

# *Making the invisible visible*

*- unequal pay and other structural  
barriers to equality*

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# Litterature

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<https://www.av.se/globalassets/filer/publikationer/rapporter/en-vitbok-om-kvinnors-arbetsmiljo-rapport2017-6.pdf?hl=vitbok%20om%20kvinnors%20arbetsmilj%C3%B6>

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# *Structural barriers to equality*

- Different ways of organizing public sector dominated by women vs. men
- Health and care organizations that occupy many women have:
  - Larger working group
  - Less administrative support
  - Less dialogue between different levels of hierarchy
  - More focus on - Measurable facts and economic governance models (NPM)

# Case study of Social Care Sector in Sweden

- First level managers – heading 2-3 housing services for elderly people or the disabled
- Middle level managers – heading 6-8 first level managers
- Top management – heading all the care for the disabled or the care for the elderly and disabled in the municipality

# Management in care sector

- Large areas of responsibility – budget, staff, organizational development and day-to-day operations
- Flat organizations with few management levels, large working groups
- Little or no administrative support

First level manager – heading 3 housing services for elderly people and the disabled

*I do all the administrative work myself, including the wages. Currently I have 45 employees so it takes a lot of time. We have no HR department. We handle everything ourselves, pay all invoices, handles all finances. It is an administrative work that runs parallel with the other managerial tasks.*

# Operations in care sector

- geographically dispersed
- open around the clock



*I can never go home and say that we are closed now. Now it's quiet at work. Now I have locked the door. It does not exist. I can receive a phone call anytime, anyway. Something urgent may have happened. Even though we have managers on call and should be protected from receiving calls outside of office hours, my work place is around the clock and this is of course a very special situation.*

*I have an office that I share with my staff. I do not have my own office. I have an office that I share where I have some locked cabinets with paper and that's my base. I'm bouncing back and forth from three all the time. [...] I'm in four different places in a week. It was ages since I spent a whole day in my office. It does not happen, It does not look like that. I often plan the day before what to do next day. I know which unit I have a conference or a staff meeting a meeting with a trustee, or something like that. [..] So I am very mobile. My units are a bit scattered. [...] I spend a lot of time in my car back and forth. That's what it looks like.*

# Operations in healthcare sector

- Many and variable tasks
- Care need is difficult to anticipate
- The work carried out is complex and difficult to define
- Face requirements and expectations from many different actors within and outside the organizations.
- Publicly audited and reviewed by media

*For example, we try to make sure that we are very accessible when the press wants to talk to us. Then you may be late for a meeting because you have to call a journalist. [...] Usually, someone is dissatisfied because they have not received what they expected. An application may have been rejected. This is probably the most common. It is not entirely unusual to then turn to a journalist. [...] If we are not fast to respond and give our view, they can write just about anything.*

In a company with a turnover of SEK 1 billion then the work of a head of a department would be similar to that of a company CEO and the operational head that of the head of a subsidiary. The first level managers, the operative unit heads also have work tasks that correspond with many private company heads.

Such working conditions are usually characterized by high status and rewarded with a high salary.

Despite this, managers (and employees) in female-dominated operations enjoy lower salaries than management colleagues in both male dominated municipal activities and the private sector.

LARGER AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY

HIGHLY EDUCATED

LOW(ER) SALARIES

# Employed and number of supervised in different sectors

	Managers		Employees			Gender distribution in total		Number
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Supervised
Human Health and Social Work Activities	17912	5399	594487	132815	727302	82%	18%	30
Education	10844	5877	349094	117419	466513	75%	25%	27
Transportation and Storage	2218	6509	49048	162667	211715	23%	77%	23
Accommodation and Food Service Activities	3928	4783	79039	67248	146287	54%	46%	16
Arts, Entertainment and Recreation.	4236	4939	89036	68776	157812	56%	44%	16
Construction	1941	16677	25289	255485	280774	9%	91%	14
Administrative and Support Professional, Scientific and Technical Service Activities	11715	22335	207252	264434	471686	44%	56%	13
Manufacturing and Mining and Quarrying	8332	32624	128826	410688	539514	24%	76%	12
Wholesale and Retail Trade	11820	29498	241272	286917	528189	46%	54%	12
Electricity, Gas, Steam and Air C Water Supply; Sewerage, Waste Management	970	2904	11276	35600	46876	24%	76%	11
Real Estate Activities	1903	4016	25387	37956	63343	40%	60%	10
Public Administration and Defence;	13468	13574	147623	111880	259503	57%	43%	9
Financial and Insurance Activities	3719	5773	46375	42967	89342	52%	48%	8
Information and Communication	6575	14467	49817	115137	164954	30%	70%	7
Other/ Unknown	546	1117	23414	37332	60746	39%	61%	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	100127	170492	2067235	2147321	4214556	49%	51%	16

# Caring occupations vs. Technical occupations in municipalities

<b>Employees</b>	<b>Home care</b>	<b>Technical occupations</b>
Less than 20	4 %	65%
More than 40	73 %	10%

