



12th Leave Policies and Research Network Seminar
Trondheim, 1.-2. September 2015

Exploring the Career Logic within the Nordic Model

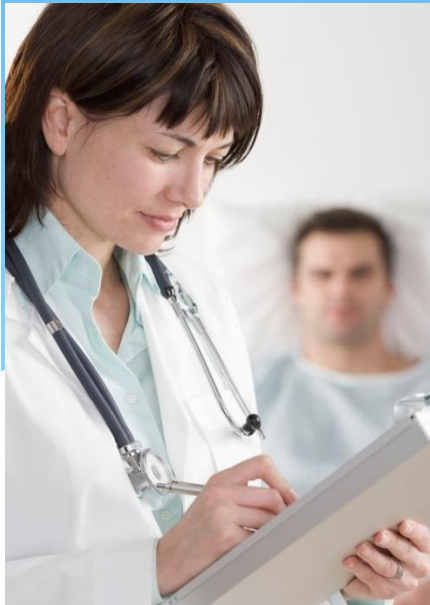
Sigtona Halrynjo
Institute for Social Research

sigtona.halrynjo@social.research.no



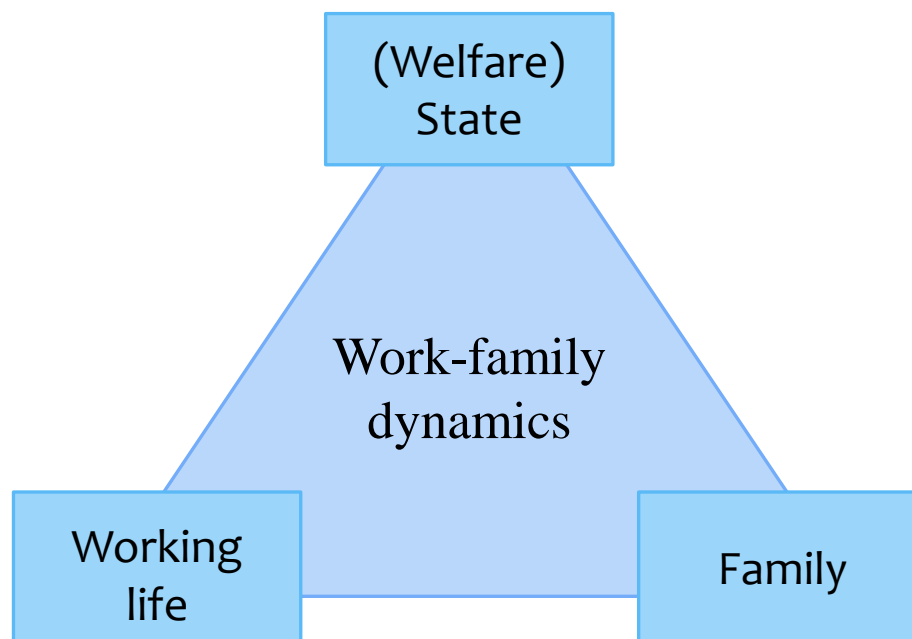
Book project: Work-family dynamics and the competing logics of Regulations, Economy and Moral

Ed Brandth, Halrynjo & Kvande



Work-family dynamics

in the intersections of three institutions



Work-family dynamics

in the intersections of
three institutions and three different logics

Three different logics:

The rationality of
organizations, employers
and competitive employees –
favoring the unencumbered
worker

Explicit and negotiable?

Economy
productivity,
effectiveness

Regulation
family policy and
gender equality

(Welfare)
state

Rational assumptions
Political goals and intentions –
intended consequences.

