



**KTH Architecture and
the Built Environment**

The Real Estate Industry from a Gender Perspective

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Licentiate Thesis

Building & Real Estate Economics

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Malmö in September of 2011

Karin Staffansson Pauli

Abstract

The Real Estate Industry from a Gender Perspective is a study about the real estate industry in Sweden. The real estate industry, an industry dominated by men, is facing at least two major challenges in the future; there is a generational shift and an educational shift in the industry. The industry has to be able to attract both women and men in the future.

In this study my overall aim is to create understanding of the real estate industry, from a gender perspective, and to do so I will create understanding *how* the gender structure is created in the industry, and *why* it is constituted as it is. I use the theoretical approach of *doing gender*, where the assumption is that gender is created in interaction and it varies in time and place.

My empirical material is *commercial real estate companies* and *housing companies* in Sweden. I initially mapped annual reports to see how the number of women and men was constituted in the companies and in different positions in the years of 2001 and 2008. I used the information from the mapping for my respondents to react upon, interviews was made with younger graduate women and men, and women working as CEO's. There is a vertical and horizontal division between women and men in the organizations, men are to a greater extent CEO's and more often in technical positions, women are more often in the supporting positions. The position of the real estate manager is a key position to do career in the industry and is symbolized as a masculine position.

What I found was that there is "*something going on*" about the gender structure in the industry, but slowly. There are the same proportion of women and men in the industry in 2001 as it is in 2008, both in the commercial real estate companies and housing companies. There are more women working as CEO's and in the management boards in the housing companies than in the commercial real estate companies.

Different organizational gendered processes create the gender structure, that form the divisions, as symbols and images, interaction and identity, these processes try to answer *how* the gender structure is created in the industry. I found that the hegemonic engineering masculinity and the homosocial enactment made by men is part of the answer *why* it is created as it is.

Content

- 1. Introduction 1
 - 1.1 Introduction to the study 1
 - 1.2 Purpose and research question 3
 - 1.3 Structure of the thesis 4
 - 1.4 The real estate industry – background..... 5
 - 1.5 Different roles and functions..... 7
 - 1.6 Literature review of the real estate field..... 8
- 2. Gender Theory 11
 - 2.1 Feminist politics, ideology and research 11
 - 2.2 Masculinity 12
 - 2.3 Hegemonic masculinity 12
 - 2.4 Management 13
 - 2.5 Gender and organization 14
 - 2.6 Doing gender 15
 - 2.7 Analytical tools 16
- 3. Research Strategy 24
 - 3.1 The role of the researcher 24
 - 3.2 My background and situated knowledge..... 25
 - 3.3 The research approach and the method used 26
 - 3.4 The study of the industry based on mapping 30
 - 3.5 Interviews 33
 - Interviews with younger graduate women and men 36
 - Interviews with women working as CEOs 39
- 4. Empirical study one – the industry in figures 41
 - 4.1 The industry in figures 41
 - Employees 41
 - Board of directors 42
 - Chief executive officer (CEO) 43
 - Management boards..... 43
 - 4.2 Empirical findings from mapping annual reports and homepages 44

5.	Empirical study two – younger graduate women and men	46
	Reactions to the mapping of the real estate industry	46
	Words symbolizing the industry	50
	Description of how to draw the industry	52
	Dress code	53
	Hero or heroine	55
	High premium behaviour	56
	A good day at work	58
6.	Empirical study three – women working as CEOs.....	60
	Reactions to the mapping of annual reports	60
	Symbols and images	61
	Interactions.....	62
	Identity.....	63
7.	Analysis and conclusion.....	64
7.1	Analysis.....	64
	Structure that forms the gender division	65
	Symbols and images	67
	Interactions.....	68
	Identity.....	70
7.2	Conclusion.....	71
8.	Contribution of the study.....	73
	Theoretical contribution	74
	Methodological contribution.....	74
	Empirical contribution.....	74
	Practical contribution.....	74
9.	Future research.....	76
	References	77
	Interviews	81

Appendix..... 82

Appendix 4.1 Housing companies..... 82

Appendix 4.2 Commercial companies 83

Appendix 5.1-Interview guide used with younger graduate women and men 84

Appendix 6.1 Interview guide used with CEOs 85

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the study

"A business with men in suits who work with other men in suits"

The quotation is taken from a survey, in which young people answered questions about the real estate industry in Sweden. The survey was carried out during 2005 and 2006 and was initiated by the Real Estate Board of Education (*Fastighetsbranschens utbildningsnämnd*). This association represents the real estate industry in Sweden within education and development. One of the aims of the association is to increase the knowledge of and interest in the industry among young people in Sweden (www.utbildningsnamnden.se).

