybe this field attracts women more than men. Of course men leave immediately if they get some hundreds-Euro higher salary. And this can happen more easily for men. So if a man and a woman apply for some position, say in NGO management, it is very likely that the man will get the place, but the woman only if she really is overwhelmingly good. (3, m)

Changing careers may be easier and more likely for a male teacher. To think of female teachers, what are their options? Men have organisations and their functions, education, leadership, smaller organisations. (3, m)

Then there is the pay. If you are the family breadwinner, it isn't really attractive. You get a bit more than nurses, but not much. So that does not attract men *or* women to the field. There have to be other motivations and for men this means questioning the traditional thinking. (3, m)

Of course it is a question of quality too. Sometimes I get this *nasty* thought, that the men who want to be teachers, they come here because they cannot go anywhere else. This is quite selfish thinking, but somehow I feel that in our society men have higher aspirations. (3, m)

It is known that men change to other work. E: They are not content with the salary or do they have other ambitions? Women don't care about the pay so much? I: Well, women have their businessmen husbands and the like. E: They don't need to support a family or it's not so— I: Yes, the traditional setting. (4, f)

I don't know if it is just what I hear everywhere, but I think it is partly the salary why there are more women [than men]. Women are not so concerned about the pay. Or neither are men, but it is a fact that two-teacher families don't manage so well as if the man has a higher paid job and the woman is a teacher. (5, f)

For many women it is maybe a safe occupation. Good to establish a family as a teacher. Long holidays, all this. (7, m)

Really the expectations and then what the employer offers are thoroughly contradictory. You are expected to do everything, yet nothing needs to be rewarded. Here again many teachers disagree, that this is a calling and blablabla, but calling does not fill your stomach. (7, m)

A typical career path for a male class teacher is that they get a teaching degree, work a year or two as a teacher and then move on to the business sector. Get fed up with the poor salary. (7, m)

There is a glaring lack of *men* in the teaching sector and the only way to get more is to have remarkably higher pay. E: Do you think this is the main reason why men don't— ? I: At least in my case it is. In the beginning I was not bothered by the modest salary, when we didn't have kids and lived in a small flat and the living expenses were small. For a student it was luxurious even to have a steady income. Well now with kids, living in a house and with two cars in front of the house, the living expenses have six-folded, so now it has started to bother me. Because teachers' salary development, it is really pathetic since the Seventies or something. I feel like I could do just anything else and earn more. (7, m)

It is possible to earn some service supplements and yearly increases and whatever, but male teachers again have a bit of an advantage here. Men are normally offered more hours and the pay is based on hours. Men can normally do as many hours as they like, so that helps a little. Women don't want to do. (…) Men, if they are not offered hours, they change their job. They call somewhere else and ask, 'Now, what have you got to offer?' (7, m)

The problem lies in that this is a female-dominated field. Women are content. This again is my teacher chauvinism, but here you learn to be a chauvinist in less than three years, let's say during the first year. Viewing the job as a calling is one reason: 'You don't need— You are doing it for a calling. Like a *nurse*. You nurture. That's your reward'. I have like ten times surfed the internet for teaching jobs abroad. (7, m)

Men go where there are more money and power and… testosterone. (8, m)

If you live doing what you don't want to do, you won't be content on your deathbed. Of course I am very *un*satisfied with the pay. But I also know that we are so many, it is difficult to start really raising the pay. (8, m)

Women put up with the teacher salary and anyway they like the work maybe as a calling. I'd say there are still loads of calling teachers. For women it is more like that. (10, f)

Women like the freedom and the freedom of *choice*. (...) They value the free time and the opportunity to arrange their family life conveniently. You don't need to keep the kids in day care until four-five. (...) The lectures take place at a certain time and everything else you can arrange however you wish. (11, f)

Looking at today's school, you need men there and how in the world do you attract people? At least not by the pay and not necessarily by the content of the work either. (12, m)

Women normally have children and stay home. Teachers have pretty good benefits. (...) If you have a teaching job, it is pretty nice to return from maternity leave. Long holidays to spend with the kids and all. Women often have to think about how to take care of children along with working, so in a teaching job that's quite simple. You pretty much have time for everything. (13, f)

Of course men do not stick to the field. They get into teacher training easily, and come out with a master's degree in education. Well, in this field the pay is so miserable, why in the world would guys come here when they'd have no end of work opportunities. (14, f)

I think this is much more valuable than what I'd do with big money, training some big shots there [in training business people, a job the speaker was offered]. I feel this work is much more valuable. (14, f)

Of course men go, they go to publishing houses and whatever else. And these days when people study for several degrees, of course they go where they get more money. (14, f)

Engineers: Female bodies outside the norm

I think it is connected to large questions like in school teachers don't think girls need to know physics or advanced math and these are like, they reflect the rest of society. (8, m)

In the ICT field and in masculine fields overall, to generalise a bit, one has to be a good guy, one has to get along. Or be conscious about the kind of male interaction, the culture of how men *act* together. The different unwritten rules, whatever they are. One has to understand networking and these things. These don't really solve the issue of why there aren't any women, but sure if you look at companies' management they are composed of men. (3, m)

Considering that they hired a woman of reproductive age. After all, it's a big risk to the employer. Like it's a small firm and I was worried if it would depend on that, but seems like it didn't. I find that positive. (4, f)

At university some girls who'd like to code say that they are not so easily allowed to, when the work is distributed within a team. (4, f)

I don't know if it is more difficult for female coders to advance or to prove that they are good. Could be, because 90% of coders are men, so it may be more difficult. (4, f)

It is social. I remember when I chose to study physics, people gave me funny looks. They looked like, 'Ahem, a *woman* wants to study physics'. (...) So it is thoroughly about how you are encouraged. (5, f)

Another situation that can be *tough* for many, in many projects the customer side people can be of a slightly older generation. And especially in the most typical situation they are older gentlemen. In public administration this is often the case. (...) And suddenly a young woman appears as a project manager. So in this sort of a situation it is likely that the female project manager, her first time in the project is spent in proving that she really knows her way around. (5, f)

In my earlier years we needed a project manager for a very male-dominated organisation. They were like, let's not say militaristic, but this sort of air. We then pondered who'd be a good project manager and the best choice turned out to be one *female* project manager. In the course of the project they then admitted that they are much tougher than any of the men there, much firmer and so on. Well I know the female project manager, who really is a very strict fact leader. I am not surprised that they could manage well with that crew. E: So, was there some doubt at first that the project manager couldn't make it? I: Yes. In these kinds of situations there may be some scepticism on the customer side. (5, f)

It is probably partly historical the few women, because when I graduated there were primarily men in the field. The field was really well paid in comparison to other fields. It is well paid today too, but this has evened out. Let's say the field has come closer to the earth. (6, f)

The maintenance work, it's still not valued enough. E: That what tends to be done by women? I: Yes, mostly. (...) E: Do you see it in the pay then? I: Especially there you can see the status difference. Even though it is always profitable work to the company, those who do it, they don't always get paid accordingly. And no bonuses or something that would motivate you to do it, because the work is also heavier. (...) It is not 100% like this, but normally when you start with something new, they tend to use the men who are there. (6, f)