**Explicit, debated and
negotiable**

Work-family
dynamics

Working life

Family

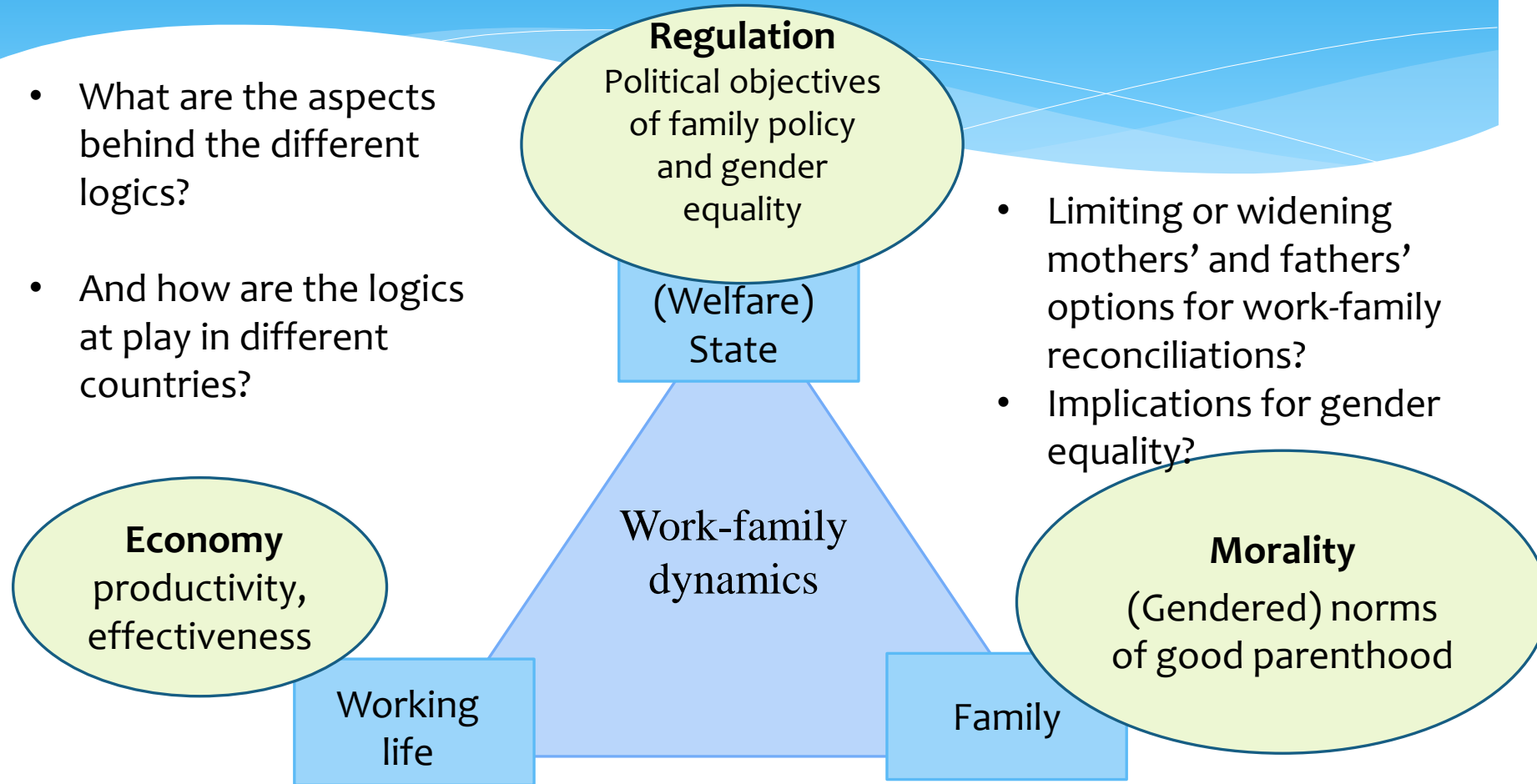
Morality
Cultural moral
understandings of
good parenthood

Emotional assumptions
**Explicit attitudes and implicit
practices and rationalities**

Studies from different countries explore competing logics

Central questions:

- What are the aspects behind the different logics?
- And how are the logics at play in different countries?



Paradoxes of work and family life within the Nordic model

NORWAY

Major developments towards gender equality

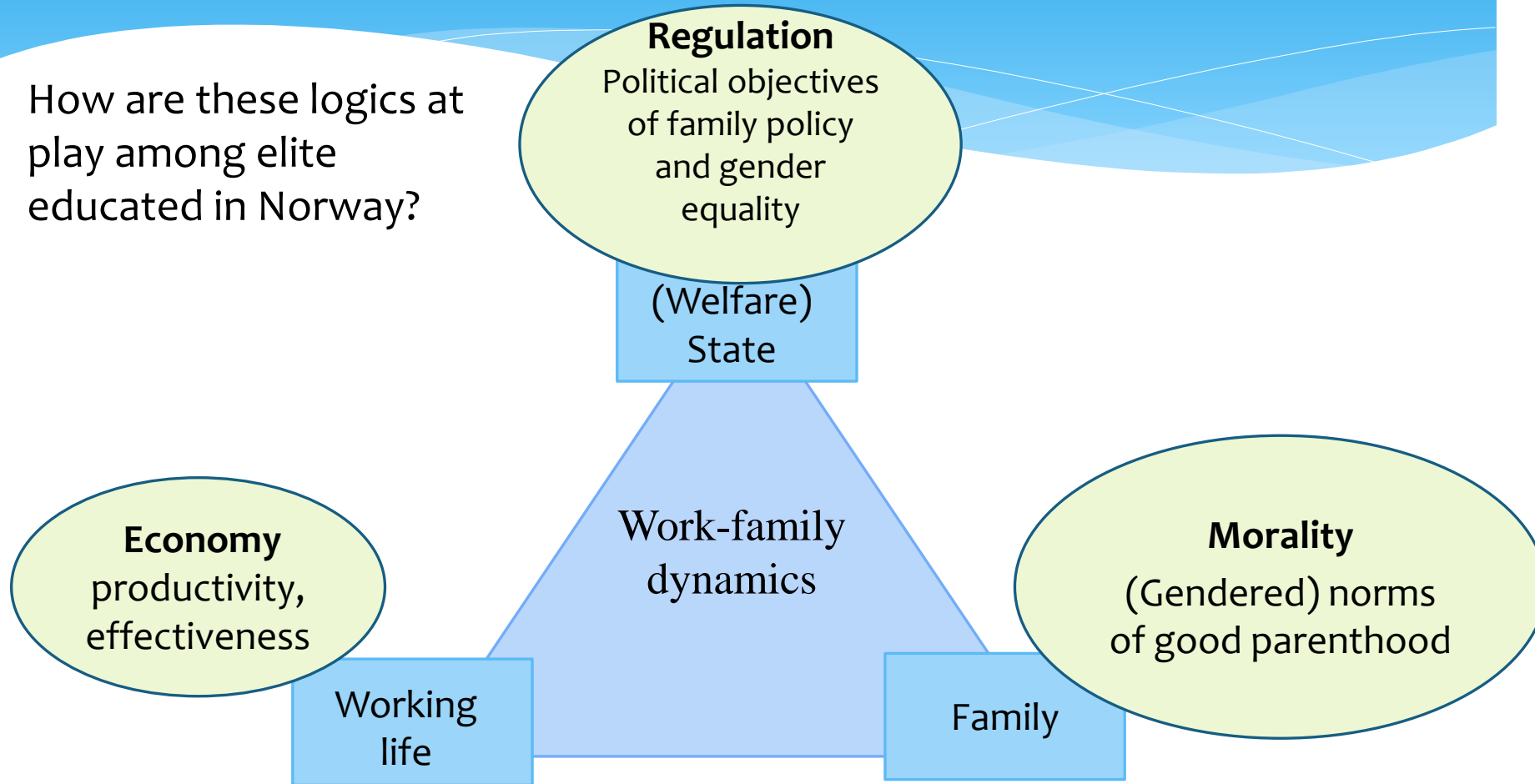
- * Women in majority in higher education
- * High labor force participation among women
- * Generous family policies: extended paid parental leave and subsidized and available kindergartens
- * High support for gender equal work-family ideals
- * Fathers participate increasingly in family and child care (although reduction in the father's quota)

