

Women at the Top

A Study on Women as Leaders in the Private Sector



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Foreword

The idea of a publication on female managers was put forward on the initiative of the Nordic Council of Ministers, which asked the statistical authorities in the Nordic Countries to investigate the role played by women in business management. A joint Nordic team in charge of the gender statistics at the various national statistical offices accordingly decided to examine the situation in the one hundred companies with the biggest turnover in each country. The Finnish target group was nevertheless increased to the biggest 200 companies, to which a separate questionnaire was addressed. In addition to the inquiry, the study drew on the data of the census of 1990 covering the entire Finnish population.

The investigation was in Finland supported for a good year by a team of experts consisting of Deputy Director Eva Hänninen-Salmelin from the International Women's Management Institute WOMAN, Acting Assistant Professor Sinikka Vanhala from the Helsinki School of Economics and Business Administration, Equality Ombudsman Tuulikki Petäjaniemi, Head of Department Mirja Jarimo-Lehtinen from the Council of Economic Organizations in Finland and, on behalf of Statistics Finland, Senior Researcher Riitta Harala, Senior Adviser Päivi Keinänen, Senior Statistician Anna-Leena Wickstrand and Gender Statistics Co-ordinator Eeva-Sisko Veikkola. Eeva-Sisko Veikkola coordinated the project. The team was later supplemented by Senior Researcher Kaisa Kauppinen-Toropainen from the Institute of Occupational Health. The members of the team placed their knowledge, skills and expertise at the disposal of Statistics Finland by planning the study, analysing the statistics and writing the articles. The cover and layout were designed by Statistician Päivi Seppälä. The English translation is by Ms. Susan Sinisalo.

The study was originally published in Finnish at what appeared to be an extremely auspicious moment, at the height of the debate stimulated by the Finnish presidential elections in which a female candidate finished a good second. Statistics Finland hopes that "Women at the Top" will help to further the debate on women as managers.

Statistics Finland, July 1994

Hilkka Vihavainen

Riitta Harala

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1 Introduction

Little information has so far been collected on women as business managers. On the initiative of the Nordic Council of Ministers it was therefore decided to investigate the representation of women in business management in each of the Nordic countries. In early 1992 a team appointed by Statistics Finland therefore began to examine the existing Finnish statistics and research materials dealing with the subject in question. Since no up-to-date information was available on the representation of women managers in the private sector, the team decided to conduct an inquiry among the biggest Finnish business undertakings on their situation at the end of 1992. The results of this inquiry are presented in chapter 2 of this report.

While the work was in progress, an extensive statistical file on the population census of 1990 was completed at Statistics Finland, permitting the close examination of various attributes of population groups selected in different ways. The census data also permit the definition of female and male managers as a separate domain of study, the attributes of which can be examined in relation to other employed persons. Chapter 3 examines the company background, occupation, education and family status of managers on the basis of the census data.

Chapter 2 is devoted to the managers of about 200 large undertakings and chapter 3 analyses the profile of the Finnish business manager by means of the census data. The present report does not analyse female management in the public sector.

In addition to the above themes the report also deals with other studies of female management, with reference to the glass ceiling phenomenon and mentoring in a woman's advancement in her career.

2 Female managers in big business undertakings

- Women account for 11 per cent of the managers of big business undertakings, 2 per cent of the CEOs and managing directors.
- The proportion of women on the supervisory organs of big undertakings has increased in recent years.
- A good 36 per cent of big undertakings do not have a single female manager.
- Trade, hotels and restaurants have the highest proportion of female managers.
- The big financing and insurance undertakings almost all have at least one female manager.
- In companies that do have female managers, women in most cases account for less than 10 per cent of all the managers.

Female managers in big business undertakings

Riitta Harala

Business enquiry statistics

The 200 Finnish private-sector companies with the biggest staff or turnover were selected for the purposes of the study. These also included joint stock companies in which the state has a majority holding.

The companies for study were taken from the Business Register maintained by Statistics Finland. Since some of the companies did not rank among the top 200 in terms of turnover but did in terms of personnel, and vice versa, the research material comprised 269 undertakings. It was discovered in the course of the enquiry that two of these did not satisfy the research criteria; this left a final corpus of 267 companies. After one call-back, information was obtained on 203 companies, giving a response of 76 per cent. Part of the non-response may have been caused by company

deaths occurring at around the time of the study.

The companies were asked to state the number of different managers, the male-female manager distribution, the number of staff on the company payroll and the gender distribution. Managers were classified on the questionnaire form at the following levels:

- CEO or managing director
- supervisory board
- board of directors, executive board
- the level immediately below the executive board
- other staff going by the name of manager.

The different classes were not defined in any way on the questionnaire; each company thus decided itself on the classification of its managers.

The background information on the company (branch and turnover) was obtained from the Business Register maintained by Statistics Finland by means of the business or corporation identifier requested on the form.

The companies fell into categories according to the number of employees as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Companies in the study according to number of employees

No. of employees	Total no. of companies	%
- 49	5	3
50 - 99	6	3
100 - 199	7	3
200 - 499	31	15
500 - 999	72	36
1 000 -	82	40
Total	203	100

The companies fell into categories according to turnover as shown in Table 2.

The category with no turnover consists of banks and insurance companies for which no turnover data are available.

**TABLE 2. Companies in the study according to turnover
1 FIM = 0.223 USD (1992)**

Company turnover (million FIM)	Total no. of companies	%
-	7	3
- 499	51	25
500 - 999	71	35
1 000 - 1 999	37	18
2 000 - 4 999	30	15
5 000 - 9 999	5	3
10 000 +	2	1
Total	203	100

The companies were distributed over various branches as shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3. Companies in the study according to branch

Branch	Total no. of companies	%
Agriculture & forestry	2	1
Manufacturing	96	47
Construction	10	5
Trade, hotels & restaurants	57	28
Communications	11	5
Financing, insurance & business services	22	11
Community and other services	5	3
Total	203	100

Results of the study

Women at various managerial levels

It has already been noted in a number of contexts that the female manager is still a rarity in Finnish business. This concept is further supported by the present study, though a slight increase can be discerned in the number of female managers.

At the CEO and managing director level of big business enterprises only 2 per cent of the managers were, according to the study, women, just on 5 per cent of the members of boards of directors or executive boards and 14 per cent of supervisory boards. Of those at the level immediately below the executive board women accounted for a good 13 per cent, and for just on 13 per cent of other managers. All in all 11 per cent of

the managers of the biggest business companies were women. Meanwhile women accounted for over 40 per cent of the staff of companies of the corresponding size.

Hajba (1990) has studied women's membership of the highest supervisory organs in Finland in 1989, supervisory organ here being defined as a company supervisory board or board of directors making far-reaching decisions important to the company, the tasks of the supervisory board being more limited. The supervisory board is chiefly a board of trustees elected by the owners, chiefly in a supervisory capacity. The board of directors occupies a central, strategic role in the company.

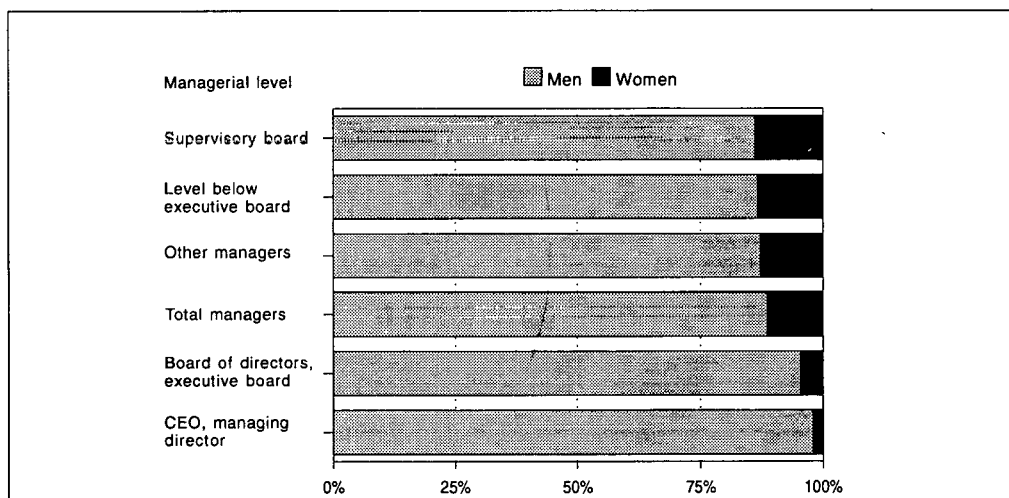
TABLE 4. Women at various managerial levels.

Level	Managers	Of which	
		men, %	women, %
CEO and/or managing director	244	98	2
Supervisory board	1 340	86	14
Board of directors, executive board	1 154	95	5
Level immediately below executive board	1 618	87	13
Other managers	3 195	87	13
Managers, total	7 550	89	11
	Total		
Total staff	314 746	58	42

According to the findings of Hajba, women accounted for 5.8 per cent of the members of the supervisory organs of the 100 biggest undertakings in 1989, whereas the present investigation revealed a figure of 8.6 per cent at the end of 1992. The percentage of women in the supervisory organs of big companies thus appears to have risen in recent years.

Despite the indications that such a rise has in fact taken place, the women managers are still to be found more frequently on the supervisory boards and at the levels below the executive board or board of directors. They are still very few in number in the top management, as CEOs or managing directors, and on boards of directors. In most cases the women managers are not therefore involved in the strategic decision-making proper.

FIGURE 1. Male-female distribution at different managerial levels



The proportion of female managers

Of the companies studied, a good 36 per cent did not have a single woman manager. In other respects the female managers were distributed as shown in Table 5.

In companies that do have female managers, women appear in the light of this report to represent less than 10 per cent of the managers.

TABLE 5. Companies according to female manager percentage

% of women managers	Total of companies	%
0	74	36
under 10	68	34
10,0 - 19,9	33	16
20,0 - 29,9	18	9
over 30	10	5

What sorts of companies have women managers?

Branch

It was assumed from previous studies that women are employed as managers in the traditional women's fields, such as services. This does in fact appear to be the case, especially in trade, hotels & restaurants, and also in community services, where women account for just on 17 per cent of all managers in trade, etc., and just on 16 per cent in community services, such as recreational and cultural services and organisations. By contrast, the proportion of women managers in financing and insurance,

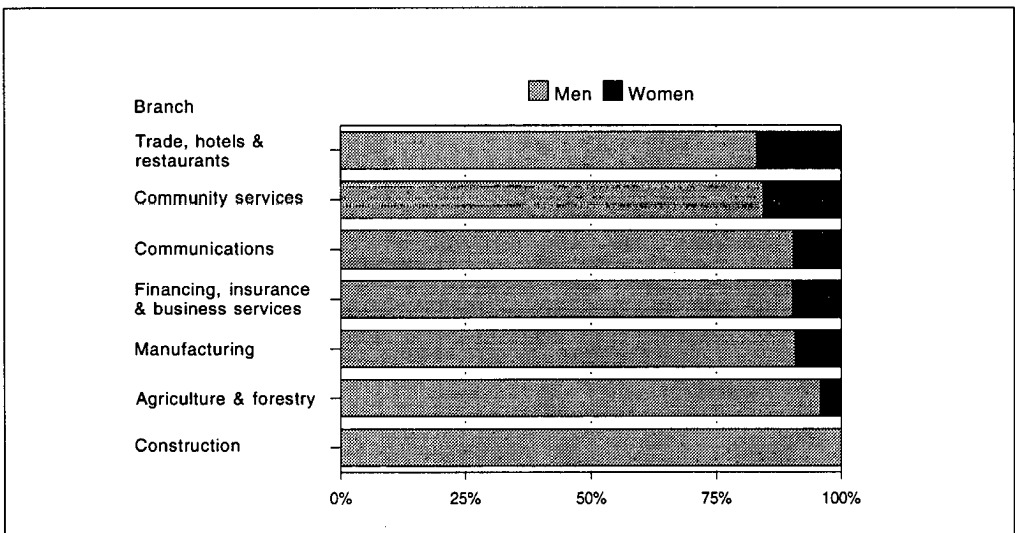
business services and communications is on a par with that in industry. In a traditionally male field, construction, not one of the 10 companies in the study had a woman manager.

Almost all the big financing and insurance companies had at least one woman manager, but 33-45 per cent of the companies in industry, trade, hotels & restaurants and communications did not have a single female manager.

TABLE 6. Women managers as a percentage of the total managers according to branch

Branch	Total managers	Of which	
		men, %	women, %
Agriculture & forestry	71	96	4
Manufacturing	2 753	91	9
Construction	257	100	0
Trade, hotels & restaurants	2 342	83	17
Communications	271	90	10
Financing, insurance & business services	1 683	90	10
Community and other services	173	84	16
Total	7 550	89	11

FIGURE 2. Proportion of women managers by branch



Size of staff

The proportion of women as a percentage of all managers is shown in Table 7 according to company size.