It is an attitude question, how customers take it, for instance. These days you have no problem being a woman in this field but, say, fifteen years ago, it was like, 'Ahem, are we dealing with a woman only?' E: So the entire field has become kind of softer, not so masculine any more? I: No. And then women are valued more, that they can do just as well as men. (6, f)

It probably starts with the education. Like normally engineering fields are of course male dominated everywhere. (7, m)

I think it is connected to large questions like in school teachers don't think girls need to know physics or advanced math and these are like, they reflect the rest of society. (8, m)

Maybe women don't have the guts to choose technology. It already seems like some sort of an educational thing, that they are supposed to choose a care slash teaching slash this kind of a women's field. Sure there is a threshold. One must be a bit unconventional to want to study in a very male-dominated field. (9, f)

Men do demand quite a lot from a woman. (…) A woman shouldn't make mistakes, men are allowed to. To put it roughly as a caricature. But yes, this kind of a split is there. And on the other hand you must be extremely careful to maintain your credibility. Women can also mess up their credibility really fast, you don't need to make many mistakes. (...) And as a woman you can eat up your own credibility by your behaviour. In my opinion credibility is about being trustworthy, you don't make mistakes. (9, f)

You need to have guts. With men, this is my impression because I have more or less always worked with men only, working with them is easy. It is just really direct sometimes, different. (9, f)

You shouldn't misuse your femininity. E: By for example being too feminine? I: Yes, or I keep the bar really high with the men I work with. You never need to doubt my morality. As a woman you can never mess up in any situation, not in a sauna evening or anywhere else, because then you lose your ground. (...) Morally, or anyway that you behave wrong. Men can mess up at least in sauna evenings, but women can't. Actually women can never mess up, even there. (9, f)

I could imagine if there are two people you know well applying for a position, with whom you have worked, I'd say men always rather select the man. They have some kind of a good brother network already from birth. Women are not like that, women compete with each other. Whereas men support one another. So there too a woman can come in second, in a selection situation. (9, f)

In my own team I am at the older end, so I've also become some sort of a mother figure. I have that place too. People can come and talk to me. E: Younger women or? I: Men. Also about their personal stuff. This has developed over time. (...) They talk even about some quite painful things. I don't really even want that, I don't want to know these things. (9, f)

There has been a threshold to come into the field, because those who study advanced math in high school are mostly male. So you could not apply even if you were interested in the field. So the choice has been made already when it wasn't a conscious one or your parents did it for you, for one reason or another. (10, m)

Thinking of my college days, it seems that every guy applies there. Everyone to whom it just occurs as a career choice, even though they wouldn't be particularly interested in technology. Whoever has a vocational school or a high school background. It is just so much more of a natural choice for guys. The girls who were there, I think we all were above average at school. Then again, it may be easier to choose nursing school, although it may not be so easy to get in there these days either. But, well, I got a feeling that overall, guys have a much lower threshold for choosing the field. (…) Girls have to show that they are good and can manage it. (12, f)

And the girls who do study in the college, they are, not always in a negative sense, but one way or the other they are always singled out, observed. Losing for a *girl* is still like— heh. (12, f)

Teachers: Order through normativity

I have a feeling that many male youth are in need of a male role model. Sometimes I get the feeling that everything is not necessarily going as well as possible at home and this is how it actually is these days. That there is not necessarily a man in the house, has not been for years. Or ever. This happens and then the only male role model may be some male teacher at school. (1, m)

Talking about male role models, well, okay, we'd need different ones. It's unlikely that there is one right male role model and so the model could come from many different images. The model may remain too narrow or even skewed if at schools there are *only* two or three male teachers. The identity building base could be broader. Like: 'That guy seems to be really fair and that guy is really nice, I wish I was as nice and I wish I'd know even half their jokes', and so forth. It's the sort of work where you need building blocks from here and there, different models. (1, m)

Boys would learn kind of male role models. After all we have quite a lot of women in this field and it often happens that at home there is only the mother and then at school there are only women, so sometimes it seems we'd need men. (2, f)

Because these days there are so many broken families and patchwork families and single-parent families and whatever variations, I'd see it's little boys who suffer, because many of them are then left with mothers only. You cannot *totally* generalise, but the so-called male role models would be needed. (6, m)

I was given a class— By the way it was one of these schools which are full of girl-next-door type of teachers. The whole school, including the rector, ranted on about how it was the worst class in the history of the school and horrible and awful and nothing will come out of them and blablabla. I have never had such a nice group, the year was great, *everything* worked out with them. They were excited about *every*thing I started with them. *All* plays, *all* books— (...) They were great personalities. So I guess I could pull the right strings because the entire year was so successful. (...) It was like, if there was a group that needed a male teacher, it must have been this one. (7, m)

Half of our pupils are boys, and if there are only women, and these days almost half of families are single-parent families, if they grow up with women their entire lives, I am *sure* they'll be good adults, but when will they get to know men? (...) In my class we have at the moment one child from a complete family; all the others are from single-parent households. One lives with the father, others with the mother. (7, m)

I really believe there should be quotas in teaching. Because now there are so many divorced families, I mean parents. And the man is usually the one who sees the children less. (9, f)

And then boys at school. It is true that boys would want more male teachers and they value male teachers more than female teachers. Boys, especially the fatherless boys. They are always some kind of problem in primary schools. This is a question that really should be considered and discussed. (10, f)

Just so that there would be some sort of balance. Just take a look at today's school: year by year there are more and more disturbed children. And of course this is not the children's fault. When we look far enough, it is society's fault. When parents are feeling unwell, children also feel unwell and everyone around them feels unwell, or suffers from it. Just so that there would be equal role models. When it is only women who run the show, in my opinion this does not give an accurate picture of society. (12, m)

I think it is really *sad* that there are no male teachers, because children, especially children of divorced parents or children who have problems in their background, lack the male role. The role of a *protective* man. (14, f)

Engineers: Don't rock the boat

E: There are still worryingly few women leaders in the ICT field— I: I don't know about the ratios, if in the top management there are a few women, how it is among the employees, if the percentage is respective. Like if here at the lowest level we are 20% women, if in the management it is also 20%, or if the percentage goes down on the way up. I don't know because I haven't followed the statistics. (2, f)

E: Only 10% of computer science students are women. I: Could be, yes. I don't know in general, but altogether at the technical university I think there are about 20%. And then there are areas, like usability research, where are quite a few women. (4, f)

Unfortunately it is a lot about how well you can sell, how well you dare to talk about yourself. In test situations, you know those net job applications, when you look at women's averages and men's averages, there is really a big difference. Women sort of rate their abilities poorer and men easily better than they actually are. (…) That's how it is in job interviews, you sell yourself. You have to be interesting and convince them that you know your stuff. So if men can do that better, they stand better chances. (...) Maybe it's evident when you are on bit of thin ice and you have to *sell* yourself, without lying about your skills. Men may be able to do that better. (4, f)

I have never had anything, I have never felt that things would have been easier or more difficult for me. I'm just one of the students. (…) I have gotten everything I wanted. Or I have not suffered from it. And I don't think I am being graded more leniently because I'm woman. Grading is based on assignments and there are normally male team members too. Normally you don't work on your own. Or when it comes to examinations, when they read hundreds of papers, I don't think they check whether it is a girl's name or a man's name. (4, f)