According to Lind and Lundström (2009), 2/3 of the Swedish national equity capital consists of property and different kinds of real estate. Real estate in Sweden in 2009 comprised about 660 million square metres and the market value is about SEK 8,000 billion. The housing sector in 2009 has about 60 million square metres and has a market value of about SEK 350 billion. The commercial real estate industry in 2009 has about 120 million square metres and has a market value of about SEK 950 billion.

The Swedish real estate industry consists of commercial and housing real estate. The commercial real estate in Sweden is commonly defined as all real estate except housing (Lind and Lundström, 2009). The Swedish banks divide real estate into retail and corporate. The owners are public (municipality or state) or private (quoted on the stock market or not). There are connections both to the construction industry and to the financial industry, and the boundaries of these two industries are not clear cut. The real estate industry is intertwined with both the construction and financial industry, Figure 1.1.

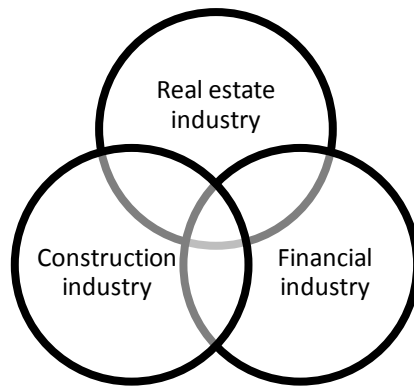


Figure 1.1 The connection between the real estate, construction and financial industries.

Within the real estate industry there are different kinds of organizations. These include commercial real estate companies that own and manage their own real estate and commercial real estate management companies that only manage other companies' real estate; such as funds. There are, furthermore, housing companies, real estate units in public organizations, consultancy companies and others; including different kind of associations; such as Riksbyggen and HSB.

Commercial real estate companies and housing companies have their own networks or arenas where they meet. Some of the organizations are linked more closely to the construction industry; in those cases they often have the same owner, and some of the consultancy companies have a closer link to the financial industry.

Over the past few decades the real estate industry has initiated and launched a new type of higher education programme focusing on services. The underlying aim was to open up the industry to a new group of employees, those with a degree in social science and not in engineering (which historically has been most common). The purpose was not to attract more women into the industry, but this has been the case. The bottom line was that this new approach would contribute to the development of the industry. Historically it has been an industry dominated by non-graduate men or men with an engineering approach and background.

The real estate industry is facing at least two challenges; first, the industry is facing a generation shift among its employees, and, second, it is facing an educational shift among its employees. This means that those working in the industry today, mostly older men without

higher education or with an engineering background, will meet younger more highly educated men and women, but also some people with ethnic backgrounds other than Swedish.

The overall aim of my research is to create understanding about the real estate industry from a gender perspective. To structure and understand the intentions of my study, I find it fruitful to answer the question phrased by Flyvberg (2001). He argues that social science can matter if we take as our point of departure three value rational questions;

1. *Where are we going?* To me this means where is the real estate industry going, and will the industry be able to attract both women and men in the future?

2. *Is this desirable?* I argue that attracting both women and men must be desirable due not only to the fact that the demand for employees in the future will be high. It is also fair that both women and men have an equal opportunity to work and to make a career in the industry.

3. *What should be done?* Since, according to my literature review (presented later), it may be concluded that the gender issue so far has been more or less overlooked in the field of real estate, I argue that my study is important. I hope this study will be used as a starting point for a discussion of gender structure in the industry?

One more question can also be added, according to Flyvberg; *Who gains and who loses; by what mechanisms of power?* I argue that all are winners if a discussion results into these issues.

1.2 Purpose and research question

The overall aim of my research is to create understanding of the real estate industry from a gender perspective. To do so, I will create understanding of *how* the gender structure is created in the industry and *why* it is constituted as it is.

I concur in the view of the importance in searching for structural explanations and not the characteristics of individuals in organizations. Kanter (1993) says that gender differences in organizational behaviour are due to structure rather than the characteristics of women and men as individuals. “Structural explanations see the dynamics and effects of positions in

organizational hierarchy and the ratio of women/men as crucial for understanding career patterns and work orientations connected with gender” (Alvesson and Billing 2009: 60).

I will base my research on the real estate industry in Sweden. I focus on the corporate market and include both commercial and housing companies. I include companies and real estate owned by the municipality, and consider them to be corporate. To include both commercial and housing companies in my study is not unproblematic, due to the fact that they have different business concept and owners; this will probably affect the organization and structure in different ways.

The study consists of *three different empirical studies*. In *empirical study one*, I map the gender structure in commercial and housing companies; this is further discussed later in the thesis. *Empirical study two* contains interviews with younger graduate women and men who have graduated from the real estate management programme at Malmö University, anticipating a future career in the industry. *Empirical study three* consists of interviews made with women working as CEOs. The respondents from the industry work in commercial real estate companies, housing companies and in real estate units in municipalities. The interviews are based on the findings in the mapping of the companies and also inspired by Kanter (1993), Wahl (1992) and Acker’s (1992, 1992, 1994), four sets of gendered processes; this will be further discussed later in the thesis.