Still gendered work and family life

- * Gendered labor market - horizontally and vertically
- * Part-time work: female dominated
Senior management: Male dominated
- * Mothers still use far more parental leave and cash-for-care than fathers
- * Inequality in pay, status and career development
- * Women work less and earn less (67 % of men's gross income)
- * Women receive less pay and lower career development for their investment in higher education

Understanding the paradox: Exploring competing logics of family-friendliness vs. the logic of economy and career

How are these logics at
play among elite
educated in Norway?



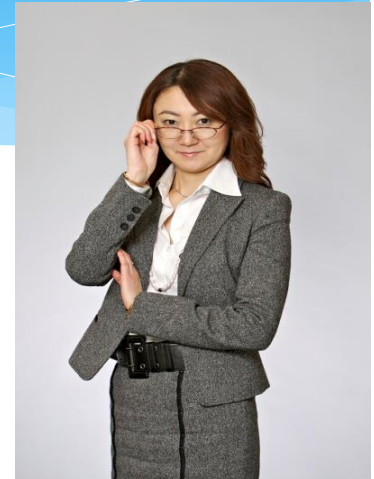
Data source:

Gender, Career & Childcare among elite educated men and women

- * Quantitative data:

- * Survey: 3924 Norwegian Lawyers, MBAs and Graduate Civil Engineers

- * Qualitative data: In-depth interviews with
42 elite educated men and women



- *

Typical management professions

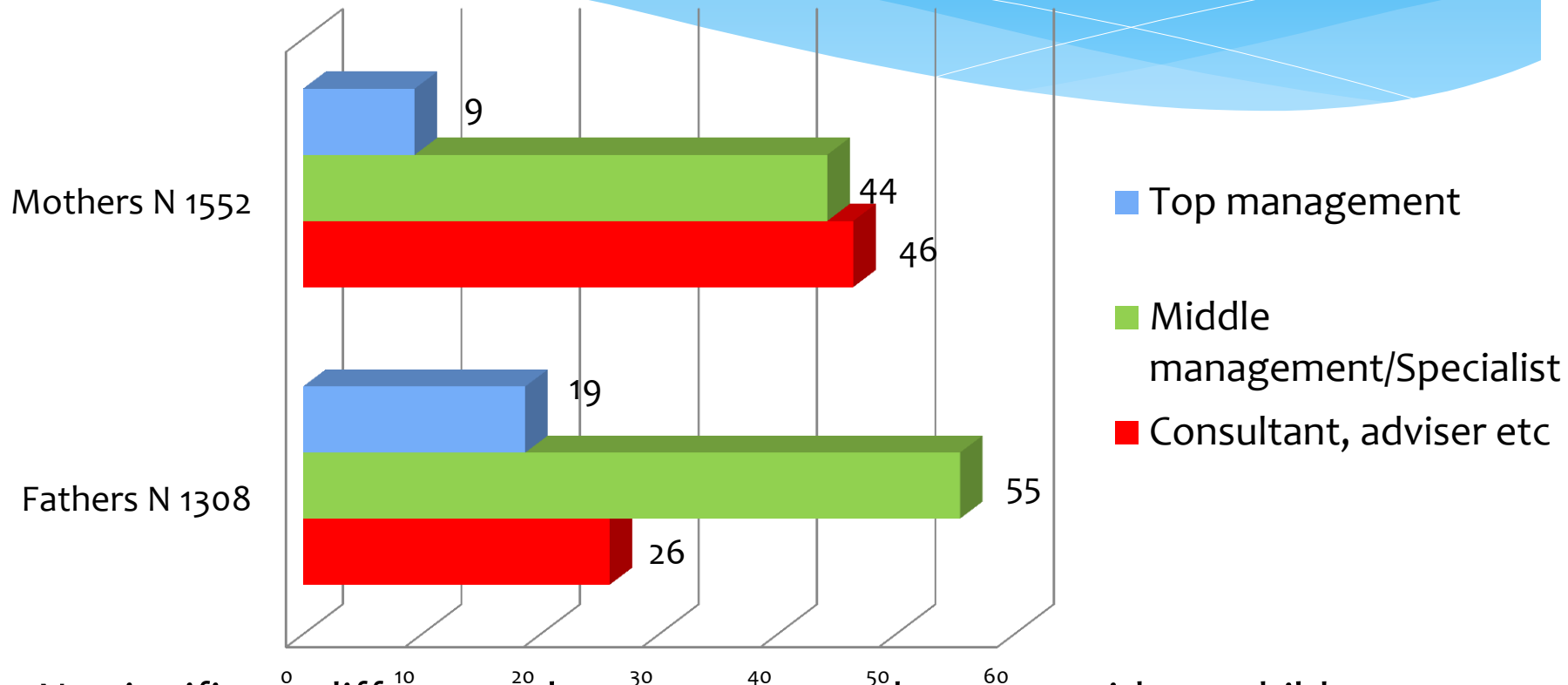
Invested in the “right form” of human capital
Highly educated – more gender equal attitudes &
practices



Gendered career hierarchy in Norway

Career position

descriptive distribution in percent



- No significant differences between men and women without children
- Mothers dominate at the bottom level – Fathers at the top level

Explained by preferences?