E: If we talk about the status of the work, do you see a gender difference? I: I'd say no. Actually what I've experienced, of course it's always apparent in that men are paid a little more and all that, but otherwise you could say that gender segregation has pretty much disappeared in the field. We are all just *guys*, not like men and women. Apart from company parties or these kinds of situations, gender is not evident. Otherwise not. It is irrelevant, as a matter of fact. And actually mixed teams *work out the best* in project situations. Gender does not get overemphasised, there is a more neutral tone. And yet normally there isn't anything like, this is a woman and they cannot know and sorts. (5, f)

E: Only about 10% of computing students at the technical university are women. I: Yes, and that's only because those who go *there* are precisely those who want to study theoretical subjects and who want to be researchers. That is, more of those nerds. Because, then again, those who enter the field via commercial schools, they are mostly women. So the entry to the field happens through different routes. And this can then show up in *salaries*, because in some positions a university education is more highly valued. So this is how it happens and that's of course significant, that it's actually because of the education. (5, f)

Age distribution is maybe more apparent. The young crew thinks that old hats cannot do anything, that they are dinosaurs. Technology moves forward so fast. So this type of division. Genderless. (5, f)

I have noticed that the most technical people, the coders, they are mostly men. The ones who at the start of a project do the requirements and planning, they are mostly women. So you could say there are about fifty-fifty men and women, but the emphasis is on different tasks. (5, f)

E: Can you think of any concrete situation where the gender or the age issue have been apparent? I: Yes, about the age question, these days you see it strongly in that companies brutally— Technology moves forward so fast, companies can't *afford* to educate older staff. These people would need a really big technology leap, knowledge leap. So in the worst cases the old staff is thrown out and young guys

are hired to replace them. (...) About the gender question, you really don't see that. Like which gender— Oh yes! I have one example. It's in a *positive* sense (...) (5, f)

Another situation that can be *tough* for many, in many projects the customer side people can be of a slightly older generation. And especially in the most typical situation they are older gentlemen. In public administration this is often the case. (...) And suddenly a young woman appears as a project manager. So in this sort of a situation it is likely that the female project manager, her first time in the project is spent in proving that she really knows her way around. But this has really decreased in the past four years, because now the older generation is retiring and companies are hiring young people. For a while there was this kind of a gap, no new people. Now they are being hired, so people are mixing up. So in the future there won't be such a strong contrast. For a while we had that. E: Like a generation gap? I: Generation, yes, more this type. (5, f)

E: Can you think of any work situation where gender has been apparent? I: Maybe to a small extent you can see it if there is a meeting, where, hmm, there are eight people and one of them is a woman. Everyone will *notice* the woman. But they don't necessarily notice all the men. In that kind of situation you may see it. And this is only about the sex. Independent of the goal of the meeting, if you ask the eight participants, they all surely remember the woman, but don't remember all the men. E: Could the woman also get *heard* more easily, because she is easier to remember? I: True, yes, maybe. But also the demands may be tougher. E: Why? I: If you one way or the other attract more attention, precisely because of your gender, it can put pressure on you. E: Do you think there are differences in working styles? I: Probably not. I'd say gender differences are really small. Only if there is a meeting where there is one woman and eight men or two women and fifteen men, it is totally natural that— Or the other way around, two men and fifteen women, it always turns out that the only one or two [different ones] are more visible. (7, m)

In computer science there are actually quite a lot. At least when I started way back, it was one of those— (...) I don't know about the statistics, you can find them on the internet, maybe 15 to 20% women, easily. Because that isn't, I guess, what I remember seeing last time. I don't know if it's much or little, but it's probably more than there are men in teacher education. Clearly more. (10, m)

E: Only about 10% of computing students at the technical university are women. I: Yes, and that's only because those who go *there* are precisely those who want to study theoretical subjects and who want to be researchers. That is, more of those nerds. Because, then again, those who enter the field via commercial schools, they are mostly women. So the entry to the field happens through different routes. And this can then show up in *salaries*, because in some positions a university education is more highly valued. So this is how it happens and that's of course significant, that it's actually because of the education. (5, f)

I can't point out any larger conspiracy behind it. (...) In general I don't think that men and women somehow universally think totally different, that in *itself* there is some kind of a value to having both men and women. I've seen in working life, you can find jerks and geniuses in both sexes. I can't think it is any kind of measure in itself. In contrast, you often see it used as an excuse as to why things are not this or that way, one or the other party pulls out the gender card. Which I think is wrong, because in working life I haven't seen any reason to hold one or the other as categorically better. It depends on the person. In my own experience women bosses are not any better than men. You can find both in both sexes. (10, m)

Teachers' representations of professionalism

Guide: Manager of emotions

I try to raise a sort of curiosity as to how this thing works now. I believe we have a natural interest in deducing things when there are enough pieces together. This raises the need to figure out the thing, the entity, like how does it go now. So maybe I can create something like this. And then of course I try to sprinkle humour in between. Of course that's a difficult form of art, but maybe I sometimes succeed in it. So that's important. When there is a good, peaceful atmosphere in the classrooms, when you can create that, then the conditions for learning are pretty good and this very much enhances the achievement of the learning objectives. (1, m)

It is an important characteristic that one can read the situation, the class. It is especially challenging when it comes to more sensitive things, like if something was now understood or not. So this to a certain extent is sort of an intrinsic characteristic to me. (1, m)

I'd say first there are the physical characteristics. Those could be good things; since this is a bit of a female-dominated field, being a male-gendered is kind of beneficial. Then I'd see that the large size and the low voice are also the sort of characteristics that help to catch the pupils' attention. My voice can also get loud when needed. And then someone said to me that the calm appearance is a sort of thing that creates favourable ground. And I actually try to talk quite a little, quite clearly, about quite essential things. (1, m)

I try to make everything very transparent, as rarely as possible make decisions that are difficult to ground or whose reasons remain a bit shaky or unclear. I try to be as consequent as possible, predictable. (1, m)

If I could strike a bit of a spark in them towards mathematics. When I see that people come back with even rather laborious voluntary assignments and I know they have worked many hours and then the reward is that one bonus point, I get the feeling that one way or the *other* this may be a question of getting a bit of something extra. That the pupil too feels they're getting something more than just that one bonus point, that there is a reward, like now I learned something, figured out something important and fine. (...) Of course I cannot get all the pupils, but if for example 20 to 30% voluntarily ponder some bonus assignment, I think it is a good outcome for me. I feel that something moved, something happened, some lamp lit up somewhere or is just now lighting up. (1, m)

I guide very much right beside the pupils and do not get upset if they ask the same thing a few times over. (2, f)

And then we demand quietness and working peace for all. (2, f)

My colourful career has given me a bit of a special background for a teacher and I have also been able to utilise that. Children are of course always quite interested in the dark Africa where I spent much time and many other things. The personal touch points are good and useful for the teaching too. (3, m)

And then another thing that I have been trained for in my other jobs is in the area of group dynamics. Class is a group. Or it should function as a group and I have maybe for that reason managed to guide the group work in the classroom. Even though it is not always easy. (3, m)