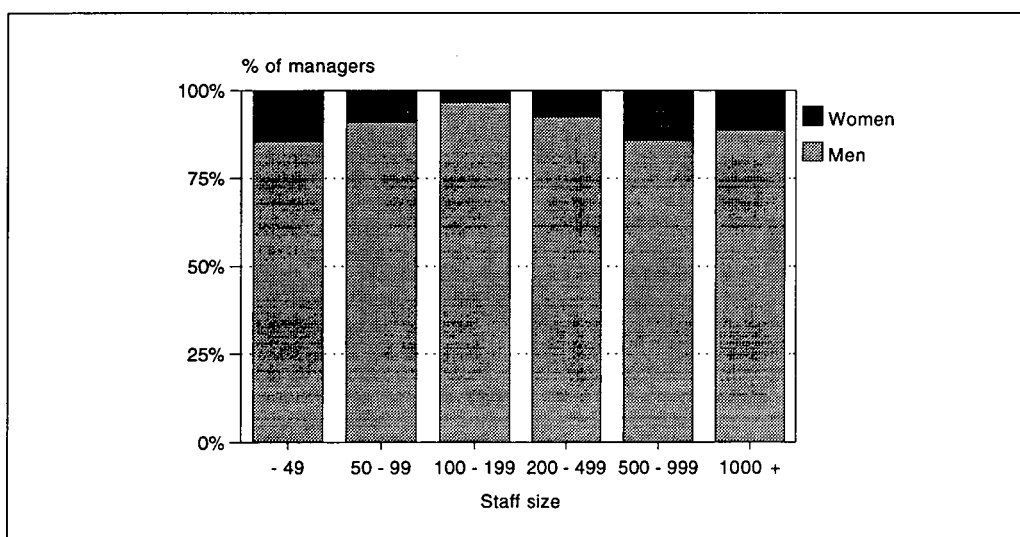
Women managers are to be found in the small-staff companies in the study, and in fairly big companies with a staff

of over 500 and thus more managers. It should be remembered on examining the results that the companies with the smallest staffs in this study nevertheless have a turnover placing them among the 200 biggest Finnish undertakings in terms of turnover.

TABLE 7. Women as a percentage of all managers according to company staff size

Staff size	Total managers	Of which	
		men, %	women, %
- 49	69	86	14
50 - 99	67	91	9
100 - 199	118	97	3
200 - 499	669	93	7
500 - 999	1 750	86	14
1 000 -	4 877	89	11
Total	7 550	89	11

Figure 3. Percentage of women managers according to staff size



Turnover

The companies in the study were also examined according to turnover. The number of women in proportion to the total number of managers is shown in Table 8.

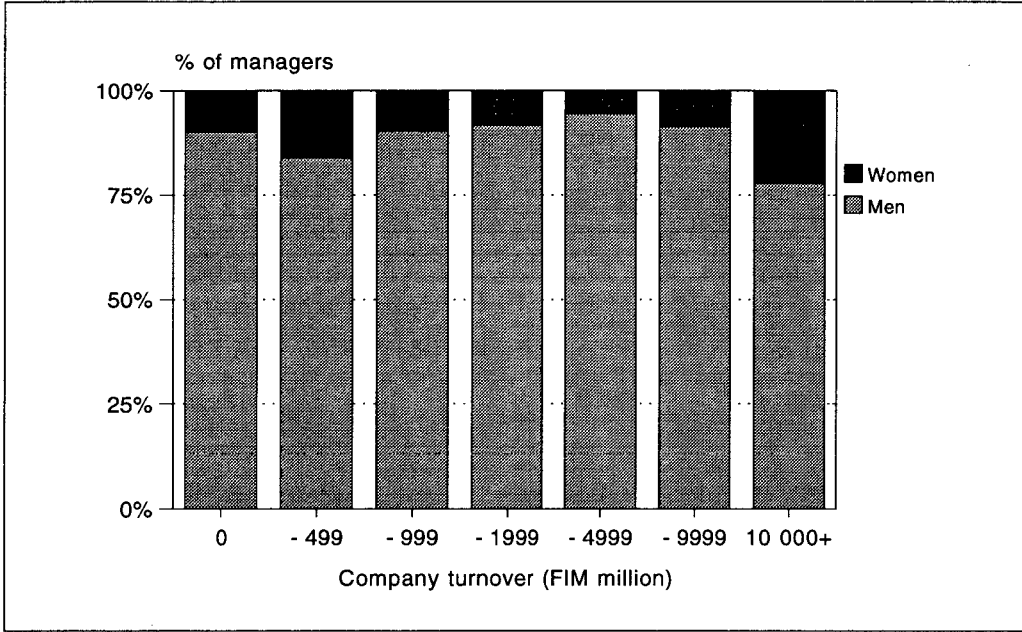
Women seem to be represented most clearly in the companies with the smallest turnover, and again in those with the biggest turnover. In the companies

with the biggest turnovers a good 22 per cent of all the managers were women. This relatively high figure may be attributed to the fact that companies of this size have a larger managerial staff. It appears from previous studies (Hajba 1990) that the proportion of women managers grows as the average size of the supervisory organs increases.

TABLE 8. Women as a percentage of the total number of managers according to company turnover, 1 FIM = 0.223 USD (1992)

Company turnover (FIM million)	Total managers	Of which	
		men, %	women, %
-	998	90	10
- 499	1 221	84	16
500 - 999	1 796	90	10
1 000 - 1 999	1 086	92	8
2 000 - 4 999	1 194	94	6
5 000 - 9 999	264	91	9
10 000 +	991	78	22
Total	7 550	89	11

FIGURE 4. Women as a percentage of the total number of managers according to company turnover, 1 FIM = 0.223 USD (1992)



Sources

Hajba, Sirpa (1990), *Naiset suuryritysten hallintoelimissä* (Women on the administrative boards of large companies), Turun kaupakorkeakoulun julkaisuja. Sarja Keskustelua ja raportteja 1:1990.

3 The profile of the female manager in the private sector

- A quarter of managers in 1992 were women
- Between 1988 and 1992 the proportion of women managers grew by 2 per cent units a year on average
- Male managers tend to be in general management, technical fields and marketing; the profile of women managers is broader
- Women managers are most often in female-dominated fields
- The salaries of women managers are on average 65 per cent of those of men
- The wage differentials of male and female managers are smaller at the highest levels of education
- Over 80 per cent of male managers are married, 60 per cent of female
- The marriage rate for women managers is average for all employed women
- Women managers have fewer children than employed women on average
- The difference in salary between husband and wife is smaller in families where the woman is a manager

Statistics based on the population census

Riitta Harala

This section of the report on female managers draws on the data yielded by the 1990 population and housing census. The material is extremely broad in content, including information on e.g. the demographic structure of the population, economic activity, employment, education, incomes, housing and family status. The statistics of the 1990 population census were assembled by pooling the data from various administrative registers without any direct data collection for the population.

The census material includes data on the occupations of the population in employment. Occupational data were taken from a number of different sources. For the private sector the occupations were mostly obtained from the official taxation registers and were as stated by taxpayers themselves on their tax statements.

The stated occupation was coded at Statistics Finland, chiefly by means of the Statistics Finland automatic coding system (Ammattiluokitus 1980, Käsikirjoja N:o 14, Helsinki 1981). In addition to the occupation designation the automatic coding system uses certain auxiliary data such as information on branch and education. Some of the classification work was done manually.

'Manager' was limited by the team to cover jobs in the 2-digit level classification 11 "administrative work in business undertakings and organisations". According to the definition, the persons in this category hold managerial positions in undertakings, municipal and state undertakings included, transport authorities, etc. They direct and organise the operations of organisations, business enterprises or departments in them. Sales managers, departmental

managers, workshop foremen and the like are included in this category only if they act as the heads of several different departments. The category covers the following 3-digit classes. Some examples are given in brackets.

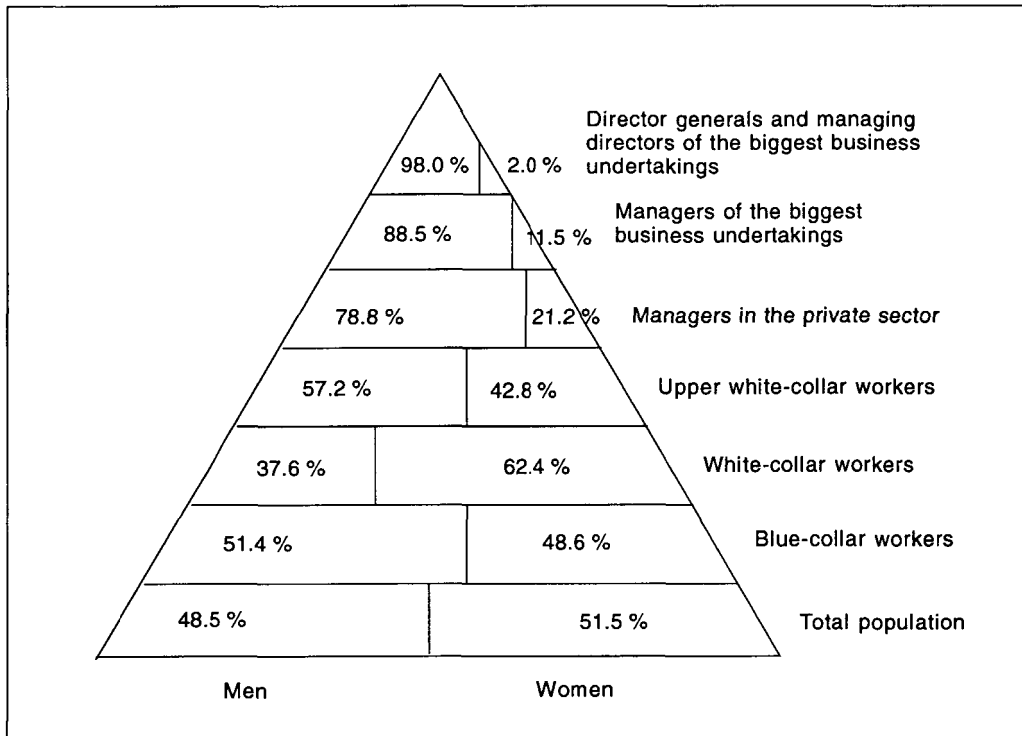
1. managers of business undertakings (director general, managing director, bank manager, mill manager)
2. technical managers (production manager, works manager, departmental manager, chief engineer)
3. sales managers (sales manager, marketing manager, product manager, export manager)
4. administration and accounting managers (accounting manager, financial manager)
5. managers of commercial and ideological organisations and trade unions (chairman, party secretary, secretary general)
6. personnel managers (personnel manager, welfare manager)
7. other business and organisation managers (chief forester, forwarding manager, circulation manager).

The report is confined exclusively to managers in the private sector. It was not possible to define the managerial level in a way similar to that in the public sector by means of the occupation classification to provide even comparative data, since the managerial level in the public sector is not distinguished in the occupational classification from persons engaged in research and investigation.

Nor is this section of the report restricted only to the biggest business undertakings; instead it includes all persons classified in certain managerial categories. The number of managers for study was thus considerably larger than in the inquiry in the biggest business undertakings. The managers in the census material numbered 54,300, of which 42,770 were men and 11,530 women. The results may therefore also differ from one another to some extent. The reference period also differs in this study: the data apply to the situation at the end of 1990.

The following figure represents the female and male population at various levels of society. The target for the female manager inquiry consisted of the top two sections of the pyramid, whereas the inquiry based on the census material included the top three sections.

The male and female population at various levels of society



Male and female managers: segregated labour markets

Eva Hänninen-Salmelin - Sinikka Vanhala

Background to the segregation

The participation of Finnish women in the labour force is by international comparison high, and women are widely involved in the decision-making within society. Since, in addition, the educational statistics indicate that the average educational level of women corresponds in Finland to the average educational level of men, and that in the younger age groups women are better educated than men, the general impression is that great equality exists between Finnish men and women.

The strong position of women in working life is not, however, directly reflected in access to the highest positions in business life. According to the study by Ruostetsaari (1992) analysing the Finnish elite (politics, public administration, business, culture and the media), women accounted for 13 per

cent of those holding the highest positions in society and decision-making, and for only 4 per cent of members of the business elite.