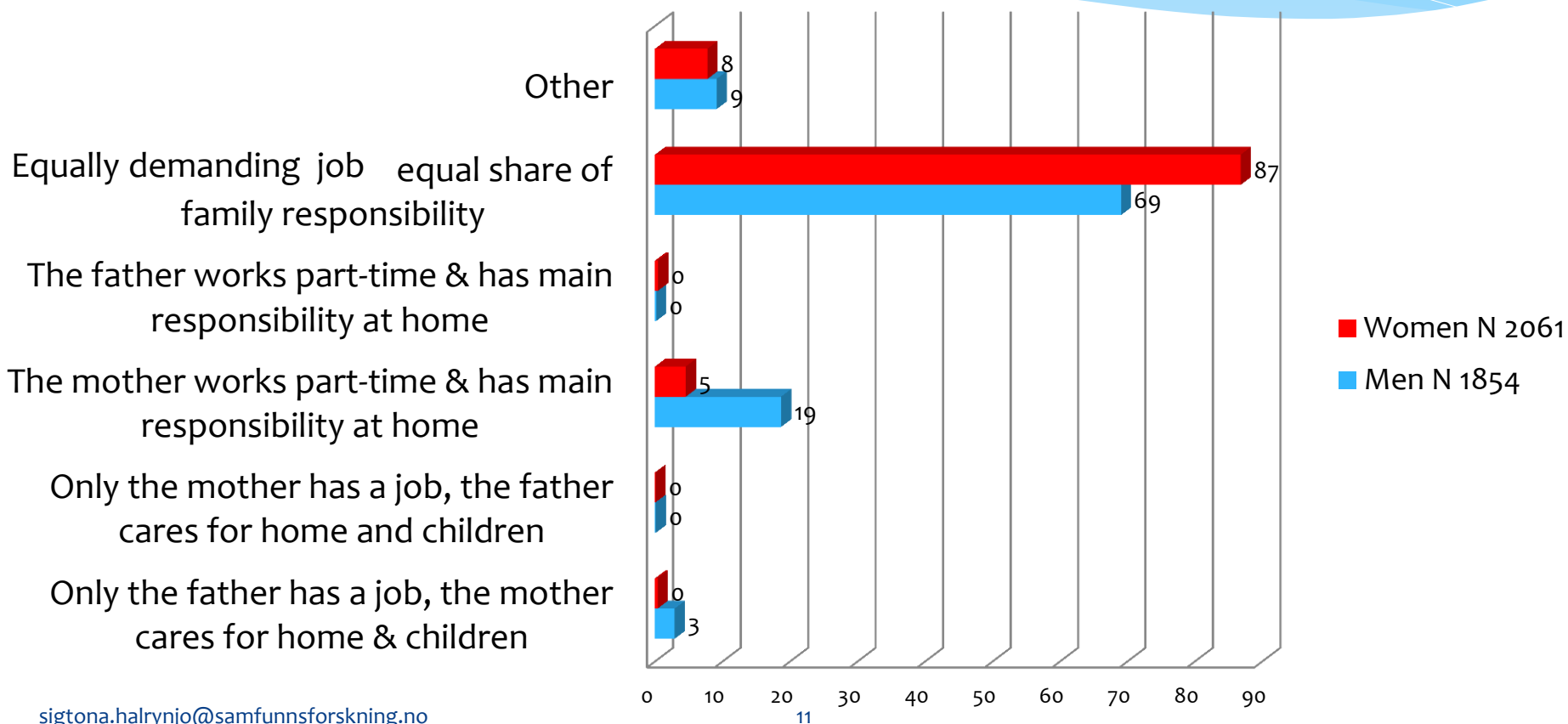
Preferences for career and management positions



• **No significant differences** between men and women regarding preferences for career, wages, status and leading positions