Of course there are certain limits as to how one can behave, because in a classroom other pupils cannot lose the peace they need to work because of one person. But you don't make it a question of pride with a pupil. If nothing else helps, you carry the pupil out, but there is no point in arguing. E: Staying above the situation probably takes a bit of consideration? I: That takes, yes, and the kind of humility that no one can ever always be right, that teachers make mistakes too. But my motto is, even

though the teacher is often wrong, they are nevertheless the teacher. E: Yes, the authority is at that end. I: Yes. That's my function in the classroom and it cannot be questioned by the pupils. They can go complain at home, but these are the facts. From the power perspective. It also happens that teachers give too much power to pupils and then the whole thing gets out of hand. (3, m)

I am pretty good with the kids, on a relationship level. I can manage them and can take them as individuals. (3, m)

I don't plan lectures very much. But I have my sensors towards pupils all the time. I always know what I'm going to teach and what we'll do and in this way I have the subject knowledge. But I also manage the methods because of my education. After all I'm an old dog, twelve years experience. So I feel I can keep steady in the classroom and really cooperate with the pupils. I really hear what they say and notice if someone is in a bad mood. For this reason, I believe everyone has a pretty good time there. Pupils, teenagers, they do notice when you really listen to them. Or if you just want to push your authority, by commanding that we do this and this and this, or not. I think that maybe being easy-going like this makes me a good teacher. (4, f)

I can keep order. There is working peace in my classroom. (7, m)

I get along with the pupils quite well. Like the ones I am teaching at the moment, I can quickly change my mindset to resemble theirs. And my sense of humour is reasonably good. (7, m)

It is like we *do things.* Not just study or else, but we have fun and we sing and play. (9, f)

I have noticed how I can keep a handle on things by fooling around quite a lot. Talk a bit eccentrically and say funny things, so they stop and wonder, like, what's up now? That's something I think I can do quite well. E: For example how? I: I have a strange habit of making up my own words. I use sort of verbs that do not exist at all, in Finnish you can make up onomatopoetic verbs and so forth. The kids know what I mean but the word is funny and they chuckle a bit and understand what to do. So there is some amount of show in the classroom. I like to laugh with the children, but I also like to make *them* laugh. (9, f)

I wouldn't put on my own show. I can't do that kind of a lecturing system. Instead, I want the feedback rather quickly. Like after every few sentences I must check where we are. E: Do you ask the children then? I: There is no need to ask, they'll only stay quiet a short while. They comment immediately. E: But you present it so that they have the space to comment? I: A little bit provocatively, yes, that way. I provoke *positively,* so that it raises thoughts in them. So that they *want* to comment. (9, f)

A good Finnish teacher must have acting skills and must be able to empathise. And one needs to be able to *narrate;* narrating skills are *really* important. Because pupils like to stop and listen when a teacher *narrates* a story or a plot. So your oral presentation skills should be reasonable. Then you must be able to transmit the information in a way that a child, a teenager, can understand. (10, f)

Relaxed, but in some ways I am also strict. But I hope I can be fair, at least I try to be. And I try to be open, I say if I have been wrong about a fight or something, someone has hit the other first and I did not realise that they are not being honest about it. I say sorry, I did not realise that it went that way. (11, f)

I try never ever to put a child down or say that you cannot do it. Instead, I say something like, you have done this *really* well, but shall we take one more look together? Like, hey, maybe you could think this over once more, and see if it's possible to do it some other way. This is all right, but let's study some more. I try positively like this. Of course I can't accept something that is totally wrong, but when you can say something like, you have really put a lovely effort into this, but let's take one more look together. Or could you try once more, could you figure out some other way to do it. Or do you

remember when we did this last week, did you do it this way or some other way or how. Then some of course go like 'Naah, we cannot, this is wrong'. But I'll try this way somehow. (11, f)

I use things like I say something a bit wrong or comical and suddenly I notice that aha, they are listening to me. This way I can *also* pull in the one with attention problems, if I happen to hit their interest range. For instance I talk like well, 'Hmm, that, that play-x-box', Play Station and X-Box together. Not one second and they go like 'Naah, that's not!' So it is really like these kinds of ways of arousing their interest. Or I count whatever on the blackboard, just so that someone can experience: 'I notice the teacher is doing it wrong!' Or I might invent sort of, never any humiliating, but sort of funny names or something. Or we together make up a story of a name or something. These sorts of things, it's a lot about expressiveness maybe, we create new things around old ones. And the more they touch the child and their interest range, or their acumen — these are really juicy packages. (14, f)

And in general I try by connecting with a child. (14, f)

Nurturer: Adult to children

When someone has died, then we discuss these things and do not care about where we are within the teaching plan. (2, f)

It is also about bringing children up as students. It's not like you yourself must know all or provide everything ready-made, but specifically to teach pupils to look for information, and to frame it together with them. (3, m)

I don't know if it's possible to really narrowly and specifically define what a good teacher is, but at least interaction skills are really important. Because if you know a lot and can guide a lot, but if you cannot communicate with children, all that is there remains a bit on empty ground. This I've learned almost out of laziness. The point is not that the teacher needs to know everything and then just pass it on, but to show how to search for information and to frame it together with the children. (3, m)

I have gotten positive feedback from parents about the classroom atmosphere. This is mentally important to me. We can learn and take cooperation positively. Every now and then, since these kids are at the beginning of puberty, there are clashes. But tomorrow they are over it and we are on good terms again, the pupils with each other and I with the pupils. (3, m)

I can tell you examples of rows with pubescent girls. My older child is a daughter and with her I have learned to just ignore her when it's one of those bad days. (...) This I've realised and it is one of my strong points. I know that if someone quarrels it is not about me but them. And I don't need to take it seriously and *compete*. Many teachers make the mistake that they start shouting in chorus with a pupil and take the pupil's behaviour as an offence against them. Of course that happens too, but as a rule you can just let them pass. (3, m)

It's awful to give too much responsibility to too-young people. Or *shove* too much responsibility on a too-young person. Responsibility for their own actions. That's something you can see at schools; pupils seem to like me precisely because I don't tolerate, they have clear limits. I have small children at home, have been three years at home, so I've learned to say that this is what we do and this is what we don't do and we don't discuss it. That's just the way it is. These things are quite easy to rationalise, especially to teenagers. It's really easy to rationalise that we have rules, just take a look. And then there is the unwritten rule, good manners. That also is a rule which we don't need to discuss, everyone knows it. (4, f)

I feel successful as a teacher when the pupils feel good here and when they do well. (4, f)

To a pupil, whatever their age, the most important thing is tranquillity. And Finnish [in the curriculum] is a *skills and art* subject, not an information packaging system. It is a subject where one should get to be at peace and restful. (...) This I have recently figured out for myself, that this is probably the idea, that in the Finnish course you should get to read in peace. And discuss in peace. And above all write your own thoughts in peace. These are the most important building blocks of one's humanity and self-knowledge. In schools the skills and art subjects are the only ones that help to build one's own identity. (...) There is no need to accomplish, no need to look at the curriculum all the time, but we see a bit how the children feel. And then we do that. That's probably important. (4, f)

I am really proud that I have gotten my pupils to consider other people *really* well in my opinion. And to look about a bit, like, 'Don't do that, that's not nice'. So they know how to. And they also let me know if someone else is being mocked. (5, F)