My literature review of the real estate field shows that the gender issue has been overlooked in the research; furthermore, my situated knowledge of the industry as dominated by men is another important reason why this study has been conducted.

My theoretical framework includes gender and organizational theory. Why do I choose gender? Because there is a lack of this type of study, and therefore this study and approach makes a contribution to the real estate field of research.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The aim of this thesis is to create understanding about the real estate industry from a gender perspective. To do this I will create understanding of *how* the gender structure is created in the

industry and *why* it is constituted as it is? I will conduct this study on commercial and housing companies in Sweden. The thesis is structured as follows:

To understand the approach of doing gender that I use as my theoretical approach, I first provide a description of gender theory, gender and organizational theory and doing gender in Chapter *Two*. I also present my interpretation and use of Kanter's concept of structural dimensions, Wahl's concept of gender structure and Acker's four sets of gendered processes that I use as my analytical tools.

In Chapter *Three* I present my research strategy, my role as a researcher, my research approach and the methods used. My study consists of three different empirical parts; a mapping of annual reports of companies in the industry forms empirical study one, empirical study two contains interviews conducted with younger graduate women and men, and empirical study three comprises interviews made with women working as CEOs. The mapping was conducted for two reasons: first to obtain an overview of the gender division in the industry, and second to use the results of the mapping as background material for the interviews. During the interviews I showed the results of the mapping to the respondents and asked for their response on them. In Chapter *Three* I present what I map in the companies and why. The result of my mapping is presented in Chapter *Four* in different tables. In Chapter *Five* I present empirical study two - my interviews conducted with younger graduate women and men - and in Chapter *Six*, I present empirical study three; interviews conducted with women working as CEOs.

My analysis and the conclusion of my mapping and interviews are presented in Chapter *Seven*. In Chapter *Eight* I present what I consider to be my main contribution in the study. My proposal for future research is presented in Chapter *Nine*.

1.4 The real estate industry – background

The industry has emanated from the construction industry. The dominant feature of the construction and real estate industry until the 1970s was that ownership and construction of real estate was kept together with its management.

During the 1970s there was a change in the way that most industries used and managed their real estate; up to this point the manufacturing industry built and managed its own real estate. In the process of change within the manufacturing industry into a service industry, the need for different workplaces became necessary, the need for new forms of accommodation arose, and the *commercial real estate* market in Sweden started to grow (Lind and Lundström, 2009).

In the 1960s and 1970s the need for *housing* was enormous in Sweden, and the “million programme” (*miljonprogrammet*) was established. The million programme meant that one million apartments were constructed during the 1960s and 1970s. One third of the Swedish housing market was renewed by new buildings (Johansson, 1998). To be able to construct such a large amount of real estate in such a short time, the construction industry looked to manufacturing industry, and manufacturing mass production was a role model. At that time, to adjust to individual wishes or requirements was not possible and not even thinkable. It was the municipalities that owned and managed the million programme through their housing real estate companies.

According to Johansson (1998), during the 1980s and the 1990s the focus was shifted from construction and co-management with the tenants to the management of the real estate and human resources of the staff. In the 1980s and 1990s the need for renewal of the buildings constructed during the 1960s was felt. To renew the real estate required good relations with the tenants, and a need for an awareness of how to manage the real estate was needed. Johansson (1998) argues that the discourse of service has replaced the democracy discourse during the 1980s and 1990s in the (public) housing sector.

From the 1980s the real estate industry has become more and more a part of the financial industry beside stocks and bonds. Institutional investment companies like pension funds have started to invest in the real estate industry. Asset management is now an accepted form of capital management.

Today, the construction and real estate industries are mostly kept apart; ownership and construction and sometimes management have different operators. Today, the construction companies are building developers; that means that the focus is on the early part of the process. The construction industry has had a complicated relationship with women, according

to Cettner (2008), as the engineer is a symbol of masculinity and this is reproduced in the industry.

The management role has changed and many functions have been outsourced. The role of taking care of the maintenance of the building has now also expanded to include asset management and facility management.

1.5 Different roles and functions

Within the real estate industry in Sweden there are various types of positions. According to Ling-Archer (2008), on-going, or continuing, property management decisions can be classified into two categories; (1) those that have to do with the day-to-day operation of the property, and (2) those that affect the physical, financial, or ownership structure of the property. They classify *property managers* as those who are in charge of the day-to-day operations of the property. *Property management* is the core function of real estate management. *Asset managers* are responsible for the decisions affecting the physical, financial or ownership structure of the property. I will use the term *real estate manager* and *property manager* as synonymous in this work. According to Palm (2007), a real estate manager has the following tasks: marketing and letting, space management planning, maintenance, operation, media and facility management. In Sweden, the real estate manager has traditionally not been involved in the construction process.