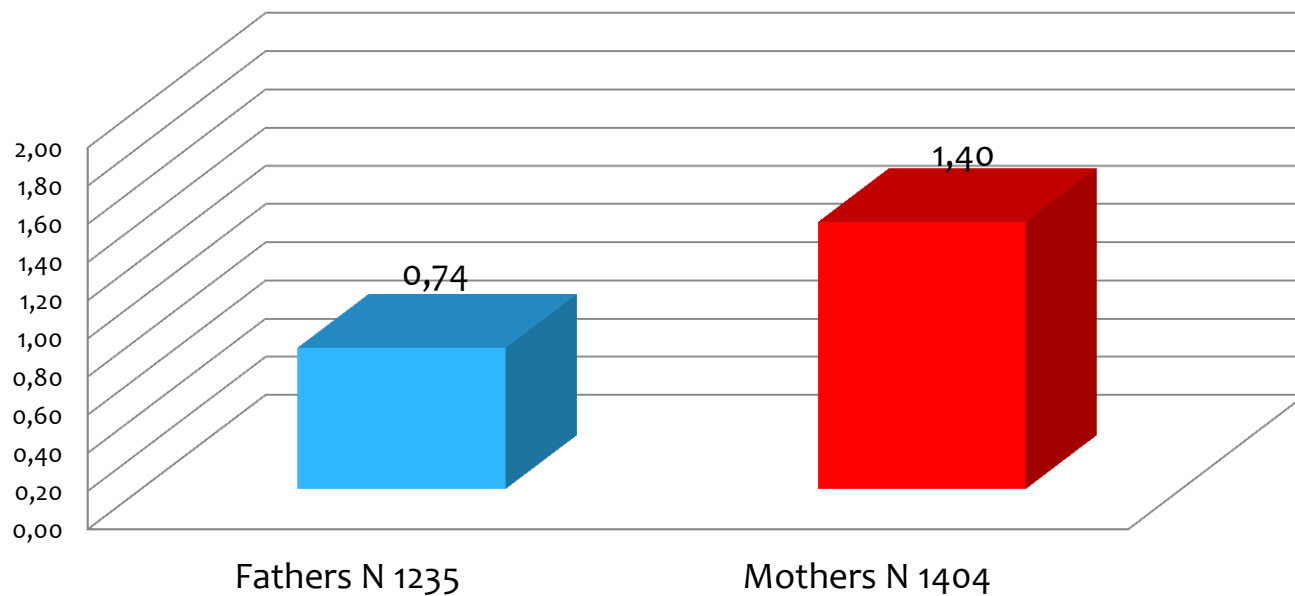
Explained by attitudes towards work-family adaptations?

What do you think is best for a family with children under school age?



Division of childcare

Relative amount of childcare



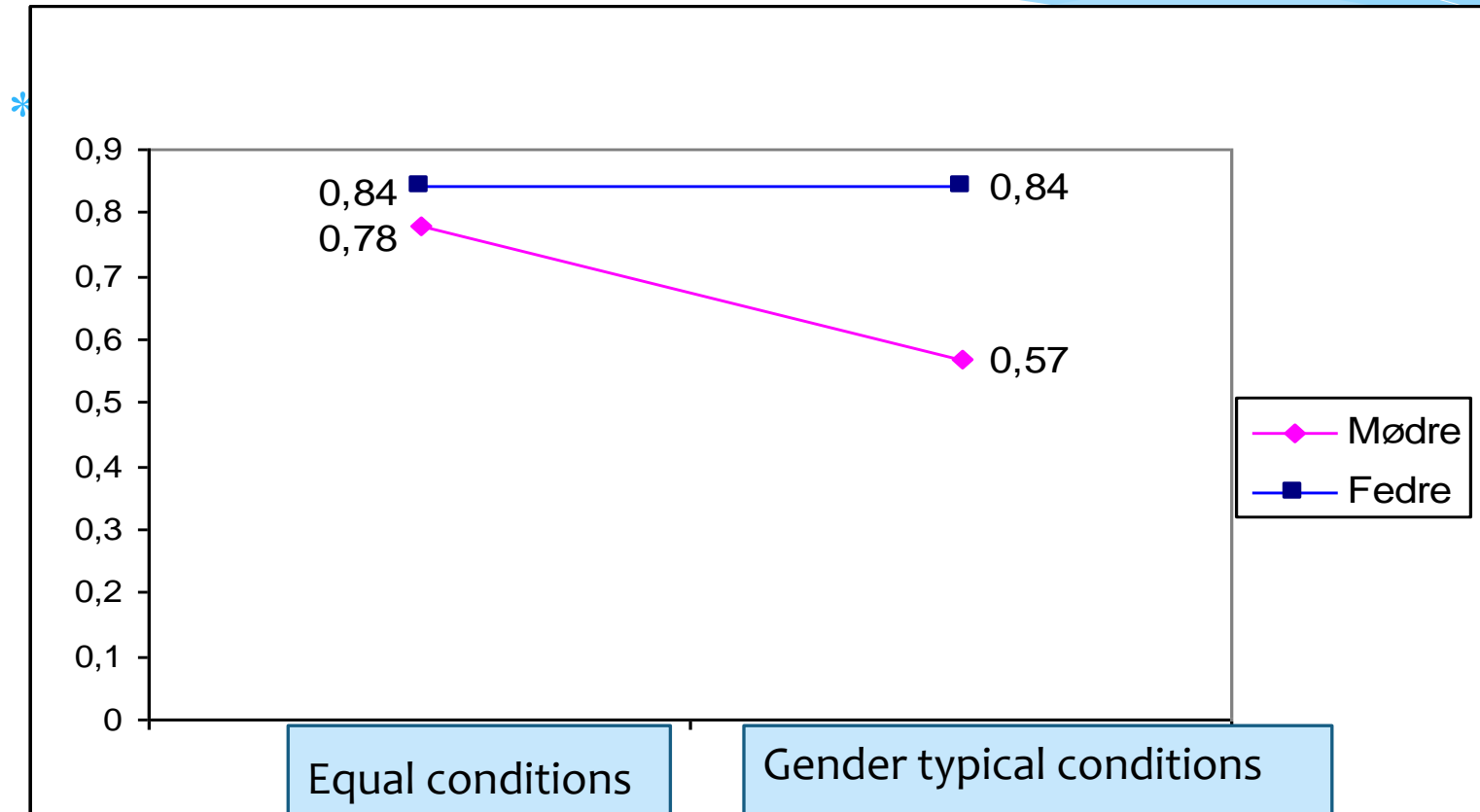
Binary regression model, predicting probability of position in the career hierarchy

Table 4. Probability of career advancement to top or middle management / specialist level by gender, preferences and work-family adaptation among elite educated mothers and fathers. Binary logistic regression.