The managerial labour markets, like the labour markets in general, seem to be divided according to gender. Women and men have a different status in the managerial hierarchy, they are employed by undertakings of different sizes and in different branches, and they are not paid the same. In the light of previous studies (Vanhala 1986 & 1993, Hajba 1990, Kovalainen 1990, Haapakorpi 1994), most women managers are in middle management, demanding expert jobs and the owner-entrepreneur group, and more often than men in small undertakings. Women managers at all levels earn less than their male counterparts.

The proportion of women in managerial positions has almost doubled in twelve years. In 1980 women accounted for 13 per cent of all managers; by 1992 a quarter of managers were women. Be-

tween 1988 and 1992 the proportion of women managers grew 2 per cent units a year on average (Table 1. Women according to socio-economic status in 1988–1992).

TABLE 1. Women according to socio-economic status in 1988–1992

Year	Employees	All white-collar workers	White-collar workers in managerial posts
1988	50	40	17
1989	50	40	20
1990	50	41	21
1991	51	43	23
1992	52	43	25

Source: Statistics Finland, Labour Force Statistics

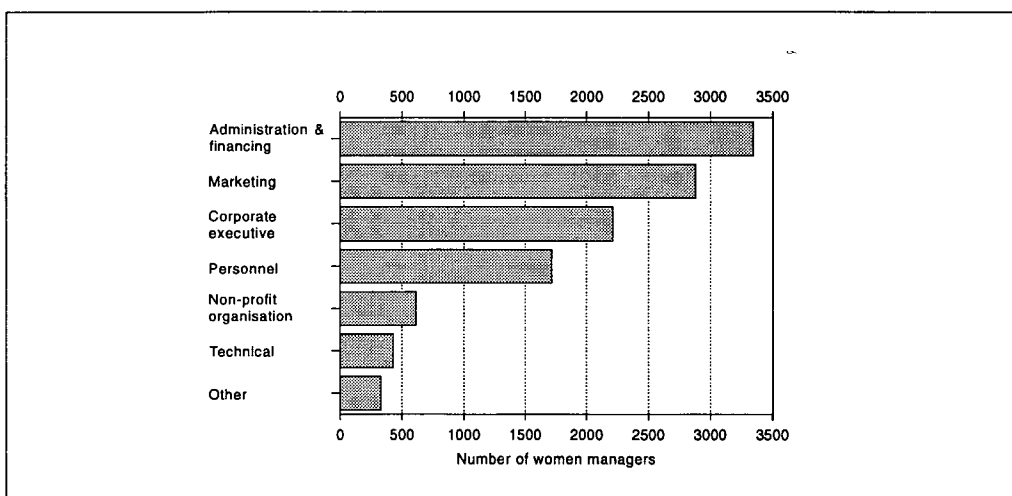
Careers open to women managers

Judging from Finnish research findings, women have three alternative careers in management (Vanhala 1986 and 1993, Sinkkonen & Hänninen-Salmelin 1989, Hajba 1990). These are 1) as an owner-entrepreneur, 2) as an expert manager, 3) as a line manager. Alongside the traditional owner-entrepreneur career, women first had a chance to make a career as an expert manager, and most recently as a line manager.

Entrepreneurship used to be the main channel for women to make a career in management. It was earlier thought that a woman could only become a manager by inheriting a firm from her parents or husband or by marrying an entrepreneur - or by founding a business herself. Today one third of entrepreneurs are women.

An expert career combines a woman's desire for meaningful work with the need of organisations to develop know-how aiming at a high degree of specialisation. From the woman's point of view an expert career is not, however, necessarily a positive matter. Although an expert career does indeed provide an opportunity for professional development and specialisation, it may in practice lead to a dead end. Narrow expertise often hampers both advancement to a higher level in the hierarchy at the woman's existing workplace and in her career by changing organisations. In this career model a woman is 'permitted' to advance, but only in a certain direction. This phenomenon is known as "the glass elevator" (Europe's glass ceiling 1991).

FIGURE 1. Number of women in managerial positions



Women have only recently advanced in line management. Yet line experience is, according to studies made by e.g. Hajba (1990), a prime consideration in selecting CEOs for the management team. The obstacles to a woman's access to a line management position are usually manifest at the recruitment stage already. A woman is most often recruited for a specific (expert) task, a man for his potential. A man is integrated in the internal rotation and training system to improve his qualifications for a more demanding job; a woman's training aims more to increase her qualifications in her present job (Europe's glass ceiling 1991). Another problem is the small number of women with a technical and/or scientific education in a country in which the biggest and strategically most important business

undertakings are in the paper and forest industry.

According to the 1990 census¹, the most common tasks/job titles for women managers are administration & finance manager, accounting for just on one third of all women managers. One woman manager in four is employed as a sales or marketing manager and one in five as a corporate manager (see Appendix Table 1).

The picture of women as managers changes somewhat on examination of the percentages of men and women in various managerial tasks instead of the absolute manager figures.

The proportion of women managers has increased in personnel, administration and finance.

1) Population census 1990. The material is described in the article on the statistics based on the population census by Riitta Harala.

TABLE 2. Women and men in various managerial positions

Job	Women	Men	Total	
	per cent	per cent	per cent	N
Corporate managers	16	84	100	(13 547)
Technical managers	7	93	100	(6 043)
Marketing managers	15	85	100	(19 589)
Administration & finance managers	39	61	100	(8 538)
Personnel managers	56	44	100	(3 066)
Non-profit organisation managers	31	69	100	(1 957)
Other managers	21	79	100	(1 957)
Total	21	79	100	(54 300)

Over half the personnel managers and close on 40 per cent of the administration & finance managers are women. The proportion of women is lowest among the technical managers and low among the corporate and marketing managers.

The job titles indicate marked labour market segregation by gender. The majority (close on 80 per cent) of the male managers are in general management, technical and marketing jobs, while the women managers are distributed fairly

evenly between the "soft" fields of personnel, finance & administration and the "hard" fields of general management, technical and marketing jobs. The male manager profile is thus to some extent narrower than the female. Consequently, the view that women managers operate in the "soft" fields (Optio 10.2.1994, p. 33) is false in two respects. Firstly, half the women managers are employed in "hard", masculine jobs, and secondly, both personnel and finance are anything but soft in the business world of today.

Women managers in different branches

According to previous studies, women are employed in small, labour-intensive, female-dominated undertakings (e.g. Vanhala 1986, Kovalainen 1990, Niittymaa 1991) or in units and jobs "on the fringe areas" of the central functions of big companies or in new fields just get-

ting established (Legge 1987). They may be employed to assist the top management (Sinkkonen & Hänninen-Salmelin 1989) or in new fields (such as environmental protection management at Neste Oy). According to Legge (1987), it has been noted that as the

significance and prestige of a field begins to rise, the number of women in managerial positions in this field begins to fall.

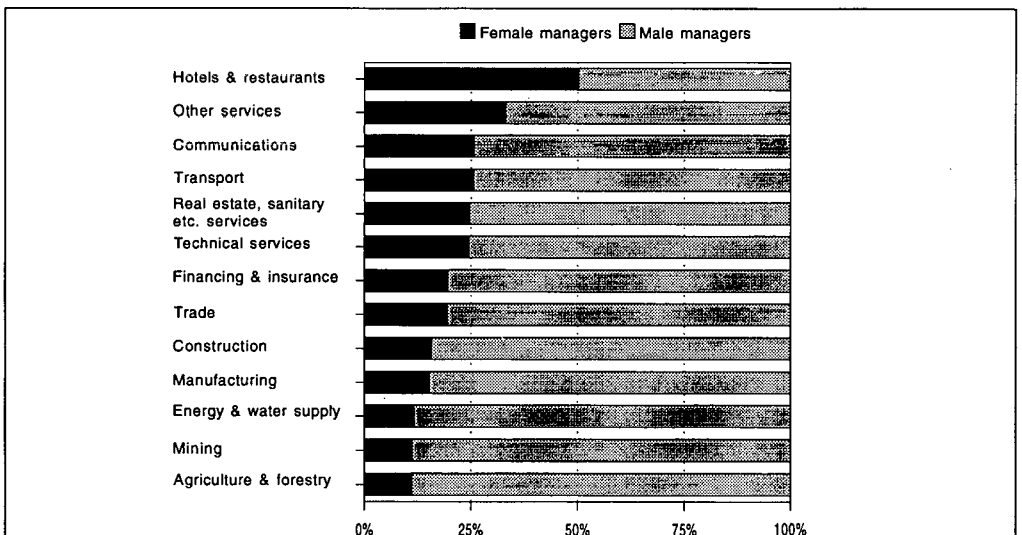
The findings of the Kvande (1986) inquiry in Norway support the view according to which women make the best progress in their career in new, dynamic fields in which the companies involved are constantly developing their working methods and procedures. Such companies work on the guiding principle of meeting the challenges of their customers, not of repeating former procedures. Organisations of this type provide opportunities for persons with different thinking and working habits to participate and influence. They also provide scope for women to develop in their work and to advance in their careers.

According to previous studies, women managers seem to operate in different fields from men (e.g. Vanhala 1986).

The census data support this observation, since the proportion of women managers is highest in the hotel & restaurant sector and in other services. The proportion of male managers is in turn highest in manufacturing, construction, energy & water supply, mining and agriculture (Appendix Table 2). Even so, the majority (60 per cent) of male managers and almost half (47 per cent) of female managers are employed in manufacturing and trade.

Examination of the distribution of women managers by branch reveals that a good quarter of the women managers in the private sector (26 per cent) are employed in trade (wholesale & retailing). Industry as a whole accounts for one fifth of women managers. As many as one in three woman managers in industry are in the metal industry, though only a good 10 per cent of all the managers employed in the metal industry are women. Correspondingly, the number of women managers in the clothing

FIGURE 2. The proportion of female and male managers by branch



& textile industry is low, yet one quarter of all the managers in the clothing industry are women.

As has been demonstrated by earlier studies, the majority of women managers are employed in female-dominated fields, the majority of men in male-dominated fields. According to the census data, too, a good half of women managers are in female-dominated organisations and a good half of men managers in male-dominated organisations. True, the majority of the managers in female-dominated organisations are also men in terms of numbers.

A good fifth of both men and women managers are employed in organisations with a balanced gender structure (i.e. with men/women accounting for between 40 and 59 per cent of the employees).

Previous research has shown that women managers tend more often than

men to be employed in small undertakings. The census data add slight support to this observation, since 35 per cent of women managers and 32 per cent of men managers are employed in companies with fewer than 50 employees. In the next size category (50-100 persons) the proportion is reversed. To generalise, it may be said that women managers are slightly more often employed in small companies and men managers in medium-sized ones. The differences are, however, small, as shown in Table 3b.

According to previous studies, women managers tend to be concentrated in small undertakings. This may be due to the fact that the investigation concerned a specific occupational field, or men and women holding a specific qualification. The results thus apply only to the labour market segregation according to company size of managers in a particular field or holding a particular qualification.

TABLE 3a. Women and men managers according to female dominance

Women as % of staff	Women managers %	Men managers %
< 5 %	0	5
5 - 19 %	7	15
20 - 39 %	18	33
40 - 59 %	22	23
60 - 89 %	42	23
90 - 100 %	11	1
Total	100	100
N	11 046	41 570

TABLE 3b. Women and men managers according to company size

Staff	Women, %	Men, %
Under 100	43	41
100 - 499	18	21
Unknown	32	33
Over 500	7	5
Total	100	100
N	11 530	42 770

The level of education of female and male managers

The differences between female and male managers according to a rough level of education are relatively small. According to the educational statistics, women in the under -45 age group have a higher level of education than men, measured by qualifications achieved after the compulsory education. Yet even at managerial level, male managers tend more often than female managers to have had a tertiary-level education.

It may be claimed that the less education a male manager has, the more likely he is to be employed in a smaller organisation measured by the number of employees and turnover. By contrast, close on 40 per cent of female managers with no secondary school education are employed in larger organisations. The corresponding figure for men is about 25 per cent. A good half of male and female managers with a secondary-level education work in small companies with fewer than 100 employees.