*Källa: Swedish work environment authority*

# Working conditions care sector

- The number of employees supervised affects the relationship between the manager and the employee
- Large working groups – autonomy
- Employees are expected to work independently
- Managers can feel they are not available for support and advice for their employees as much as they would like



# Working conditions care sector

- Flat organizations create distance between organizational different organizational levels
- Scant personal contact between various strategic levels

# Working conditions care sector

- NPM - Measurable facts and economic governance models have become increasingly common in public operation
- Each operational unit has its own budget and is responsible for financial results

# Focus on measurement

Control and information via evaluation and feedback

Operations are measured and assessed:

- Difficult to describe and quantify the effects of cutbacks
- Operations perceived as as uniform than they are
- Easier to maintain the image that business objectives can be achieved despite financial resources
- The budget not negotiable, Heads of Unit responsible for prioritizing

BUDGET IN BALANCE ranks higher than all activities

*When it comes to the budget there is sometimes gap between what is calculated and what is the reality in the care work. There is a difference between what the administration believes will be enough money. [...] If a patient is granted a number of hours but then it turns out that those hours are just enough for a person to perform the task. And then if the patient needs two people assisting him or her, there is sometimes no understanding of such situations at the administration. Such cases are energy-consuming something I have work with quite a lot with.*

*What is written in capital letters in the municipality is that you shall have the budget in balance. You may have succeeded with your operations but if your bottom line is red. It is considered a failure anyway.*

*Now I have been heading this unit, in August it will be for two years, and we still have a budget in balance. I had a balanced budget last December, with the result that there were cutbacks in the new budget. [...] I was upset and angry. I mean, we had really worked [to balance the economy]. It had been a tough year. We just had to take on additional patients.*

# Focus on measurement

- Care skills difficult to quantify
- Conflation care competence and of female characteristics
- Competence lost in staff cuts made invisible

# Working conditions healthcare sector

Financial responsibility is at the level of operative management, top management has the authority to determine budgetary constraints

Operative management has little possibility to discuss operations, and the consequences of cut backs with top management

Communications are top down and the dominant attitude is the instructions from the top are to be implemented

All care activities are possible to carry out regardless of the size of the budget



# Working conditions care sector

- Responsibility and authority are separated in the organizations
- The responsibility for maintaining a decent service is pressed down to lower management levels managers put the undertaking above all
- To be professional is to carry out the tasks that are at hand within the budget
- Difficult to discuss the working conditions – regarded as an personal competence issue
- Inability to meet the budgetary requirements is seen as personal failure not as the task was impossible
- The managers risk being transferred to another positions if the budgetary requirements are breached

# The undertakings above all

*I take this very seriously, many times too seriously. Because this is my job and if mission and if I do not accomplish it, then I have to do something else. This undertaking is very important to me.*

*It is very difficult to admit when you make mistakes and to say that something is difficult. [...] You cannot do that because then you may become an inferior manager and it's very dangerous to be inferior. We are supposed to be so competent. Everything is supposed to be easy and enjoyable. That's the culture in these management groups. [...] There is always a threat to us managers. There is a threat that if you as a manager are not perceived to run your operations properly and are not well liked, you will be transferred. There is a restructuring and then you are transferred.*

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# Expectations on managers

- Balanced budget
- Work independently
- Flexible and adaptable
- Put the undertaking above all else
- not to 'moan'.

'culture of positivity' difficult to mention work problems or display dissatisfaction over one's work situation

# Caring occupations vs. Technical occupations in municipalities

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# Working conditions i male dominated municipal operation

- Smaller working groups
- Close relationships between different managerial levels and management and employees
- Communication through personal contacts
- Top management understand that unexpected situations can occur
- Budget constraints not definite, budget can or the tasks be renegotiated, within the budget.

# Gendered organizations

- Different organizational structures in male versus female dominated organization
- Creates different narratives and different expectations on managers.
- Men and women within a certain organization encounter the same working conditions and organizational logic

# Enjoyment & satisfaction

Large areas of responsibility – Compelling but also rewarding and stimulating

Satisfying to manage such complex and demanding managerial tasks

Enjoy their management work and the power to shape the organization

Stimulating to develop the operations in collaboration with colleagues



*I like to enhance the public sector, to clarify the mission [to my staff]. I find this kind of strategic work very, very rewarding.*

*I think it's stimulating to actually be involved in the decision-making.*

*I like to be where things happen. I like to be involved and have a say, otherwise I would not have chosen this job.*

# *Structural barriers to equality*

- Flat organizations
- Large areas of responsibilities- large working groups
- Few arenas for dialogue and communication between various strategic levels
  - Power and authority separated
- Conflation care competence and of female characteristics
- Little differentiation in description women's work – appear to be more uniform than it is
- Focus on measurement:
  - Healthcare workers competence made invisible
  - Operations perceived as as uniform than they are