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>
	B (standard error)	B (standard error)	B (standard error)	B (standard error)
Gender (men = 0)	- 0,92** (0,09)	- 0,90** (0,10)	- 0,61** (0,13)	- 0,42** (0,14)
Preference for career		0,61** (0,06)	0,60** (0,06)	0,59** (0,06)
Preference for work-family adaptation		- 0,04 (0,14)	0,01 (0,14)	- 0,08 (0,15)
Distribution of childcare			- 0,46** (0,16)	- 0,37* (0,18)
Distribution of house work			- 0,03 (0,09)	0,10 (0,10)
Distribution of job status/responsibility				0,74** (0,08)
Age	0,10** (0,01)	0,11** (0,01)	0,11** (0,01)	0,11** (0,01)
Partner's level of education	- 0,05 (0,09)	- 0,02 (0,09)	- 0,01 (0,09)	0,25 (0,11)
Constant	0,13	- 1,96	- 1,62	- 2,85
N	2615	2377	2362	2187
- 2 Log likelihood	3193,4	2818,1	2790,1	2476,2

* = significant on 0,05-level, ** = significant on 0,01-level.

Predicted probability of career



- * Why is it still difficult to combine dedicated parenthood with **career success** in gender equal and family-friendly Norway?

- * Exploring the rules of the career game



Different kinds of rules

* **The Formal Rules**

national, trades/sectors, organizational level

Negotiations between employers, employees, their organizations and the state

- * *Work hours, parental leave, fathers' quota,*
- * *the right to stay home and care for sick children etc*



The informal “Rules”

Which “qualities”, resources and adaptations are rewarded with promotion and career success within work organizations, trades or professions?

Competition between internal and external colleagues

Contradictory logics of formal and informal rules

The informal rules

Career & Organizational and Individual *competition* – *productivity*

- * Dedication
- * "Visibility"
- * Uninterrupted achievement and performance
- * Irreplaceability



sigtona.halrynjo@samfunnsforskning.no

The official rules

Family-friendliness & Collective rights – *negotiations and regulation*

- * Protection and relief
- * Lawful absence (parental leave/sick leave)
- * Reduced demands of achievement and performance
- * **Replaceability**



Gender & the rules of the career game

“We definitely want women. They are competent, devoted to their work tasks, and very responsible.

However, we want the person in family who has won the battle by the ‘kitchen sink’.

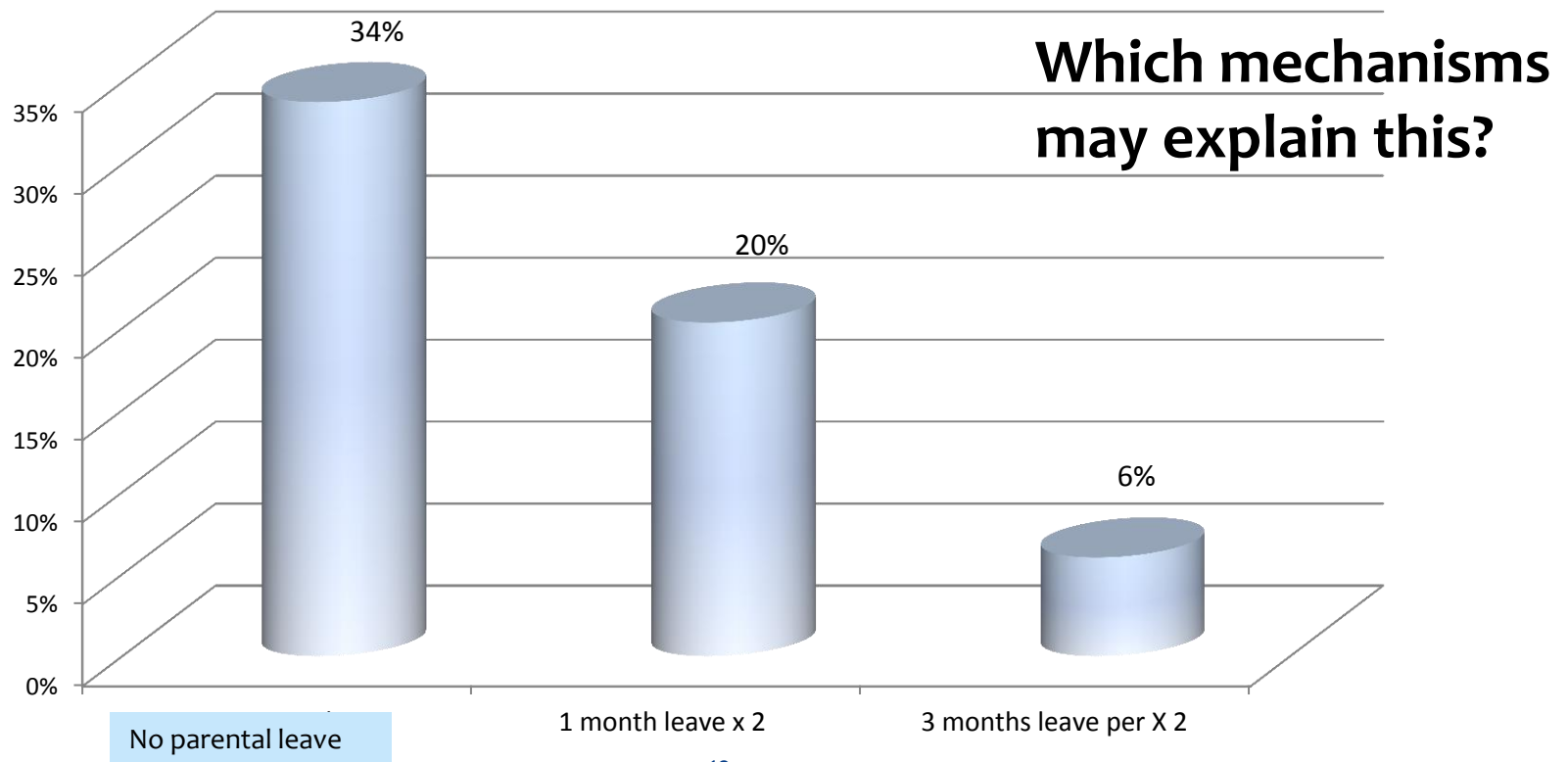
We want **the one** in the family who shall build a career. “