TABLE 4. Female and male managers according to education

Education	Women, %	Men, %
Primary only	15	13
Secondary	44	42
Tertiary	41	45
Total	100	100
N	11 530	42 770

Wage market differentiation

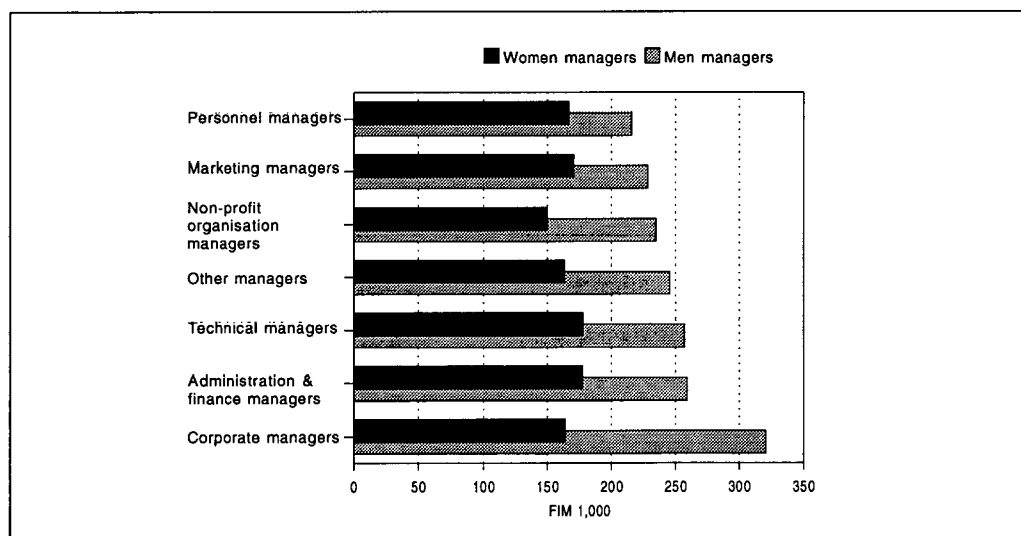
All the wage statistics reveal marked differentiation between men and women (Anttalainen 1986, Women and men in the Nordic Countries, 1988, Hemmilä 1989, Allén et al. 1990). The same applies to managers' salaries (Vanhala 1986). The wage discrepancies are to some extent explained by the genderised segregation of the occupational and job structures. An investigation into wage differences in 1985 conducted by Statistics Finland (Allén et al. 1990) arrived at the interpretation that the phenomenon can be attributed more to male dominance than to the sexual segregation of occupations as such. The wage differences between men and women were smallest at the female-dominated end of the occupational scale and increased steadily towards the more male-dominated occupational groups.

The wage distributions in 1990 were the same as those for 1985.

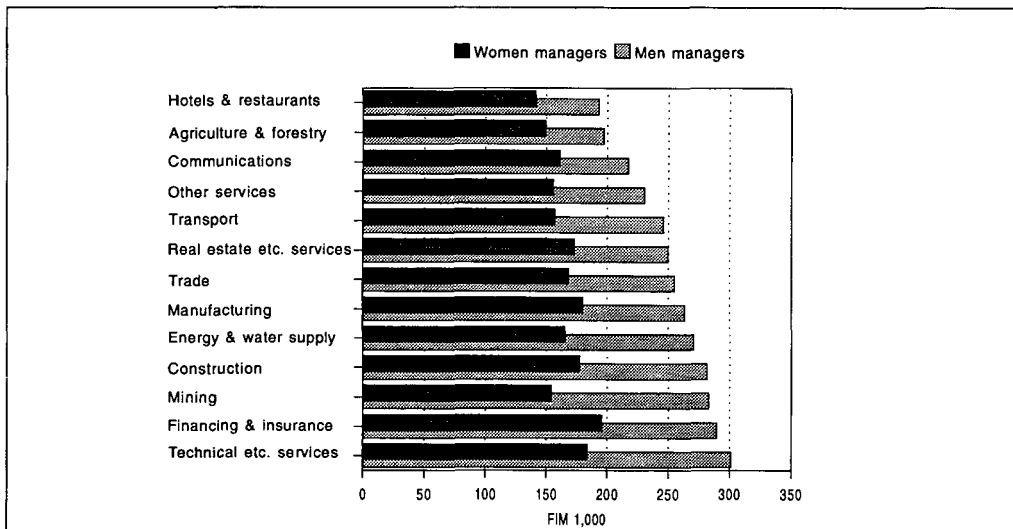
The mean salary of all women managers was about 65 per cent of that of men managers. Examined according to managerial position, the differences were smallest in the personnel manager category and biggest in the corporate manager category, where women earned only 51 per cent of men's salaries.

Examined by company size, the mean salaries of male managers were highest in large (over 500 employees) companies with the exception of corporate managers, who earned most in medium-sized undertakings. The salary differences of women managers were not affected by the company size.

**FIGURE 3. Annual income of female and male managers by position
1 FIM = 0.223 USD (1992)**



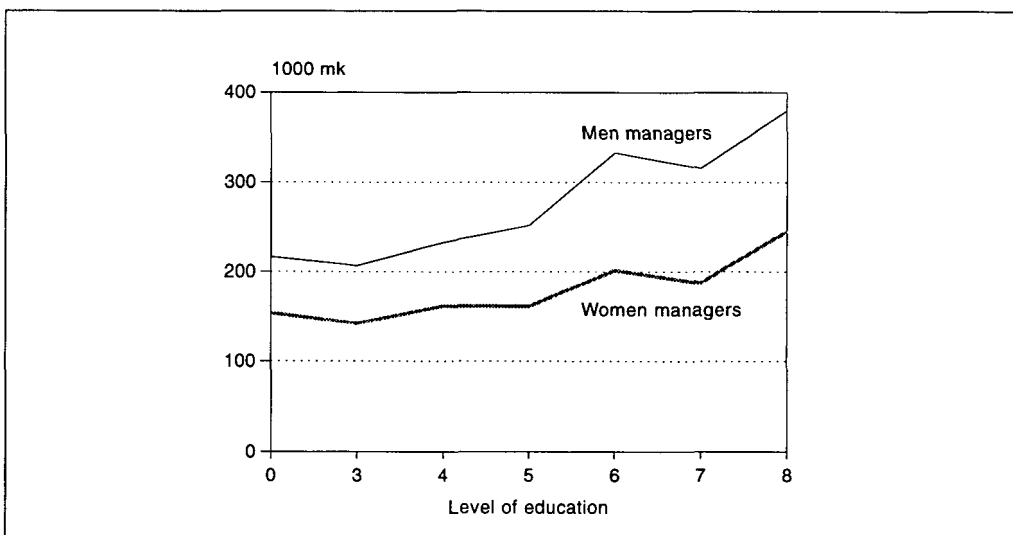
**FIGURE 4. Annual income of female and male managers by branch
1 FIM = 0.223 USD (1992)**



The variations between branches are likewise great in the salaries of men and women managers. In female-dominated branches the wage differences between men and women are smaller than in male-dominated ones, with the exception of agriculture & forestry.

Examination by level of education reveals that the salary gap between male and female managers is widest among persons with the highest degrees (lower and higher tertiary levels, ISCED levels 6-8).

FIGURE 5. Managers' salaries according to education in the private sector



The salary differences between men and women grow proportionally according to education up to the lower tertiary level. Thereafter (higher tertiary level) a woman manager begins to benefit from her education in the form

of a higher salary. Women with a higher degree earn almost as much as their male colleagues. In this category women on average earn 77 per cent of men's salaries.

Summary of the results

In 1992 one in four managers was a woman. The proportion of women managers has increased at a rate of 2 per cent units a year from 1988 to 1992. The increase has mostly been in middle management; the number and proportion of top women managers is changing more slowly. The trend from the woman manager's point of view is a positive one. Although women have not achieved the top salaries, they have nevertheless reached the middle management and expert level from which future top managers are recruited.

The career options open to the woman manager can be reduced to three categories: owner-entrepreneur, expert and line manager. The expert career poses both opportunities and problems. The opportunities mainly concern development in her work, the problems being "locked" in an expert job; no experience is gained in line management and the chances of promotion to the top management are restricted.

As the results of previous studies indicate, the women managers in the present investigation proved to be in female-dominated fields, in "soft managerial positions" and smaller companies. The differences are, however, small,

and the manager profile of women managers can be considered broader than that of men managers; women managers are distributed more evenly than men over different managerial tasks.

Examined according to level of education, female managers have somewhat less education than male managers. Education is reflected in the salaries of female managers so that at the lower educational levels the salary differences according to sex grow with education, but at the top two educational levels the differences decrease. Women managers would appear to benefit from education in the form of higher salaries. In other respects the segregation of the managerial salary markets observes the "general rules"; the difference between men's and women's salaries is greatest in the male-dominated fields and jobs. The salary differences are most marked in corporate management, which in a way epitomises the problem of women managers: men manage the big, important organisations, women the small companies and other small organisations. The woman manager in a large corporation in most cases makes her career in the middle management or in an expert position.

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APPENDIX TABLE 1.
Female and male managers by position/job designation

Position/designation	Women		Men	
	Number	%	Number	%
Administration & finance managers	3 344	29	5 194	12
Marketing managers	2 882	25	16 707	39
Corporate managers	2 212	19	11 335	27
Personnel managers	1 717	15	1 349	3
Non-profit organisation managers	614	5	1 343	3
Technical managers	430	4	5 613	13
Other managers	331	3	1 229	3
Total	11 530	100	42 770	100

APPENDIX TABLE 2.
The distribution of women managers by branch and women as a percentage of the managers in different branches

Branch	Women		Men		Women as % of managers
	Number	%	Number	%	
Trade	2 975	26	12 346	29	19
Manufacturing	2 403	21	13 235	31	15
Community services	1 693	14	3 427	8	33
Financing & insurance	1 028	9	4 230	10	20
Hotels & restaurants	1 027	9	949	2	52
Technical & business services	988	8	3 046	7	24
Transport	463	4	1 348	3	26
Construction	314	3	1 676	4	16
Real estate, sanitary & rental services	259	3	791	2	25
Communications	161	1	466	1	26
Energy & water supply	67	1	504	1	12
Agriculture & forestry	37	0	296	1	11
Mining and quarrying	13	0	99	0	11
Unknown	102	1	357	1	22
Total	11 530	100	42 770	100	

The families and economic status of female and male managers

Päivi Keinänen

The interaction between employment and the family has received rather little attention in working life research, where the public life domain has been studied only through the labour market status of the individual. Yet the family has often served as a "natural" explanation, derived from the traditional role of women as housewives, for the career segregation of men and women. For example, the Swedish report "Man är chef" does not give any information on the family backgrounds of managers; in the discussions family obligations were regarded as the main reason for the underrepresentation of women in management (SCB, 1992).

It is very common for the small proportion of women at the top of professional hierarchies to be explained by their greater commitment to the family and child care. The women promoted to

managers are, according to international studies, often unmarried with no children, but the majority of male managers are married.

In work organisations family commitments may act as grounds for sexual discrimination, either openly or unconsciously. For example, a woman may be asked about her family situation at a job interview, but a man usually not. Persons to be appointed to managerial posts are usually expected to be more highly committed to their work than others, and this is not always regarded as a feature of a woman with a family. Humeniuk & Madsen (1989) regard time demands as a structural obstacle to women's advancement in the professional hierarchy of banks. Work is expected to come before family if a person wants to get ahead in his/her career. Not only must s/he work fulltime, s/he

must also find time for further study, socialising after work, overtime, etc.

Life in modern society is, however, open in the sense that it permits individual life planning (Giddens, 1991). Openness means that a person may, regardless of origins and gender, to a certain extent make lifestyle choices from a diversity of options. For example, an unmarried woman manager may have made a voluntary choice between career and family. A woman who has achieved the position of manager may explain that she is unmarried because she has not had the time for marriage.

Despite the structural obstacles and discrimination at the workplace, the family may act as a source of emotional support to the individual outside home. The modern concept of the family has been influenced above all by Talcott Parsons, according to whom it is the function of the modern family to ensure the socialisation of children and the balanced development of the personality of adults (Jallinoja, 1990). The family offers both material and emotional security and its

stable human relations support the moulding of a person's selfimage and identity. It acts as a buffer between the individual and society (Hänninen-Salmelin, 1988).

In planning their lives, many women want to combine a career with a family. This article takes a look at the 1990 data² on the gender, marital and family status of managers. In practice, combining a family with a career makes heavy everyday demands on the woman aspiring to a managerial post. How does demanding work affect the family, husband-wife relationships and having children? This will here be examined by means of the statistical data on the family. The internal symmetry of the family will also be described by examining the activity and professional status and income of the spouses of managers. A leading position often brings a new authority symmetry, especially in the families of women managers. Unlike in previous studies, it is now possible to make a comparison of managers with all those in employment.

The marital status and divorce of managers

A number of studies have indicated that women managers are more frequently unmarried than male managers. In the United States, for example, 52 per cent of women in managing posts are un-

married and childless. About 39 per cent have children and 5 per cent are married but have no children. 30 per cent of British women managers have children, as against 36 per cent of all

2) The data of the 1990 population census are described in more detail in the article by Riitta Harala at the beginning of chapter 3.