Of course it changes daily and in this occupation you really grow together with the children and grow yourself, but at the moment I feel I am a good teacher. And this occupation sure is rewarding. But being a teacher or rather maybe a nurturer is not a simple thing. You need a lot of empathy. It's like if you could sort of grow with the children and somehow nurture them and bring them up as humans. It

is difficult to express in words. And you need a certain character, especially with the small ones and of course also with the bigger ones, but especially with these small ones. (...) Empathy and to be able to connect with children at their level. (5, f)

When I see happy and wholesome faces, I feel successful in my work. (6, m)

A good teacher is patient and they should have time for a pupil. Because even in schools it is getting more and more hectic. Even in a tight situation one should be able to maximise the little time they have, make it quality time. So that it would be useful for the learner-pupil. That you could support and encourage and guide. (6, m)

I think the most important task for a teacher is nurturing. In addition to educating. And specifically so that you could install in the pupils some kind of a sense in between the ears that only by studying can you succeed. And even when the background is not good, there is no point complaining about it or mulling over it. You can do something for your own life. There are two possibilities: either you choose the good way or the bad way. Especially in the marginal cases, you can't go on pleading that I have this or that thing wrong. Okay, we can *understand* that, but when we are here at school most of us want to work and then these— Do you understand what I mean? Like even if there are some problems there, they cannot destroy everything *else*. *These* are the biggest challenges. E: And you help them in your nurturing role to choose the path that leads to a positive life? I: Yes, the good one. Avoid bad, do good. (6, m)

I have the parents' full support and they specifically call me after a good piece of disciplining. Because that creates security and a good work setting. These really are the basic things: good behaviour, respecting others. Because in the end they are the assets for good adulthood too. (6, m)

Sometimes you are really in tune with one pupil and then with another you cannot get *any* grip. And I realise that the pupil does not like me at all either, that *no way*, whatever you try you cannot get close. But then we just somehow navigate. This is what it is to be a human. We are personalities. A teacher should accept that not everybody gets along with everybody and not all can be friends. (7, m)

Human development. When they are first in a poor stage, like I had some in the beginning of the third year, and now all goes really well. This makes me feel that I want to come back next year. (8, m)

I don't think you could manage with children if you can't meet them as human beings and make contact and have the patience to listen to their 'Aah, I lost a tooth' and simple things like that. (9, f)

Some teachers are quite fixed on the idea that we have to know everything and always be like ten times better than the children to be able to teach. But children sometimes need us to say that hey, we cannot do this. It is an enormous enjoyment to them to find out that they can do something better than I can. And to realise that one can fail. This is a big thing for a child to figure out. You don't always need to know. That lets you practice. (11, f)

In our class no one laughs at failure. It's about creating sort of a team spirit that it is ok to fail. And I lead the example, for instance I write something wrong on the blackboard and then they of course realise that it's going wrong, like surely things go every day. So I don't try to explain it away one way or the other, but just say like, 'Oh no, that's gone wrong now, I've been totally inattentive'. Or if I don't know something I say that I don't know it. (11, f)

And then we have teachers here that are not teachers at all and they do *really* weird things. Who am I to judge, but for example with one we just bent arms when I said like, hey, school is not only about Math and Finnish, who protested about having to bring their class to our *common* events. Like award ceremonies, because it takes time away from teaching. I am like come on, there is a lot more to school, it's about the *community*, being together, behaving in different situations. For heaven's sake! They

push Math and Finnish in the classroom from dawn to dusk, however much the hours allow. But there is a limit to how much one can learn. (11, f)

It is not necessarily about the stuff that we teach or what is emphasised in schools' and communities' curriculums or their framing. They rant all kinds of babble there and heck of sublime things. But then really it is like, or that's the way I feel, it's about simple grassroots actions and caring. This is the most important work. And Math and Finnish come along nicely. (12, m)

You must be yourself. If you start acting in your own job, you cannot make it for more than two years. You stab yourself in the back. If I'd have to go to work to pretend to be someone else than I am, I could not do it. Sometimes you'll overshoot and do stupid things and blunder, but in my opinion that's human and then it's also a sign to the pupils, like, hey, go ahead, let go, you'll make mistakes, but that's not in any way dangerous. These are the most important things. Hey, jump on a desk to sing punk and the kids think what the hell the teacher is doing. You have to be yourself. (12, m)

It is one way to measure your own work, like part of the professional image. We care about them and take care of them. (12, m)

Especially in the beginning of my teaching career I had all the caricatures in mind about the worst kind of an asshole teacher. And the kind of power teachers have, it's disproportionate in relation to what teachers really are trained for. Misusing that, that's criminal. (12, m)

Let's start from the idea that it's about showing feelings. When I have a bad day, you can see and hear it. When I have a good day, you can see and hear it too. But that's also a sign to pupils that you have the right to act this way. When *you* have a bad day you can show it. And when you have a good day, you can show it too. (12, m)

It's not that everyone should get the best possible scores in a Math exam, these come one way or the other if they are to come. But it's more about supporting a human being, you cannot measure that in numbers. And maybe I'm a bit like I need things to be going a bit badly, so that I can support a little. (12, m)

I feel you can never measure my work to the end, because I cannot see my pupils twenty years from now. Even though they are little kids when they are within the range of my influence, which is not a *small* range, I do hope that I could influence how they are as people when they are thirty, forty years old, what becomes of them. (12, m)

Simple things like how to talk to your neighbour and how to consider your neighbour and how it's sometimes best to shut up if you don't have anything good to say. But you don't get tired of these, you have to trumpet them now and then. This is what it's all about, sociability and interaction and making this possible and sustaining it. This is how I would describe it. And it is a hell of a lot more important. After all it does not take anything *away*. (12, m)

I have never felt that teaching *any* fact is more important and urgent than if there is some kind of a developmental situation. Now of course all teacher educators get touchy and say 'remember your task is to *teach* and nurturing comes second'. But personally I *totally* disagree with this. (12, m)

What it is at grassroots level, it's about throwing yourself onto the same wavelength for the duration of the work day. Not necessarily on the same level, but on the same wavelength. Then it's like if someone wants to give you a high five in the corridor, a pupil, you'll give them one. And don't go around thinking like isn't this weird, a fourth grade girl and a fifth grade boy meet a forty-year-old teacher and say 'Naah, gimme a high five!' (12, m)

Knowing when it really is a situation that you have to stop to listen what a pupil has to say. Or when it is they just want a bit of additional attention from the teacher or they just fool around, they are tired or

they are hungry. These are everyday situations. And it's not the purpose that you stretch into all of them, but that you find when a pupil really is on a bit of thin ice and relies on you and wants to tell you something or ask you something. (12, m)

If I start pretending to be some guy I am not, that's not a good thing. This is a conscious choice. You don't always have to do what someone else has figured out. In my time I missed it, it was like, hell, I am not even allowed to think here. And at my school days it didn't even occur to me in any way to rudely express my differing opinions. If you expressed them, even when asked, you were picked on and disapproved. So I consciously encourage my pupils to be critical, that your task here is not to swallow everything that I as a teacher feed you. If you have a differing opinion, go ahead and say it out loud. I am not going to start dumping on anyone because they dare to have an opinion and even put it in words. (12, m)

My *especially* successful experiences are of certain moments when the group really functions together. And I tell, using a narrative method, about something, no matter what. It is like, almost like *a spell* falls over the class. These are the sort of moments that give me goose bumps when I think about them. It's quite a lot about the children feeling successful and good about themselves, because their self image is so *very* fragile. It would be *lovely* if I could, you know, nicely shore it up. And share acceptance. So that the children feel that this person accepts me, the entire *group* accepts me. Because there then starts to grow this feeling of 'I accept myself'. (14, f)