HR-manager in a big corporation

Fathers' uptake of parental leave and the probability of advancement to top-position

- * Predicted probability of being a top manager/partner for an elite educated **father** with two children:



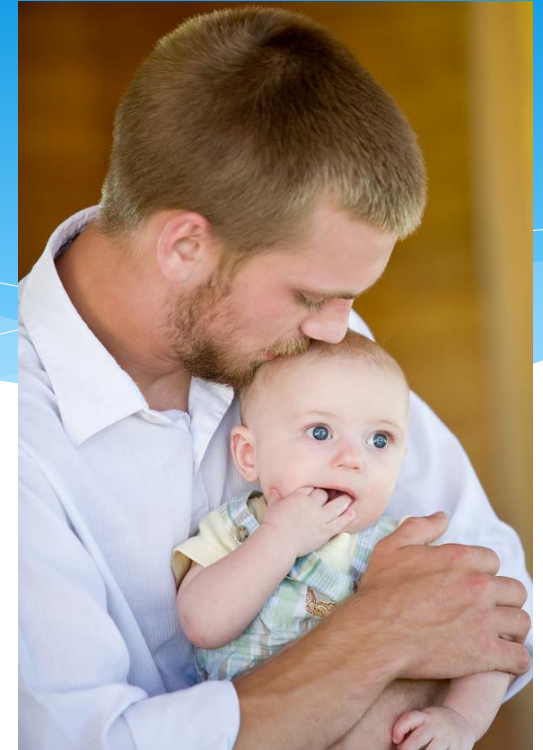
Association between uptake of parental leave and fathers' career progression?

- * Binary logistic regression
 - * controlled for age, number of children, career preferences, work-family preferences, partner's educational level
- * Survey data limitations:
 - * Not longitudinal data, not effect study
 - * But: estimate relation between length of leave and the probability of advancement to the top level (top manager or partner in law firm)

* Punished or self-selected?
Or interplay?

The important question:

Why is uptake of a
month or two of statutory leave a problem for an ambitious
father aspiring for a career in Norway?





Why is parental leave a problem for fathers in elite professions?

The fear of losing career momentum

R: *I can barely take a month*

I: *Because it's not accepted here?*

R: *No. Or, well it's accepted, and I could have taken six months.*

But I know that I will lose something. It's probably more in me. That I feel that if I'm not here for six months, then I'll lose some kind of momentum. (...) I can't do it.

Requirements for career success: Dedication and over-achievement

“This is not a line of business that you can be moderately into, that’s almost impossible. Either you are really in and visible and keep up and all that, or you are heading out very fast. “

“It’s kind of continuously giving more than what’s expected. (...). Well, giving the client what is expected, and in addition managing to give that little extra – that the result is even better than they expected. (...) That’s extremely important in order to get new assignments. (...). And of course, constantly pushing yourself to deliver even more, that’s quite demanding.”

- * Continuous competition among highly qualified, motivated and ‘hungry’ colleagues
- * Never better than your last achievement

The fear of 'Lagging behind'

- * Interplay between career advancement and dedication & motivation

“The main consequence is a delay in advancement. But in addition, you get those second-hand consequences where you feel that, ‘Oh crap, I’m lagging behind now compared to the others.”

Could I, you know, be bothered doing this anymore?’ Because advancing as fast as you’re supposed to, is the recognition that you’re staying the course and doing a good job.”

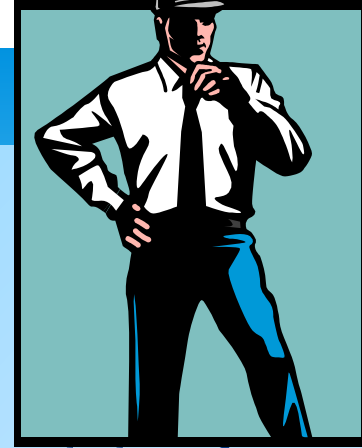
	Demands/expectation in my job		Difficult to combine with my family situation	
	Top level (N 440)	Entry level (N 1615)	Top level (N 440)	Entry level (N 1615)
General expectation to work more than ordinary fulltime	5 High	3 Medium	3 Some Prob	3 Some Prob
Periodically overtime	5 High	4 Medium	3 Some Prob	3 Some Prob
Available for customers	4 Medium	3 Medium	3 Some Prob	3 Some Prob
Produce results on short notice	5 High	4 Medium	3 Some Prob	3 Some Prob
Meeting deadlines despite sickness or sick children	4 Medium	3 Medium	3 Some Prob	4 Prob
Frequent travelling**	3 Medium	3 Medium	3 Some Prob	3 Some Prob
Commuting**	2 Low	2 Low	3 Some Prob	4 Prob
Professional/social duties after working time	4 Medium	3 Medium	3 Some Prob	3 Some Prob
Updating professional skills during free time**	4 Medium	3 Medium	3 Some Prob	3 Some Prob
Handle high work pressure	5 High	4 Medium	3 Some Prob	4 Prob
Energy and dedication	5 High	4 Medium	3 Some Prob	3 Some Prob

Demands and expectation in own job?