TABLE 1. Managers and employed persons according to marital status, %

	Married	Divorced	Un-married	Widowed	Total	N
Female managers	60	13	25	2	100	11 530
Male managers	83	7	10	1	100	42 770
Employed women	60	10	28	3	100	1 134 409
Employed men	60	7	33	1	100	1 197 873

women (aged 1659) in employment (Sly, 1993).

The findings in Finland are along similar lines. Eva Hänninen-Salmelin (op.cit.) has made a review of studies of the family background to Finnish men and women in leading positions. Elina Haavio-Mannila (1991) has studied the families of, among others, academic women and Ilkka Ruostetsaari (1992) of the power elite.

The study of academic women revealed that fewer of the women had a meaningful relationship with the other sex than the men in similar positions. Yet these professional women were more often married or cohabiting than women as a whole. The result of Ruostetsaari et al. on the power elite is similar to that in Table 1.

In her article Hänninen-Salmelin lists various studies of professionals where the percentage of married women ranged from 61 to 78, that of men from 69 to 96. The single rate varied between 12 and 30 per cent in the women studied and between 0 and 31 per cent in the men. The data in these studies

concerned specified professional groups differing in their organisational status.

The difference in marital status between Finnish women and men managers is considerable (Table 1). Women managers do not, however, differ significantly from other persons in employment. Women managers are just as often married as employed women and men in general. There are, however, relatively more unmarried female than male managers, but the proportion of unmarried women managers is lower than it is for employed women in general.

A woman's selection for a managerial post does not therefore appear to depend on her marital status, and marriage as such is not a sufficient explanation for the small proportion of women at the top of hierarchies. The family in fact appears to play a lesser role in obstructing a woman's career development than gender as such. Among men, high social status and family are, however, closely interwoven.

According to previous studies, more women managers are divorced than

men. The proportion of divorced women varies quite considerably from one study to another. According to the census data, there are slightly more divorced women in the employed population than there are men. But the clearly higher divorce rate for women managers compared with employed men, male managers and employed women reveals something about the conflicts between a working career and family life for a woman. Dissatisfaction with intimate relations could be more common among female managers than among others, leading to higher divorce rates. Admittedly divorce among male managers is underrepresented in these statistics, which do not give data about marriage histories; since remarriage is known to be more common among men than among women, it is one of the most probable explanations for this.

Figure 1 shows married managers according to age group. Young women

managers do not differ from the other groups, but the older they get, the more they tend to be nonmarried in comparison with their male manager colleagues. This is partly explained by the higher morbidity among men. In the oldest age group there are more widows than widowers, but women managers do not differ in this respect from employed women in general.

Being single is, by contrast, slightly more common among older women managers than among other women. This is thought to be a consequence of the traditional organisation culture in which family and career were incompatible for women. Marriage is usually also delayed because of longer studies, since 44 per cent of women managers aged 25–34 are unmarried as against 39 per cent of employed women as a whole.

FIGURE 1. Married managers and employees by age

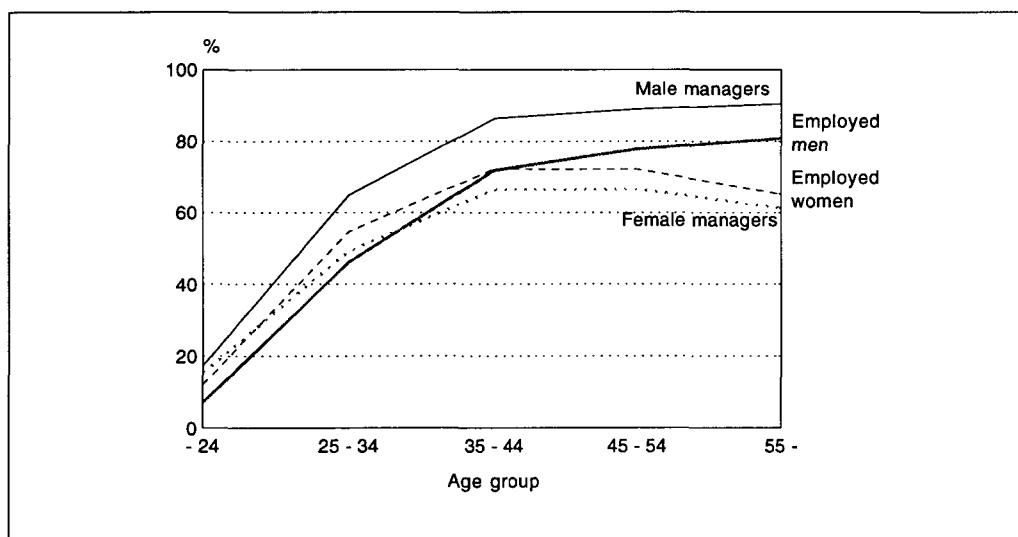
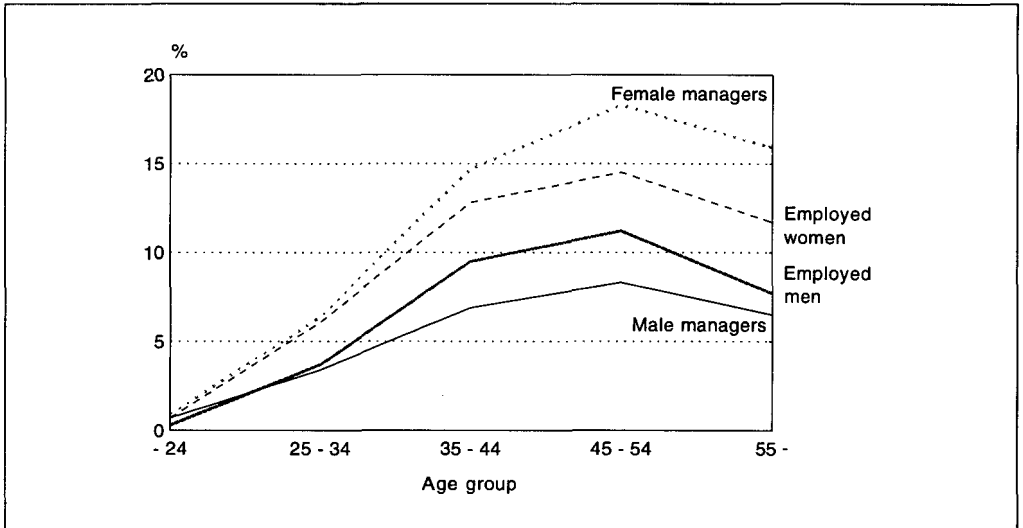


FIGURE 2. Divorced managers and employees by age



The higher rate of nonmarried women managers is for the most part explained by their higher divorce rate compared with both male managers and all employed women (Figure 2). The proportion of divorced women managers is highest, 18 per cent, in the 45–54 age group. The low divorce rate for male managers can be interpreted as follows:

the higher a man's status, the more unlikely he is to get divorced, or the more likely he is to marry again. 90 per cent of male managers over the age of 54 are married, 81 per cent of employed men, 65 per cent of employed women and 61 per cent of women managers. Very few male managers of at least 45 years of age are unmarried.

Managers' families and children

Research has proved that male managers have more children than female ones. Men with high status also have bigger families than women in the same position. In the study by Vanhala (1983) the women managers did, however, have more children than the whitecollar women in the comparison.

Table 2 compares the families of managers and employed persons. In the

table, childless couples are defined as either married or cohabiting, as are the parents in families with children.

Of the women managers, about 47 per cent belong to a family with a husband and children. A family with children is clearly less common among them than among male managers or employed men or women on average. Lone mothers among women managers are

just as common as they are among employed women in general. The highest proportion of persons with no family at all, 20 per cent, is to be found among women managers.

If, however, lone mothers are included among the families with children, then a good 56 per cent of women managers have children. This is more than the proportion indicated in studies on British and American women managers.

TABLE 2. Families of managers and employees/own-account workers, %

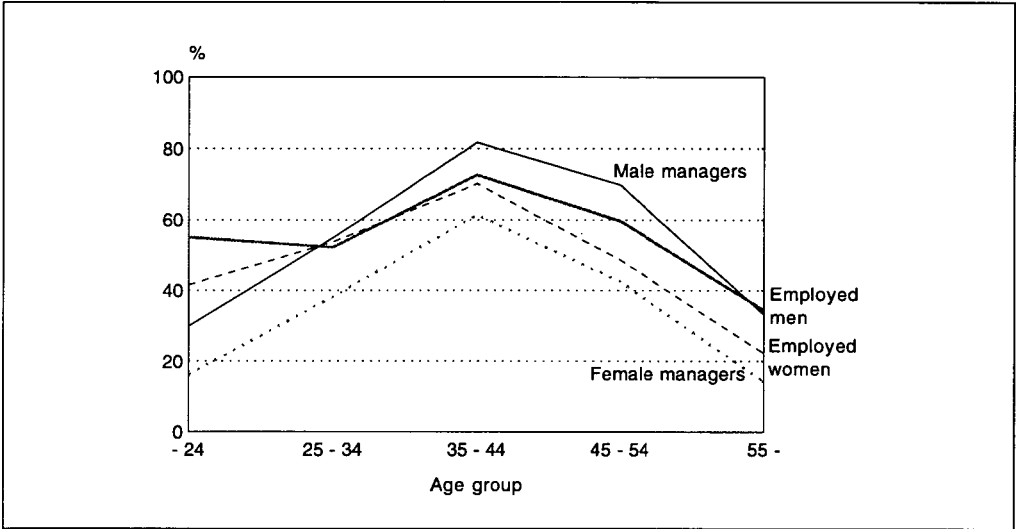
	Couple			Single person				Total
	No children at home yet/any longer/ever	Children at home over 18	Some or all children at home under 18	No children at home yet/any longer/ever	Children at home over 18	Some or all children at home under 18	No children, lives with parents	
Female managers	23	7	39	20	2	7	1	100
Male managers	22	11	56	9	0	1	1	100
Female employees and own-account workers	22	9	39	15	2	6	6	100
Male employees and own-account workers	20	8	42	15	0	1	13	100

Figure 3 shows families with children according to the age of the parents. Those in leading positions have their children later than employed persons on average. Even so, it is clearly less common for women managers to have both a husband and children than it is for other women. Male managers marry and have a family later than other men, but in middle age they have a family more often than other men. Young fe-

male and male managers live more often as childless couples than others of the same age.

Before the age of 35, women managers are less often lone mothers than other employed women. But there is a slightly higher proportion of lone mothers among women managers aged 35-54. Male managers are seldom single parents.

FIGURE 3. Managers and employed persons with a spouse and child(ren)



Living alone (Figure 4) is most common among women managers of all ages. This is explained by the fact that, in addition to unmarried, widowed or divorced managers, women in leading positions have fewer children. Because they start their families later, the num-

ber of children remains lower throughout their life. Almost half of women manager families have only one child under the age of 18, whereas the male manager families usually have two. When the children grow up, their divorced mothers are left alone.

FIGURE 4. Managers and employed persons with no family

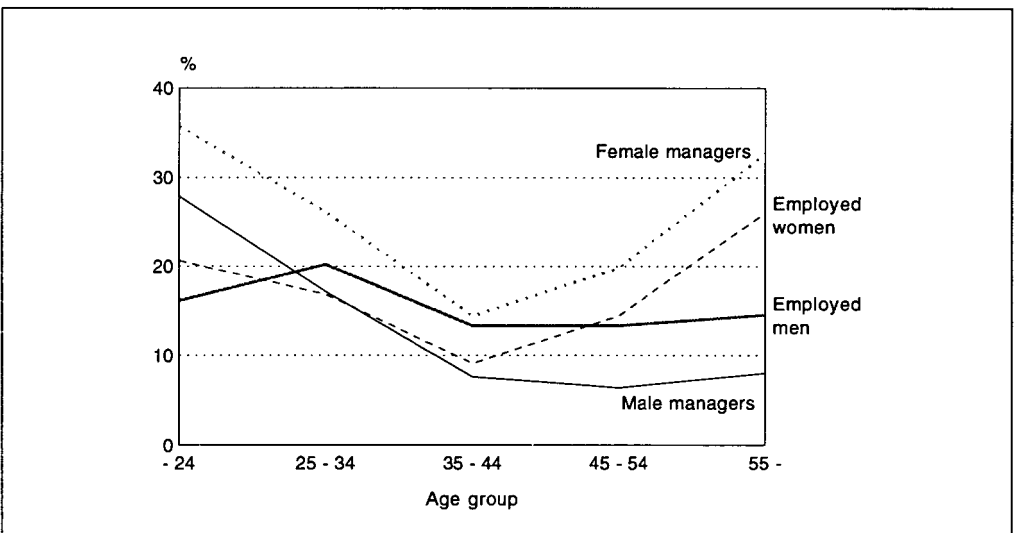


TABLE 3. Managers and employed persons with family according to number of children, %

	1 child	2 children	3 children	4 or more	Total	N
Female managers	50	41	8	1	100	5 226
Male managers	38	45	14	3	100	24 171
Employed women	45	40	12	3	100	509 178
Employed men	41	42	14	4	100	513 026

TABLE 4. Managers and employed persons with children according to the age of the youngest child, %

	Persons with children under 7	Persons with children under 18	Persons with children under 25	N
Female managers	20	45	54	11 530
Male managers	26	57	67	42 770
Employed women	20	45	54	1 134 409
Employed men	22	43	50	1 197 873

On average, women managers have children of different ages as much as employed women in general (Table 4). The families of male managers differ most from other families. They most often have children both under school age and older. But, compared by the age of the parents, the period of family life with children is longest in male manager families, since 6 per cent of them have children under the age of 25 living at home.