It is bit of a personality question. If you expect giant steps, if you don't see the small ones, you are likely to get very frustrated. (...) You should see it from the perspective of your professional self. That there *was* a small pull forward. In a way almost schizophrenically, I have more than one personality observing it. Or many roles within oneself observing the situation which is going on and developing. (14, f)

There should be some kind of an orientation, so that you don't ruin the little lovely darlings by your own cynicism or something. You really have to be careful, because the first school year shapes children most; during the first year they get the biggest understanding of 'how am I as a learner?' And if the teacher makes fundamental mistakes there and ruins the child, this can fundamentally affect the rest of their life. (...) You must be really careful and in a way strengthen a positive self-image, realistic self-image and self-confidence. From this come the skills too. (11, f)

Instructor: Methodological teacher

E: What makes you feel successful? I: Good examination results. There you can pretty much see how people have learned things. (1, m)

Sometimes I have weaker groups and when they take an exam and all get close to excellent, that feels good. Just a while ago I had a group that is normally weak, around seven minus, seven and a half. Now they got like nine minus to ten. This makes me feel really successful. (2, f)

It is much about clarifying things, framing all that fragmented information. The Finnish education institution is very book-centred and the people who make the books know this. They earn *big* money by following the teaching plans and then quickly changing the books again. I've tried to fight against this. That the book is not the one and the only and it is not the teaching plan in the first place. It's based on it, follows the teaching plan. Children sometimes complain about skipping pages, but I try to make meaningful entities out of all the details, so that we won't always just study page by page by heart. (3, m)

I fit into the early teaching, I'm like jack of all trades. I never had any one subject where I was particularly strong; instead I like to do everything. I am good at almost everything, but brilliant in nothing. That fits me well when you have to do a bit of everything. (5, f)

I teach all subjects, so I have built quite good general knowledge basically about everything. That of course makes a good teacher. (7, m)

One has to have good subject knowledge. *Must* know authors, literary history, different methods of text analysis, discourse analysis, all this. (10, f)

I've said to parents that they can come anytime and follow the teaching and ask, and I can pedagogically ground everything. I always keep *so* strongly in mind why we are doing things, I can explain it. I think this is the idea in being a teacher. Of course anyone can take a teacher's guide book and teach, but you cannot utilise it if you don't know the pedagogy, in the right way. Last spring, for example, my assistant taught the entire class next door while their teacher was on sick leave. Sure you can take and say read this and this and this assignment, but they don't have the pedagogical view on it. And that is what I think comes from teacher education. (11, f)

I try to be open and for special education pupils it is really important to be clear. I try to cut out all additional frills. Linguistic jokes for example are not going to work. Jokes must be visual, maybe a bit easy for the age level. A person with linguistic difficulties cannot do linguistic jokes. (11, f)

The physiological state and the mind have to be open in a certain way. There has to be a specific physiological state. One cannot pour knowledge in over the edges. And if a pupil does not want to learn, they will not learn. Not until the *motivation* is awakened. (...) Many an unqualified teacher unfortunately thinks that when you teach they learn. And that is *not* so. If the interest does not arise, you can teach as much as you like. (11, f)

The teacher must aim at completing the curriculum. Try and finish a book within a certain time frame, so that nothing is left out. If you are short of time, you should just hurry up and have pupils work more. You cannot be flexible and teach less; you must teach the whole thing. And if at the end of the year time is running out, pupils just have to work more. In my understanding you must aim at pupils learning what they need to here, if they want to continue to a gymnasium or to a vocational school. (13, f)

In my school days I admired teachers who made sure that the standard of teaching was high. It was always lousy if we had to leave out lots of important stuff from the end of a book. There is always some extra stuff that you don't need to study, but it was never nice if you had to leave the important

stuff out. And on my own I didn't study them anyway, so in my opinion it is the school's responsibility to take care that everything that should be learned is learned. (13, f)

It is a teacher's responsibility also to teach those to whom it is a little bit more difficult. That always rewards you when you can get those students to participate. (13, f)

Engineers' representations of professionalism

Achiever: Wins in the job role

In my current job I've had the opportunity to observe really sharp guys. I have realised that myself I traditionally first want to clarify a thing *fully and completely* and design everything totally waterproof and only then can I confidently present it. But now I have learned that even if you have just a small idea, a bit dim and the full picture not yet clear, you just present it with certainty; if you focus on the core idea, on what you think is revolutionary or functional, you will sell it. (1, m)

This autumn I designed a systems interface for a large customer. There was this customer who for a couple of years had not cooperated with our firm, had somehow got his skis crossed with us. This was supposed to be like a new start and I did the design and based on that we managed to sell the delivery, which was remarkable, strategically really important to the corporation. So of course when you, with your own work, can especially bring in the user perspective, which is new to the customer and in which the previous system failed the customer. The customer had put millions into a system that no one was able to use or wanted to use. In other words, everything washed out. Now I brought in this new perspective, which clearly worked for the customer and the customer saw, the customer was very progressive in a sense that they saw that this is really an important thing. And because of this they wanted us also to deliver it and now I am involved in the delivery project. (1, m)

I've noticed that in customer meetings if you think you are really a great guy and feel self-confident, you just get your ideas through a whole lot easier. In working life this is an advantage, maybe not so much in personal life to think you are the toughest guy in the world, but in working life it's useful. (1, m)

I think quite rationally about the work setting. And make fast decisions, think analytically and make fast decisions. This is often critical so that projects move forward and succeed. (3, m)

At the start of a project I normally try to create a vision of our goal. Of course we do it together, all who participate in the project express their varying opinions. Then together with the project leader we create a project plan and define our objectives. (3, m)

There are certain moments when you finally get to do some evaluation. You send the report beforehand to all, like in the EU project, you send like, hey, here is my report. Then nothing happens, for a while they are like, 'Well, I don't know', they do not start applying the findings. Then you go to a meeting, show some video clip on user tests, how users really cannot do it and how they search for some specific thing there. And then they are like 'Aha!', the problem is not my own invention, but it really came from the users. They are like aha and they fix the thing. So this is always a breakthrough, I feel I've made it. (4, f)

Our entire process is being developed and I instantly knew to dig out the user-based product development process, ISO standard, which we now use as the basis. They had like fiddled and fiddled with the process before I came around, and I think what they had done was miserable. I was like, how about we try this and then they were instantly with me. But earlier it had not even occurred to them that something like that exists. (4, f)

If at first there are sceptical engineers, who think that usability is not worth considering. And you just push with the evaluation. Then when you get real results you can convince the engineers that hey, it makes sense. This is like, yes, I could do something here and something has been done right and well. I could convince the sceptical engineers really to fix things. (4, f)

My colleagues they do not have a research background and I notice that. Not only am I the only engineer there, but also the only researcher. I view things from a whole different angle than they do.