**The impact of gender
and child care responsibility?**

Demands: number vs Difficult to combine with my family situation: colour	Women without children	Mothers	Men without children	Fathers
General expectation to work more than ordinary fulltime**	4 No prob	3 Prob	4 No prob	4 Prob
Periodically overtime**	5 No prob	4 Prob	5 No prob	5 Some Prob
Available for customers	3 No prob	3 Prob	3 No prob	4 Some Prob
Produce results on short notice**	5 No prob	4 Prob	5 No prob	5 Some Prob
Meeting deadlines despite sickness or sick children	3 Some Prob	3 Prob	3 Some Prob	4 Prob
Frequent travelling**	3 No prob	3 Prob	3 No prob	3 Prob
Commuting**	2 No prob	2 Prob	2 No prob	2 Some Prob
Professional/social duties after working time**	3 No prob	3 Prob	3 No prob	3 Some Prob
Updating professional skills during free time	3 No prob	3Prob	3 No prob	3 Some Prob
Handle high work pressure	4 Some prob	4 Prob	4 Some prob	5 Prob
Energy and dedication	4 Some prob	4 Prob	4 Some prob	4 Some Prob

Conditions for career:



Women:

Best case scenario

- * Equal share of childcare
- * Partner equally demanding job

Worst case scenario

- * Main responsibility for childcare
- * Partner more demanding job

Men:

Best case scenario

- * Partner main responsibility for childcare
- * Partner less demanding job

Worst case scenario

- * Equal share of childcare
- * Partner equally demanding job



Satisfaction with own work-family adaptation?

The solution: Finding a family-friendly job

I think it's better both for me and the company that I find something else to do.

...if times would get better now, or if times would get worse...those who have the opportunity can work a lot and do really well. And I don't have that opportunity. So, fairly quickly, younger colleagues can put a stigma on me. A stigma which says: "she has two kids and her husband is working long hours", so in the next recession maybe I get the phone call

Like quite a few of my female managers got two years ago.





The family friendly job - a mixed blessing...



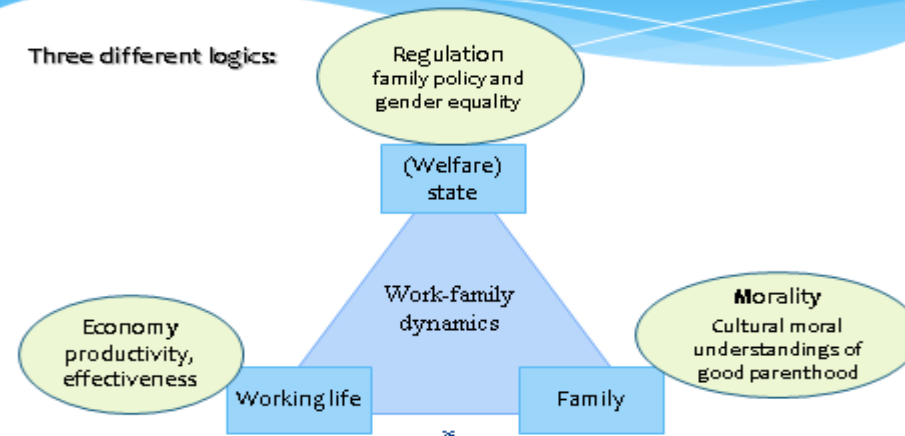
It's a mixed blessing, because I believe there are things I'll miss in this job. In a way it's like this: you come to work, do your job, and go home. So, it's not the same independent work, **how big a problem it is to stay at home has to do with how much responsibility you have and how irreplaceable you are, in a way.**

In many situations it's really good not to have that pressure, but at the same time it's also exciting, it's often what makes the job interesting

Costs: loss of salary, future career options and job related identity and meaning.

Conclusion: the Career Logic within the Nordic Model

Three different logics:



- * Why is childcare still a problem for career in a family-friendly welfare state?
 - * On higher career levels the demands and expectations to work long hours and high work pressure increase.
 - * Difficult to regulate in a penalty free way as the rules of the career game are based on individual competition.
 - * Family friendly policies provide protection, relief and reduced demands, but through receiving this support mothers (and dedicated fathers) risk to be the “replaceable worker”, failing in the career game.

The dilemma of the contradictory logics

The rules of career

Organizational and Individual competition – “the productive, attractive worker”

- * Dedication
- * “Visibility”
- * Uninterrupted achievement and performance
- * **Irreplaceability**

The rules of family-friendliness

collective rights - negotiations

- * Protection and relief
- * Lawful absence
- * Reduced demands of achievement and performance
- * **Replaceability**

■ Genuine need for family-friendly policies and arrangements

■ Countries without family-friendly policies have very low birth rates and/or mothers' employment rates

How can these logics be combined?

A better division of child care and family-friendly policies might change the division of trump cards (being the dedicated, irreplaceable worker vs. the replaceable one)

- thus potentially alter the gendered outcome of the career game.