The findings concerning Finnish women managers are thus twofold. In many respects women do not have to make a clear choice between family and career. They marry just as much as em-

ployed women (or men) on average. But women managers are more often divorced and they have fewer children than employed women. Family break-ups and the small number of children may be the result of pressure on the personal relationship and family responsibilities under the challenge of demanding work of the mother.

Male managers, by contrast, are very seldom single or without a family, and the 'weakness' attributed to Finnish men does not appear to apply to them (Julkunen, 1993) if the absence of a family is regarded as one aspect of the concept of 'weakness'.

The status of managers' spouses

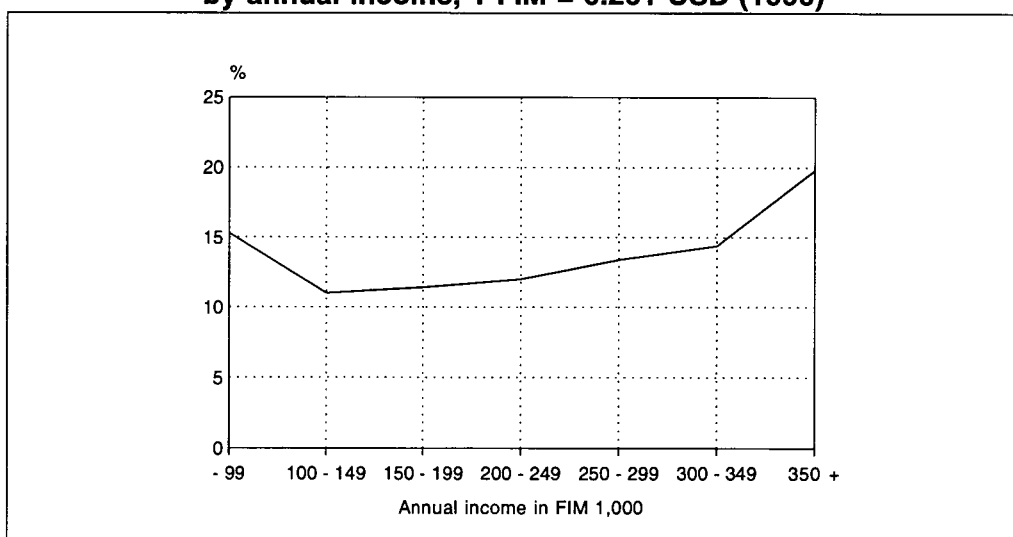
According to the conventional family model, the husband is the breadwinner who goes out to work while the wife stays at home. The high rate of participation by Finnish married women in the labour force has meant that the traditional family has given way to the modern family model with two breadwin-

ners. Nevertheless, the third most common type of family for male managers is more traditional, with a wife who is at home (the wife is not in the labour force, Table 5). Furthermore, the higher the income of the husband, the more likely the wife is to stay at home (Figure 5).

TABLE 5. Employment status of managers' wives and husbands, %

Wife/husband	Women managers	Men managers
Manager	12	3
Upper whitecollar worker	17	18
Lower whitecollar worker	15	42
Bluecollar worker	11	5
Entrepreneur	8	5
Unemployed	1	1
Not in the labour force	5	14
No husband/wife	31	11
Total	100	100
N	11 530	42 770

FIGURE 5. Male managers with wife not in the labour force by annual income, 1 FIM = 0.261 USD (1990)



According to Jorma Sipilä (1993), women tend to choose a husband from a higher social group than themselves and men from a lower group. Table 5 supports this theory to some extent. The husband of a woman manager is, admittedly, far more often in a leading position than the wife of a male manager, but the majority of the spouses of both have a professional status other than manager or upper whitecollar worker. The majority of the wives of male managers are lower whitecollar workers.

Taking into account the manager's income in comparison of the employment status of the spouse reveals that the wives of the most highlypaid managers are clearly more often themselves managers or upper whitecollar workers. Also, nearly 20 per cent of the wives of male managers earning more than FIM 350,000 are at home. But the wives of male managers with middle incomes are most often lower whitecollar workers.

The economic status of manager families

A wage gap between husband and wife has been observed as affecting their relationship. In Finland Kauppinen-Toropainen (1991) and others have studied authority in family relations from the point of view of wage differentials and the symmetry of the partnership. If the wage difference between the spouses is small, the partnership symmetry increases in the sharing of time between breadwinning and responsibility for the

home. The more money a woman contributes to the family coffers, the more 'power' she has to negotiate a more equal sharing of the daily routines.

According to the study by Kauppinen-Toropainen, Finnish women feel more skeptical than men about the success of a marriage in which the wife earns more than her husband.

TABLE 6. Male managers according to their own income and that of their wife, both in the private sector, %
1 FIM = 0.261 USD (1990)

Annual income (FIM) Own income	Wife's income			Sum
	Under 150,000	150,000 - 249,999	250,000 +	
Under 150,000	15	1	0	16
150,000 - 249,999	49	9	1	59
250,000 +	17	7	1	25
Sum	81	17	2	100

TABLE 7. Women managers according to their own income and that of their husband, %
1 FIM = 0.261 USD (1990)

Annual income (FIM) Own income	Husband's income			Sum
	Under 150,000	150,000 - 249,999	250,000 +	
Under 150,000	25	19	4	47
150,000 - 249,999	13	25	9	47
250,000 +	1	2	3	6
Sum	39	46	15	100

Tables 6 and 7 show the family's economic status according to the male and female manager's own income bracket and that of the husband/wife. Income groupings have been combined for greater clarity.

The majority of the wives of male managers earn less than their husbands. About one quarter of male managers are in the same income groups as their wives, and only few wives earn more than their husbands.

To summarise, the differences between spouses' incomes are smaller in female

manager families. Over half the women managers belong to the same income group as their husbands. The husband of one female manager in three earns more than his wife. The husbands of women managers earn less in 16 per cent of families.

The incomes of female managers were considerably less than those of male ones. Women managers earned only 65 per cent of the average income earned by a male manager. The wage discrepancy is in this case affected by both salary and the number of months in employment.

Summary of the results

The adjustment of family and paid work has been examined in the lives of women and men in leading positions. The results support those of previous studies. Over 80 per cent of male managers are married, as against only 60 per cent of female managers.

The marriage rate of women managers is the same as the average for all

women in employment. However, there are more living alone among the older women managers than among the other population groups. The main reason for this is their exceptionally high divorce rate. It is, however, difficult to comprehend whether the family influences a woman's working life career or whether working life affects the family formation.

A good 56 per cent of women managers have children, if lone mothers are included, i.e. fewer than employed women on average. Women managers have their children later in life than others, and therefore they also have fewer children. The period when there are children at home is shorter in the life span of women managers than in that of others.

Examination by age group would suggest that women do not choose between career and family, but that they try to reconcile the two. The high divorce rate of female managers and the large proportion of women managers living alone, especially in the older age groups, indicates that combining the two is not necessarily easy.

The marital and family status of men in leading positions differs most from those of other population groups. Only

10 per cent of male managers are living alone (without a family), whereas the corresponding proportion of women managers is 20 %. Older male managers with good incomes almost always have a family or wife.

It is more common for a female manager to be married to a manager than for a male manager. The higher the man's income is, the more likely it is for both husband and wife to be managers or the wife to be an upper white-collar worker. And the more a male manager earns, the more likely his wife is to be a housewife. The wife's income is almost always smaller than that of her manager husband. There is greater wage equality in female manager families. The families of male managers are, as regards the nonsymmetry of power or authority within the family, more traditional than those of female managers when the indicator is income.

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4 Obstacles in a woman's career

- Management bears a strong masculine stamp
- The female manager has to juggle between the "masculine" demands of management and the behavioural norms expected of the female sex
- Behaviour which is in a man interpreted as determined and assertive may in a woman manager be regarded as cold and unfeminine
- Few women are able to rise above the glass ceiling between the middle and top management
- Women are to some extent an untapped reserve in Finnish business life
- Mentoring has been internationally acclaimed as one way of increasing the proportion of women in managerial positions

Women under a glass ceiling

Kaisa Kauppinen-Toropainen

Breaking the masculine gender stamp of the manager

Management still bears a strong masculine stamp, for occupations tend to be identified with the numerically dominant gender of the people in them and the associated gender concepts. Since many managers are men, management has, as it were, absorbed stereotyped attributes associated with masculinity: achievement, instrumentality and outward success (Gutek 1985, Kauppinen-Toropainen 1993). Women represent "the wrong sex"; they offend against the roles and images (Kanter 1977). Anyone who breaks out of a role conveys a message of being different, of visibly deviating from his or her sex. There are both advantages and disadvantages to being conspicuous and different, and many studies have been made of the individual ways in which role-breakers regulate their difference: at the two extremes are a desire to accentuate or to eliminate this difference.

The female manager has to juggle between the "masculine" demands of management and the behavioural norms expected of the female sex (Kauppinen-Toropainen 1987). A female manager who disrespects the expectations and images conventionally associated with "womanhood" may be branded as hard and cold (Epstein 1988). The more women are appointed directors, managers and leaders of the working community, the more the masculine attributes recede. The surprise or news value of having a woman manager also diminishes. Occupations and workplaces ruled by one sex only often yield rigid professional practices and maintain stereotyped gender concepts. (Kauppinen-Toropainen & Kandolin 1993.)

The fact that a woman manager is expected to have a more humanoriented and empathetic approach than a man

(Kivistö 1989, White et al. 1992) is an example of the grafting of the gender role onto the professional role (Gutek 1985). Many studies have revealed that women favour human-oriented management practices supporting participation (Harriman 1985, Rosener 1990). This was also proved in a study of Finnish management styles. The enquiry involved a good 900 persons, 6 % of whom were female managers (Talouselämä 1981). The female managers in the enquiry were human-oriented, and in an efficient way. They were also good listeners and tended to favour team work. An authoritarian style was seldom encountered among them. Developers and executives proved to be most conspicuous in the management profile of these women. There were few manifestations of autocracy and distancing.

An investigation into the management behaviour of men and women conducted by the Finnish Employers' Management Development Institute (Kivistö 1989) likewise revealed clear differences in favour of women, especially in management ethics and human relations (she supports her subordinates; she listens; she understands people; she looks after her subordinates). Each person in the study (totalling 1,000, one quarter of them women) was assessed by four persons (a superior, a colleague and two subordinates), i.e. there were about 4,000 assessors. The investigation therefore provides a reliable picture of the behaviour of male and female managers in Finland.

Similar results have been obtained from other studies: the woman manager inspires others and seeks open interaction. (Haavio-Mannila 1991, White et al. 1992, Cooper & Davidson 1982.) In expert organisations in particular, women managers have been found to implement interactive management based on support for people's self-esteem and the delegation of power and knowledge (Rosener 1990).

Although many women managers do apply a human-oriented approach, they do not all fit into the same mould: there is great individual diversity. The stereotype of the participating, human-oriented female manager may sometimes be restricting. Behaviour which is in a man interpreted as determined and assertive may in a woman manager be regarded as cold and unfeminine. The more women that become managers, the more individual scope they will have to fulfil themselves as managers. (Harriman 1985.)

Although the management profession still bears a predominant masculine stamp, a change has taken place in manager preferences. According to an enquiry into Finnish women conducted in 1989, in which 357 women were interviewed, as many as 63 % were of the opinion that gender would be of no significance if they were free to choose between a male or a female manager; 12 % would prefer a female manager and 18 % a male (Lonka et al. 1989). A similar enquiry into Finnish men yielded similar results. Of the 530 men who replied, 68 % claimed the sex of their superior was not of great

significance; one quarter would prefer a man but only 7 % a woman as their superior. One fifth would not like a woman as their superior. (Kiviranta et al. 1990). Attitudes have changed considerably since the mid-1960s, when half of all men and women placed a male manager before a female. The change in gender preferences in a more neutral direction indicates a favourable equality trend in Finnish working life.