They go like, hey, that's a great idea, let's go do it. I'm like, why don't we first see what someone studied and how it could be done best. Instead of us just making our own mistakes, we could already learn from someone else's. (4, f)

When someone afterwards sends for example an email, saying 'Hey, that was really a good course'. Or even like, 'That was a really good thing, could we get some more of it?' Even if the further subscription would not come to me, that they specifically want me [to teach], but if they want the course from us anyway, I feel successful. It's like, good, we opened a door there. They got a good learning experience, they thought it was good. (5, f)

The instructor can especially say, 'Hey, what we just did, did you notice that we have a *very* similar thing here now. It's not exactly the same, but similar. Do you think you could apply it?' So it's giving little hints and guidance, because this stuff you cannot just *pour* into people's heads. (5, f)

Even though I must study all the time, I also in a way share what I've done in practice. My own background is not at all in education, I have done a long practical career in ICT. And I can apply *that* to a large extent, the practical experience I have. So this is kind of helpful to me. E: Is that why you feel you are a good educator? I: Let's say it's an important part of it. Because I always get feedback about it, people say it's great to have someone [teaching] with concrete pragmatic examples. (5, f)

If you are top talent especially on the technical side, it may be that you have the deepest of the deepest knowledge of some specific programming language or some specific gadget or some hardware or software. And you know how to code and you know exactly where the problem areas are. I think this is one form of being a top talent. (5, f)

Normally they want *practice*-oriented teaching. No textbook stuff. That is needed too, but above all how to do things in practice, how you in your own work can apply the stuff. (5, f)

I've participated in many projects especially in their first phases. That's where you define the customer needs, and the requirements: what the system must be able to do, what you can do with the system. I did lots of this requirements definition and realised that I'm good at it, I can find out stuff. It is often like being a detective. Or these days when I teach the subject, I always say that you need many characteristics. You have to be able to see the forest from the trees, understand entities. You must be a detective, because often things are not what they first seem to be, you must dig deeper. You need to be a diplomat, because there are conflicts of interest and you need to balance in between. And you must have psychological skills, because people are different, they communicate differently. From some people you have to squeeze it out, some can express it straight away. So you really need diverse skills. (5, f)

Systems design and project work you cannot manage with book knowledge only, with what you once studied. You need the practical experience. It is *instantly* visible if a person has no practical experience. Because normally on the other side there are people who have already worked on the stuff, so they see right through you, like, 'Hey, that one doesn't know what they are really talking about'. (5, f)

You have to start from the customer need. Otherwise they are not ready to pay anything. If they don't get what they need. So you need negotiation skills. (6, f)

Maybe it is partly because I like what I do. I have never met anything so difficult that I couldn't overcome it. (...) E: What could be such a difficult situation? I: I don't know. Of course some totally impossible equations or on the other hand if you have to work with people with whom things don't move smoothly one way or the other. Then I could feel desperate. But then I'd try to take it as a challenge and sort of try— It's just wastes time and energy trying to find a common working style and this shows in the costs and the time schedules. (6, f)

I have lots of relationships, in-house and also outside, with work method and tools suppliers. I know where to look for information. Also in-house I have good relationships, I can communicate well with different departments and of course with our own project. (7, m)

If you are not good at building relationships, you won't have contacts with the people who are useful in your own work. (7, m)

I like reading and writing. I think it is part of being a researcher. Generally engineers are stereotyped as being able to count, but no need to write as long as you can count. It does not really matter how your present your core idea. I invest in form and presentation. And I can, I *was* able to count, but I have not used it in my work for a long time. These days it is more about writing and reading and I feel I am good at that. (8, m)

You need a patient approach, it's patient tinkering, because it's all about trial and error. The phenomena can sometimes be *really* knotty. Sorting them out may take really a long time, because you cannot do all the changes yourself. You cannot prop them up by hand, but you must have them done someplace else, for example built into a new prototype. So this can take a long time. And then again it requires a sort of belief in your stuff. To push your own stuff into a new prototype, you have to have a firm belief in it, because it's far from cheap. (9, f)

In a situation where you have only a little time and you should almost immediately know what to say, this I never agree to do. Because that's not my style. I will then work round the clock, because I can't give up my style. I must have the data before I start deducing any kinds of conclusions. (9, f)

Basically in business when a product sells, that's enough. So I suppose that's a top talent, especially if we talk about leadership. If a product sells and customers are happy, that's a top talent. (10, m)

Of course it is always great when you can satisfy a customer; the customer gets what they wanted. Or if after some bending with a customer we reach an agreement that this is what we want to do. That's good. This is actually where everyone *aims* of course. (10, m)

The field of information technology is quite wide, so one can be a top talent by being a code master or just some project leader who never fails, all projects are completed in time. (11, m)

You have been thinking about some small detail for two days and suddenly it just comes together. (...) You started out of nothing, gathered all sorts of information and tried to read and comprehend and get the entity together. And then all of a sudden, as a result of some kind of internalisation or something, suddenly it's there. (12, f)

Navigator: The new ICT subject

A really important part of being a top talent is initiative. Another important part is being able to stick to your own opinion and challenge the customer. Like when you present a new solution to a problem, a customer typically wants to stick to the old one, is change resistant. Very often people then go like okay, if you want it like this, let's do it like this. In that kind of situation I think a top talent firmly holds on to their own perception, rationalises it and even says that this is how we want to do it; if you want it done some other way, to us that's not the correct way, we will not do it. This is really important and I have noticed that many customers value it. Because it is unusual and therefore probably a top talent quality. The kind of readiness to challenge the customer. (1, m)

It's really important, I've noticed that even though your thing was on slightly shaky ground, as long as you present it convincingly, they'll buy it. Meanwhile some big-time technology guru presents their own seamless design by mumbling under their eyebrows. No one is going to buy it. (1, m)

Maybe one way to be a top talent is to be a specialist in a certain product or a solution. Alternatively, from a less technical point of view, it could be a kind of a consultative person. Someone who has an overview of more than only one solution. (...) So there are these one-field specialists, who can handle exactly that specific area. But even *more top* talent could be, for instance an architect can be focused on one environment, Java, is a Java architect, but then if there is an architect who can handle just any environment, whether it is Java or C or anything. If you can find a person like that. Normally this comes from experience, when you have worked in more than one environment. So this obviously is more top talent. (…) The same things come up in different places; one should not see the world too black and white. (2, f)

The research studies gave me kind of an open mindedness and a critical view. Which I think is *really* good. I was *too* much of an engineer, counting one plus one is two. Even though it isn't always. So I learned to critique and ask who's done this and that and how reliable is it and this kind of stuff. This I didn't have earlier, I was like I got a book and studied the formulas and that's it. But the world doesn't actually function like that. (4, f)

For successful systems integration you need up-to-date technology skills but *also* experience. And this is the challenge. Because if we now let all the experienced people go, then we'll have the technology nerds left. They may get the systems somehow to run together, but really, we do not integrate systems for the sake of the systems, but for people. The users and the business processes to which the systems and the integration are needed get totally ignored. And this is the challenge, that we can bring together the new technology and the experience. (5, f)

We sort of need multiple skills, multiple talents on projects. It's not enough to have just technology people. This is the challenge. And also the technology people understand that hey, we should know something else than just pure technology. (5, f)

A typical top coder, a real traditional nerd, will not be good as a project manger or as a requirements engineer. Their skills are so different. So-called traditional nerds like to tinker with details, they are interested in particulars. Whereas a project manager is interested in the entity. The particulars are important, but they cannot grow into too large a role in the entity. (5, f)

It's good if you have both, the communication skills and the specific knowledge. That's always a brilliant package, because then you can share. (...) When you educate ICT experts they are not content with some bogus knowledge. You really have to know. And you have to be able to share your knowledge, you need communication skills. Like when we search staff and I try to think who to recruit from my own circles, there are *really* many really good *experts*, but they couldn't be educators. They don't have the sharing skills, how to explain your stuff to others so that they comprehend it. This skill may be lacking. They are top talents, but they cannot necessarily share their knowledge. (5, f)

These days projects don't function if everyone fiddles in their own corner. You must ever more—Let's say these days systems are increasingly about integration and precisely when you start integrating you really have to understand what the different parties say. So the importance of communication is growing. (5, f)

These days almost systematically each solution contains a ready-made part. And finding the skills that can utilise the ready-made stuff, it's different work than coding on your own. (...) It requires more consultative skill. On the one hand, you must be familiar with the ready-made part and be able to utilise it; on the other hand, you must know when you need to code. (...) You must understand much more than just the technology. (6, f)

Only in product development it may be possible that you can keep sitting in your own corner coding. Everywhere else you must be able to be with customers and understand where your stuff is aimed. (6, f)

It's not enough to be a top talent, to do things really well, if you *don't* know how to make yourself useful. You may have a good basic knowledge in some area, but before you can be a talent, you must be able to utilise it. That's what I think is a top talent, no matter in which field. (...) The technology already comes with the education, and it is viewed as important. It's fun to work on some particular technology and find new things there. But many lack the skill to teach the knowledge to others and to apply it, apart from showing how good one is at something. (6, f)

One thing that helps to succeed is understanding the big picture. That's what many lack, they are too fixed on details. But if you see the entity and then of course also the smaller details, this sure is important. I at least aim at first clarifying the big picture of what I do. I try to go through the whole thing first and only then focus on the most important smaller details. (7, m)

A top talent *cannot* be someone who knows all about some miniscule thing. They *must* have a good understanding of the broad picture too. (...) They are like, you ask their opinion about almost anything and they can answer; they don't say 'never heard [of it]'. They can state their opinion and rationalise it and it would even be a functional opinion. (7, m)

What I think makes me a good engineer is a multiple view on things. (7, m)

It's really important that you can communicate with people, it's surprisingly important. Even though you work and work, if no one knows you and you never talk, that's a big setback. After all, there are quite a few people in this field who never say anything if you don't ask. (7, m)

It can't be emphasised enough that you must be cooperative. You have to be able to talk with people. (...) When you need information, the communication has to work. Also in job interviews I think that's most important, that you can talk with people and get along with people. (…) There are people whom you really have to ask every now and then, like, how does this work, do you have problems, can I help you, will you get it done sometime? (...) There are people who just work by themselves. No one really knows what they do. (12, f)

Team player: Co-operation first

To me it's really important that I never lie. I already said this in the job interview. Under no circumstances will I sell something that we can't deliver, which actually happens quite a lot in the field. I definitely have to believe that we can live up to all the promises I make. (1, m)

E: Why do you think you are especially good? I: We get positive feedback from customers. This sort of boosts your confidence, gives the feeling that you can handle it after all. I also feel that my supervisors and the people who work in my projects value me. (2, f)

I always try to approach people in my project on a bit more personal level. Less through the official routes, more informally. I think I'm rather informal. E: Compared to? I: Compared to normal practices. And when it comes to theoretical knowledge and so on. I base my project management less on that, more on people management and relationship skills and this sort of thing. (...) To me it works better than a more routine, formal project management. (3, m)

You have to be able to communicate with different people, get along, distribute tasks, ask for decisions. Sometimes be a little strict. Sometimes you must sniff the air, consider how to approach people when there is a bit more problematic issue. (3, m)

When a project ends well, all subscribers and project participants are relatively satisfied with their life and their situation after the project, I can say I feel successful. IT projects, even though there may be research evidence one way or the other, I can from experience say that they always contain tiny crises. And these can cause stress, frustration, bad feeling. (...) E: What the bad feeling could be? I: For instance you feel unfairly treated or, well, there are countless possibilities. For example your professionalism is not respected, your opinion not appreciated. These things can happen in the course of a project. (3, m)

I believe I am a good listener. And good at cooperation. I can get along with different people in my work and I can understand different viewpoints. Also in situations where people use the same concepts to talk about different things. Or different concepts to talk about the same things. These skills I think you need when the worlds of developers and users meet. (8, m)

For there to be one top talent, they need many other people around. (8,m)

Ella Salome Roininen   CURRICULUM VITAE

Zurich, Switzerland
ellaroininen@hotmail.com

Born July 3, 1969 in Oulu, Finland

FORMAL EDUCATION

Doctor of Economics (Doc.oec. HSG)   2002 – 2008
University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
- Research Institute for Organizational Psychology

MSc in International Management and Lic.oec. HSG   2000 – 2002
University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
- Research Institute for International Management

CEMS (Community of European Management Students) program   2001
Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands
- Rotterdam School of Management

BBA in International Business   1991 – 1995
Schiller International University
- Completed the degree in Madrid, Spain; Paris, France; London, UK

Senior High School Graduation Diplomas
- Finland 1990 and USA 1987

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

IBM Switzerland, Zurich   2003 –
- Commercial Manager, Global Technology Services

University of St. Gallen   2005 – 2006
- Research Associate, Research Institute for Organizational Psychology

University of St. Gallen   2001 – 2002
- Programme Assistant, Research Institute for International Management

Tieturi, Helsinki, Finland   1999 – 2000
- Training Assistant, Systems Engineering Department

Talentum Media House, Helsinki   1999
- Assistant to the Sales and Marketing Executive

Ifex – International Financial Exhibitions, London   1998 – 1999
- Conference Manager, global finance conferences

Additional work experience in health care administration, retail banking, travel and hospitality

FURTHER EDUCATION

Department of Women's Studies, University of Tampere, Finland
Participated and presented in doctoral seminars (2005-2006)

Nordic Research School in Interdisciplinary Gender Studies
PhD Courses

- **University of Oslo**, Norway (November 2005)
  Postmodern thinking and feminist research: feminism, methodology and change

- **Danish University of Education**, Copenhagen, Denmark (August 2005)
  Intersectionality – potentials and challenges

- **University of Iceland**, Reykjavik, Iceland (June 2005)
  Academic and creative writing in gender studies: epistemologies, methodologies, writing practices

---

PUBLICATIONS

Gender and Citizenship in a Multicultural Context - 6th European Gender Research Conference
University of Lodz, Poland (August 2006)
- *Reflections of professionalism and accomplishment by Finnish ICT engineers and primary school teachers within discourses of their professions*

The Power of Economy, the Economy of Power and Beyond - Women's Studies Conference
Helsinki School of Economics and Swedish School of Economics in Helsinki (November 2005)
- *Struggling for power in the gendered field of ICT*

The Interdisciplinary Field of Work Life - Work Life Research Conference
University of Tampere (November 2005)
- *Doing gender/doing profession: an analysis of ICT engineers' and primary school teachers' identity constructions within discursive representations of their professions*

European Business Forum (EBF)
No. 13/2003, with Prof. W. Ruigrok
- *What European students want from international programmes*