According to an international study (Hofstede 1983), Finland and the other Nordic countries rank high as regards equality: both between men and women and between superiors and subordinates. Although numerous efforts have been made to achieve equality in Finnish working life, the women in the labour force nevertheless consider equality a problem. This was revealed in the study of Finnish women (Lonka et al. 1989), in which close on one fifth of the 357 women interviewed regretted

that they did not feel equal to men at work. Half of them agreed, either fully or more or less, that men get more interesting jobs than women. Correspondingly, half (52 %) the women regretted that women's views are not taken as seriously as men's at the workplace.

A study of the quality of working life showed that a good quarter (27 %) of women in managerial positions felt they had suffered from discrimination from their colleagues and superiors (Kauppinen-Toropainen 1993). 27 % of American female managers felt that the fact they were women was the biggest obstacle to them in their work, and as many as 60 % had experienced sexual harassment (Veckans Affärer 1993). In a "man's world" women often have to fight to become accepted members of the working community. For some this is a strain, for others a stimulating challenge (Enloe 1983, Kauppinen-Toropainen 1991).

Gender differentiation in working life

Gender is still a strong factor influencing people's choice of profession and behaviour. This is proved by the marked gender differentiation that still prevails in working life in Finland, as in the other Nordic countries: over half the members of the employed labour force are in occupations in which almost all their colleagues are of the same sex. (Kauppinen-Toropainen & Kandolin 1993.) Many of the wellbeing and equality issues encountered in working life spring from the strict differentiation of working life according to

gender (Women, Work and Health, 1993).

Gender differentiation is also manifest vertically, i.e. women and men stand on different levels of the hierarchy in working life and organisations. Women are usually employed at lower hierarchical levels than men. In 1990, 43 % of upper white-collar workers were women, yet only one in five of those in managerial positions was a woman (Table 1). Two thirds of the lower white-collar workers were women, but

slightly over one quarter (27 %) were employed as junior managers. The lower hierarchical status of women is also manifest in a study of female and male graduates on the professional labour markets (Haapakorpi 1994). The men ranked higher on the hierarchical scale than the women, whose career often stopped at either middle management or expert tasks.

According to the study examining the quality of working life involving a representative sample of the entire working population (Lehto 1991), one quarter of the women but one third of the men stated that they had people working under them, i.e. they directed and delegated tasks to others. The male superiors had more subordinates (12 on average) than the female ones (7 subordinates). Men seldom have a woman manager; only 6 % of the men who responded to the questionnaire said their immediate superior was a woman. Women in charge of men are most common in health care and welfare. The women, by contrast, were just as likely to have a male superior as a female. Women, too, most often have a female superior in health care and welfare. The structural factors of working life are thus also reflected in management. (Kandolin & Kauppinen-Toropainen 1993.)

Although men seldom have a female immediate superior in working life today, the situation may well be different in the future. The reason for this assumption is that women are more and more often choosing professions in which it is possible for women, too, to

make a career (lawyers, solicitors, attorneys, doctors, economists). The number of women in these professions has grown considerably over the past 20 years. Nowadays half the lawyers in the courts of justice are women, as against only one in ten in 1970. In 1990 a quarter of attorneys were women, in 1970 only 6 %. There is also a growing proportion of women as training and personnel managers, researchers and planners. Close on half the graduate economists are women, and the number of women in technical jobs (architects, engineers) has increased (Huida et al. 1993, Kauppinen-Toropainen & Kandolin 1993). This indicates a rise in the level of education of women and in women's desire to fulfil themselves more fully than before. Women have in fact been bolder than men in crossing the occupational gender borders (Kauppinen-Toropainen 1991).

The advancement mechanism for highly educated women is not, however, automatic. Education holds a different significance for men and women on the labour markets: it is a more effective means of advancement for men than for women (Haapakorpi 1994). On their way up in their careers, women quickly hit the glass ceiling, which is difficult to penetrate.

It is often claimed that men find working as a subordinate to a woman difficult and even humiliating. This was indirectly revealed on examining management styles and interaction in the working community in the course of the study of the quality of working life (Kandolin & Kauppinen-Toropainen

1993). Women looked on a female immediate superior more favourably than men. Both considered that a woman manager is stimulating and encouraging. Men less frequently agreed with women that a woman creates an open atmosphere at work. The somewhat more critical estimates among the men of the styles of management of a fe-

male immediate superior may partly be due to the fact that it is more difficult for men to accept a woman as boss. The reason may also lie in different ways of communicating. Experiences in practice have, however, as a rule modified such negative attitudes and dispelled any prejudice (Enloe 1983, Williams 1989, Haavio-Mannila 1991).

The glass ceiling phenomenon in Finnish working life

"Glass ceiling" is a term coined to express the nebulous line in the hierarchical structures of working life above which it is difficult for women to rise. It is a symbolic expression for the fact that few women rise to the very top management in business and the world of enterprise. In top management a woman is still a "loner", i.e. the only or almost only representative of her sex (Kauppinen-Toropainen 1987). It has been easier for a determined woman with a good education to reach the middle management in organisations.

The absence of women in top management is a phenomenon familiar throughout the Western world. In 1992 only one of the US Fortune 500 list of top enterprises had a woman as its President. Likewise, of the biggest 200 companies in Britain, four had a woman Managing Director (The Economist 1992, Aburdence & Naisbitt 1993). In Sweden one manager in ten in the private sector is a woman (Veckans Affärer 1993). The hierarchical disparity between men and women was manifest in the study of management behaviour conducted by the Finnish Employers'

Management Development Institute. Of the women managers taking part in the enquiry (255 in all), only 6 % were top managers, 9 % belonged to the management team, 38 % to the middle management and 47 % to the junior manager level. The corresponding figures for men were 12 %, 17 %, 36 % and 34 %. The study of graduates' working careers also indicated that women's careers tend to stop at the middle management or expert stage, and there were few women in top management (Haapakorpi 1994).

The glass ceiling phenomenon may be examined in Finnish working life in, for example, the municipal administration and banking. At the end of the 1980s 3 % of the top municipal managers were women. But in 1991 women represented 20-30 % of those at junior manager level. A similar glass ceiling can also be observed in education. Women account for 67 % of the class teachers in the comprehensive school, but for only one fifth of the head teachers. Similarly, 64 % of the teachers in the senior high-school are women, but only 20 % of the head

Table 1. Men and women managers in banking 1981–1991

Year	Men	Women	% of women
1981	1 334	106	7
1987	1 659	222	12
1991	2 057	392	16

Source: Pankkialan tasa-arvoraportti 1992

Table 2. The percentage of women at junior management and executive level in Nordic banks in 1991

Country	Junior managers	Executives
Finland	46	90
Sweden	36	64
Norway	45	77
Denmark	30	70
Iceland	58	88

Source: Pankkialan tasa-arvoraportti 1992

teachers. The situation is the same with doctors. Over half the assistant physicians are women (54 %) and almost half the health centre doctors (48 %), but women account for only just on one fifth of the chief physicians.

There is also a glass ceiling seldom surpassed by women between the middle and top management in banking. The top level of management in banking is male-dominated, but the gender distribution is more balanced at junior manager level. The banking management consists of managers, and heads of departments in commercial banks, junior managers, branch managers and foremen. In 1991 women accounted for 16 % of all the managers falling within these categories. This does, however, mark a rise on 1981 in both relative and absolute terms. (Report of the Equal

Opportunities in Banking Committee 1992.)

Eight per cent of all the women employed by banks in 1991 were in junior middle management, and as many as 46 % of all junior managers were women. The percentage and number of women in junior management have risen slightly over the past 10 years, from 40 % in 1981 to 46 % in 1991. There are slightly more men employed in banking in the other Nordic countries than in Finland. In Iceland the situation is much the same as in Finland, but Iceland has more women at junior manager level than Finland.

Even in such a culturally uniform area as the Nordic countries, women advance in the world of banking by different routes. In Sweden and Denmark

the glass ceiling would appear to be of more sturdy construction than in Finland, Norway and Iceland, where more women have reached the junior manager level. Women do, however, have to make a great effort if they are to shatter the glass ceiling between top management and junior management. Women need encouragement and support, and an atmosphere that sustains their motivation.

Although the hierarchical structures of working life are slow to change, there are signs that women are achieving

higher positions than before in the organisational hierarchy. Comparison of the figures for 1970 and 1990 show that the socio-economic status of women has risen (Table 1). In 1970 one third of upper white-collar workers were women, but by 1990 the proportion had risen to 43 per cent. The number and percentage of women employed in a managerial capacity has also grown, from 8 % in 1970 to 20 % in 1990.

A similar trend can also be discerned in the junior managerial posts of lower white-collar workers: in 1970 only

Table 1. Women according to socio-economic status 1970–1990 (%)

	Proportion of women %			Distribution of women %	
	1970	1980	1990	1970	1990
Upper white-collar workers	34	36	43	7	15
- managerial	8	13	21	-	1
- planning	13	21	27	1	2
- teaching	56	59	60	4	5
- other upper whitecollar workers	39	46	54	2	6
Lower white-collar workers	68	71	71	51	56
- junior managerial	11	25	27	1	4
- in independent jobs	75	77	79	27	24
- in non-independent jobs	81	91	88	8	9
- other lower whitecollar workers	81	78	83	15	19
Bluecollar workers	31	35	34	41	29
- agricultural	11	26	28	1	1
- industrial	25	26	21	16	7
- other production	36	38	40	8	6
- distribution and services	45	49	47	16	14
%				100	100
Total				717 000	987 000

Source: Statistics Finland, Population Census 1990, Vol. 8: Occupation and socio-economic status 1990

11 % of junior managers were women, as against 27 % in 1990. Although the trend has been in a favourable direction, men still have better chances of advancement in the female-dominated group of lower white-collar workers. Few of the women in this category become junior managers, and men in fact hold an advantage in this "women's world" (Kauppinen-Toropainen & Lammi 1993).

Although the socio-economic status of women has risen, there are still few women in the managerial elite in business and enterprise. The glass ceiling still exists in Finnish working life, but it appears to have been raised. There are also signs of a similar trend in the United States (Veckans Affärer 1993). But despite the favourable trend, women still encounter both external and internal obstacles in their careers.

This fact was revealed in a report on equal opportunities conducted among graduates (Aitta 1988). There was a clear vertical division of labour among the highly educated, for about half the men were in managerial posts, but only one fifth of the women. Men were to some extent more motivated than women to advance in their careers; the women tended more to progress hori-

zontally, to similar but more demanding posts on the same organisational level. Other investigations have likewise revealed that highly educated men advance more quickly in their career and aim higher than women, who often reach their limit at the middle management level or in expert tasks (Hänninen-Salmelin 1992, Haapakorpi 1994).

As a result of the ongoing recession and keener competition, it may be more difficult for women to advance in their careers as the atmosphere at workplaces becomes more tense and less favourably-disposed towards equal opportunities. According to the indicators of working conditions in 1993, the mood at Finnish workplaces and estimates of the changes foreseeable in working life have shifted in a negative direction, while at the same time conflicts and the competitive spirit within the working community have gained in strength. The equality of the sexes in working life has, it is estimated, also deteriorated. Women were more concerned than men about the trend in equality. White-collar workers, and especially upper white-collar ones, were skeptical about the implementation of equal opportunities in working life (Kauppinen & Ylöstalo 1993).

Why a glass ceiling?

The obstacles usually cited as preventing a woman from advancing in her career are family obligations and care for children. Yet very few women subjectively feel that their children have

prevented them from getting on in their careers. According to one survey of Finnish women, only 4 % of the working women with children agreed with the statement that children are an ob-

stacle to advancement at work (Lonka et al. 1989).

The study of working life likewise indicated that women in managerial posts felt they had neglected their families slightly more often than other women, or they felt that their families had taken second place to their work. This may be because women of managerial status really do have little time, and also because many women managers aim at perfection in both walks of life and accordingly feel they have failed as regards their families and child care. They may also suffer from the feeling of guilt encouraged by the conventional attitudes. It has been proved that women in high positions make up for lack of time by the quality of the time they spend with their children (Shreve 1987). On the other hand women may, by drawing on the prestige afforded by their work, share their family duties with their husbands or purchase services from outsiders. A close link exists between the prestige manifest in the family and in working life. (Kauppinen-Toropainen & Kandolin 1991).

The structures of working life do, it has been found, favour women less than men (Acker 1990), but the reason why women less seldom reach the managerial level may lie in their different value judgments. Women less often see their work as a means of making a career, but they do greatly value the contents of their work (White et al. 1992).

This finding has also been revealed by Finnish researchers (e.g. Aitta 1988). In a study of the working careers of grad-

uates (Haapakorpi 1994), rising in the hierarchy did not seem to mean as much to women as to men; the contents of their work were, by contrast, more important to women. Men stressed advancement in their career as the most important reason for taking a job, whereas women valued the interest of the job highest of all. Women have been found to do best in dynamic, flexible organisations, i.e. in fields in which speedy advancement requires expert knowledge but not necessarily role hierarchies (Hänninen-Salmelin 1992).

The fact that women regard work not as a means of creating a career but as a mission, has been revealed in studies of women who have been highly successful in their careers (White et al. 1992). Women felt they had been lucky in getting ahead in their careers, and few said they had consciously set out to make a career. Many considered that their own effort and hard work had been crucial because of happy coincidences. Few mentioned role models, examples or mentors pushing them upwards. Swedish women managers often had a male mentor (Veckans Affärer 1993). These factors (role model, networks, mentor) are of great significance and call for further study in Finland in relation to women's advancement in their careers. Special thought should be devoted to ways of breaking the glass ceiling between the middle and top management. Working under a glass ceiling does not enhance motivation.

Research has shown that the average American woman manager is 44 years old, is married and has one child. She

works 56 hours a week and takes two weeks' holiday a year. She is confident that more and more women will in the future break through the glass ceiling to become top managers. Many believe in their own potential for penetrating the glass ceiling. Although these women managers are dedicated to their work, they earn only about 80 % as much as their male counterparts. (Veckans Affärer 1993.) In Finland, too, the wage differentiation between men and women is considerable in fields such as banking and is in keeping with the general line mentioned by the American female managers; in 1991 women in junior and higher management earned about 80 % of what their male colleagues earned. (Source: Pankkialan tasa-arvoraportti 1992.) The study of the careers of graduates (Haapakorpi 1994) also showed that the income level of women managers was clearly lower than that of men. The median monthly salaries (gross) of women managers in 1992 were FIM 15,700, those of men managers FIM 20,000. One reason for this discrepancy is that women are more often employed as managers in the public sector, foundations and associations, where the incomes are lower. Another reason is that men's salaries tend to be agreed more flexibly and more individually, since there is more dispersion in men's income than there is in women's.

The fact that women managers earn less than men is the result of many things. Firstly, women managers are employed in different fields and different jobs from men (Kivistö 1989, The Econo-

mist 1992, Haapakorpi 1994), and secondly, women are not used to competing and negotiating better salaries for themselves. Competition is still taboo for women (Epstein 1988). Competing is regarded as fitting and even natural for men, but women compete more indirectly. Some women find it difficult to push themselves forward and to "market" themselves (Hänninen-Salmelin 1992). Another reason is that women do not have access to the networks and inside circles in which important solutions, salaries and personnel transfers are decided. These inside negotiations are often held informally, during golf, hunting, fishing, etc. It is extremely difficult for women to gain access to these networks (Williams 1989, White et al. 1992).

It is important for women to create networks and contacts with working life even while they are still students, as they are useful in getting established in working life (Haapakorpi 1994). It is often claimed that girls and young women do well at school and university, but not in jobs in proportion to their education and know-how. There is still a gap between working and student life, and the hardness of working life comes as a "cultural shock" to many women. Young women should be better prepared to face the challenges and rules of the game of working life. On the other hand it has been suggested that women should not adapt to the competition-oriented atmosphere in working life but instead should develop new working procedures and softer values.

The outlook for the future

People have recently begun to ask whether it is really necessary for women to bang their heads on the glass ceiling in hierarchical organisations of strict pyramid construction. John Naisbitt writes in his book "Megatrends for Women" (Aburdence & Naisbitt 1993) that the future lies in small, flexible enterprises, not rigid bureaucracies. According to Naisbitt, it is revealing to note that women neither succeed in nor enjoy working for large companies.

The pyramid construction could be replaced by an organisation based on the network model in which the manager's task is to create an environment that promotes the growth and development of the personnel. In a network organisation the manager is not at the pinnacle but in the middle. Research has proved that women favour 'flat' organisations founded on team and group work and not on rigid, authoritarian hierarchies (Huida et al. 1993).

Proposals have also been made for a quota system making greater allowance for women in selecting persons for promotion. Some American companies apply quotas in a way that allows for a person's sex, nationality, colour, etc. (The Economist 1992). In some cases gender quotas may represent a gender-sensitive view if equal opportunities cannot be achieved by natural means in a working organisation. The women's perspective may stimulate and enrich operating environments with a markedly masculine stamp. (Kauppinen-Toorppinen & Kandolin 1993). Quotas

have, however, meant that the most able are sometimes hindered from advancing, and the persons receiving quota promotion do not win the respect of the staff. Research has in any case proved that organisations operate most efficiently and people enjoy working in them more if the jobs and managerial posts are evenly distributed between the sexes (Haavio-Mannila et al. 1991). It is also probable that a working community consisting of both men and women is more inventive and more stimulating than one in which all the members are of the same sex.

The work of the manager is often varied and interesting, and it provides opportunities for making independent decisions. Finnish studies, too, have proved that women in positions of authority enjoy being able to fulfil and develop themselves in their work. It is important for the image of management to bring out these aspects of work, too.

There is great individuality among women managers and not all of them fit the "human-oriented" mould. Being few in numbers, women managers have to pay more attention to their behaviour and its influence on others than men. This can be both a renewing resource and a burden to management. Some managers accentuate femininity, while others try to eliminate it. The more women become managers, heads and leaders of the working community, the more individual and more varied the image of the woman manager will become.

It would also be interesting to examine the similarities and dissimilarities between the way men and women ad-

vance in their careers, and the obstacles in the way of women in particular.

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The obstacles and incentives in the career of the woman manager

Tuulikki Petäjaniemi

Mentoring as a support in making a career

Advancing in a career calls for know-how, skill, energy, and a desire to rise to challenges. Personal competence and drive are not, however, enough. Success also demands buoyancy, the belief of the right person in the wouldbe manager's talents and, above all, his or her capacity for cooperation and for achieving results.

The good selection process scrutinises not only the facts stated on a candidate's application form but also an assessment of his or her personal qualities based on interviews, tests or oral statements from different references. Many vacancies are not publicly announced. Members of the firm's own staff or consultants select possible candidates, make inquiries about them from confidential sources, persons familiar with

them in different connections whose word is trusted – in most cases men. The "Old Boys'" network is an excellent support for decision making.

Managers have traditionally been men. Slowly but surely, women are, however, clearing a path towards the management of enterprises, municipal and state administrations. Finland has one of the highest proportions of women members of parliament in the world – 38.5 %. One would imagine this would be reflected more widely in the recruitment of managers. Yet only 11 % of all the managers in the biggest companies in the private sector are women, and only 2 % of the CEOs and managing directors. The situation is no better in the public sector.

In Finland, where the economy is in desperate need of innovative ideas and operating models, and of the inspired leadership of experts and teams, the woman manager still has a higher threshold to cross than the man. The glass ceiling familiar from international research may be invisible, but it is there. There is, to my mind, no other way of explaining the vast gap between the educational statistics and the management statistics: in the under -45 age group women are better educated than men. Women also participate fully in working life; half of all today's employees are women, and women work full-time. Of the 54,300 persons employed in managerial posts in the private sector, a total of 12,300 held a second university degree: 9,900 men and 2,400 women. Of the managers in the same group, 7,400 had no post comprehensive school qualification whatsoever: 5,700 men and 1,700 women. Even as managers, women thus have no need to be ashamed of their education.

The occupational and educational fields are rather clearly divided into those for women and those for men. Women form the clear minority as regards degrees in technology and natural science: 127,500 out of a total 711,400. In this field 121,500 hold a higher education degree, 19,700 of them women.

A degree in technology is not, however, the only key to a career in management, as is proved by the present report. Of the 435,200 Finns with a university degree, 219,700 - or slightly over half - are women. The oft-heard claim that women are a partially untapped reserve

in Finnish business life or the driving force behind its recovery is indeed supported by these figures.

One international means employed in an attempt to increase the proportion of women in management is mentoring - the official assignment of a personal "patron" to a person considered as having development potential, to act as a model, teacher and friend. As the ABB mentor project says, people with a mentor know more, want more and dare more.

The word 'mentor' has its roots in Homer's *Odyssey*. Mentor was the advisor to Odysseus's son in the father's long absence.

Mentoring is not a senior-junior relationship, work instruction or supervision within the framework of day-to-day tasks. Instead, an older and more experienced colleague helps his or her "pupil" to clarify her own views and objectives and encourages her to develop as a person and in her work.

Until now mentoring has in Finland been used most often in personnel development, e.g. as part of and as a supplement to long-term management programmes. Mentoring aimed especially at women is virtually unknown in Finland.

At ABB mentoring was, however, introduced at all levels, and the protégés - both white and blue-collar workers - were chosen from different age groups. The mentor programme was aimed specifically at women, because ABB

operates in a male-dominated field and only 30 % of its employees are women. According to enquiries conducted within the company, many of the women did not consider their work interesting or creative. Their working motivation was lower than the men's, they felt they received less information than the men and that they had fewer opportunities to develop their working skills. The number of women managers was not in proportion to the number of women in the labour force as a whole.

The corporate management decided to join in the project because it was convinced that the female labour force abounded in untapped resources. Thanks to mentoring, the job satisfaction has increased. This has in turn created new efficiency and been conducive to new ideas.

The mentoring programme begins by selecting the protégés. As a rule the protégé herself suggests a suitable mentor, either male or female. Before the start of the private, confidential discussions which are the cornerstone of mentoring, a joint seminar must be held for all the mentors and protégés to ensure that all are familiar with the practical principles. In the one-to-one discussions the protégé tells about her work and her plans over the shorter and longer term. She can also toss out ideas, using her mentor as a sounding board. The mentor can offer constructive criticism, which is all the more valuable since it comes from an outsider; the mentor is not the protégé's superior.

The mentoring programme has clear advantages both for the employee aiming at self-development and the mentor, and through them for the employer. The employee, a potential future manager, gets to know herself and her own capabilities better and acquires great self-confidence. Being able to discuss her ideas and suggestions with a slightly higher, more experienced colleague helps the protégé to understand her own role and the corporate culture better. Women get initiated into the unwritten rules and workings of the male-dominated workplace and are at the same time able to inform their mentors of how others think and see the situation. Through the project women also become more conspicuous in their jobs than before.

The mentor may help the future manager in selecting the development alternatives and defining her career goals. As an experienced corporate manager, the mentor is also of great assistance in developing the protégé's management skills and contacts. By telling how he has solved similar problems or what obstacles he has encountered in them, the mentor can increase the protégé's professional skills. A good mentor is willing to engage in honest cooperation, he trains and supports, shares his experiences and listens, and is in every respect an excellent anchor for e.g. the future woman manager in developing her career.

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Abstract

The articles in this book examine Finnish women at various levels of corporate management. The alternatives open to male and female managers are investigated with reference to the differentiation of the labour market by e.g. branch of business, female dominance and company size. The education, salary markets and family status of managers are also considered. The concept of the glass ceiling is used to epitomise the obstacles in a woman's career. One way to support women in their careers is mentoring.

The articles are for the most part based on two sources of information: an enquiry conducted in the two hundred biggest Finnish companies, and the population census of 1990.

There are few women managers in big Finnish companies. The proportion of women on the boards of these companies has, however, increased in recent years. The male managers are mostly general, technical or marketing managers; the manager profile of women is wider. Women managers have slightly less education and clearly earn less than their male counterparts.

Key words

Female managers, male managers

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Corrections to the publication "WOMAN AT THE TOP"

PAGE 29: TABLE 3b: In two rows the text has changed the place, but the numbers are correct: The text of third row should be: "Over 500", the fourth row: "Unknown".

PAGE 42: First chapter fourth sentence: the percentage should be 67, not 6. The sentence should be: "But, compared by the age of the parents, the period of family life with children is longest in male manager families, 67 per cent of them have children under age of 25 living at home.

PAGE 55: TABLE 2. Heading should be: "The percentage of women at junior management and non - management level in Nordic banks in 1991". The column headings should be: "Junior managers - Non managers".

Women at the Top

A Study on Women as Leaders in the Private Sector



Women's participation in working life in Finland is equal to that of men. Their level of education is, with the exception of the very oldest age groups, higher than that of men; yet there are few women in top business management. Although women have indeed taken over new positions in society, they are still prevented from advancing in their careers by an invisible "glass ceiling".

What is the position of women in the management of large companies? What is the general profile of the woman manager compared with that of her male counterpart or other male and female employees? How do women reconcile a career and a family? What are the obstacles to a woman's career, and where does her potential lie? This report aims to answer these questions in the light of the latest statistics. The authors are experts on women in management and statistics.

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