The *Real Estate Board of Education* lists six different kinds of positions within the industry. An interesting aspect of this list is that the board only discuss the positions related to the day-to-day operations; they discuss property management and professions that support that function but not asset management.

The responsibilities of an asset manager may differ from one professional setting to the next, the asset manager occupies a higher position in the decision-making hierarchy than property managers, according to Ling-Archer (2008).

Included in the real estate industry are also those real estate management companies that do not own real estate, in this thesis I will concentrate my studies on commercial and housing real estate companies that own and manage their own real estate.

For the future, it is of the utmost importance that the industry manages to recruit young women and men. The overall aim of my study is to create understanding about the real estate industry from a gender perspective. To be able to understand this perspective, *gender theory* is helpful. To fulfil this aim, I will first map the gender structure in the industry and, second, in open-structured interviews discuss those findings with different actors in the industry. I use the theoretical approach of *doing gender*, West and Zimmerman (1987), that gender is conducted in interaction and is a fleeting concept; *doing gender* will be further described in Chapter Two. Using this approach means, as I interpret it, that the *gender structure* in the real estate industry is embedded in everyday interaction and made through *gendered processes* Acker (1990, 1992, 1994).

1.6 Literature review of the real estate field

Having conducted a literature review of the real estate industry, I conclude that the gender issue so far has been more or less overlooked. The basis for the literature review was primarily two journals; *The Journal of Corporate Real Estate and Property Management Journal*. Those two journals are dominant in the field and are those most often referred to. *The Journal of Corporate Real Estate* has published two issues concerning human resource management during 2008 and 2009.

In Phillips and Roper's (2009) article about *talent management*, there was no gender discussion. I argue that the word talent is symbolized as masculine (Alvesson and Billing 1999, 2009), that is according to how the authors define the word talent in the article "as a core group of leaders, technical experts and key contributors who can drive their business forward". Many technical positions are constructed as masculine. In the same article there is a discussion of the different generations of baby boomers, generation x and y and what they value in work, but no discussion of gender issues is provided.

In Goksenin's (2009) article about the *link between employees and their workplace*, no discussion is provided about gender; the purpose of the article is to explain the employee's "perception of change" and the employee's ability to adopt new environments. According to Acker (1990), the gender neutral status of a job, assumes that the employee is abstract, disembodied.

In Haynes' (2008) article about *workplace connectivity and office productivity*, different work pattern categories are segmented according to office occupiers, based on their work style. The work styles adopted are individual process work, group process work, concentrated study work and transactional knowledge work. No gender discussion is provided in the article. As in Goksenin's article above the office occupiers are assumed to be disembodied.

The Journal of Property Management had one article, by Diana Mirel (2007), that discussed the idea that *America diversifies*, and that corporate leadership is beginning to follow the trend, but the diversity in the real estate industry in America is lagging behind. There are 100,000 persons employed in the real estate industry in America and only one percent is black. The article also discusses the lack of women in the industry.

There are studies carried out over recent years into other industries dominated by men, for example, the financial industry and the construction industry. Both of these industries are linked to the real estate industry in one way or another, as mentioned before.

On the financial industry there is a doctoral thesis by Renemark (2007) that discusses "*Why do so few women work with finance? A study of everyday work in the financial sector*". The study examines people working as analysts, stockbrokers and traders on the sell-side, and fund managers, analysts and dealers on the buy-side of the financial sector. The study revealed distinct gender divisions: the occupations studied can be seen as gendered. No definite answer was found to the question of why so few women work in finance, but several partial answers were presented. The thesis ends with a suggestion that it is important to circulate alternative images of work in finance, because the work is commonly perceived as appropriate for men. Some parts of the financial sector are still dominated by men, and characterized by a strong competition and sexist jargon.

A licentiate thesis by Cettner (2008) discusses the gender issue in the construction industry, and of interest is that women working in the real estate industry are included in her study. Her thesis is about "*Women in the construction industry - civil engineers' experience from a gender perspective*". The thesis was based on women's experiences of working as engineers in the construction industry. It focuses on the women's working conditions, and their possibilities of making a career in the construction industry. The question is why many women engineers choose to leave the construction industry. The study shows that the historically traditional male construction industry is almost unchanged. The study also shows

that the essence of the problem is about the outdated image of the engineer, as a symbol of manliness and hegemonic masculinity. The question of why many women leave the industry is complex, and the study provides no simple answer. It is up to the construction industry to revise and update itself in order to adapt to modern times, and thereby the odds for successfully increasing and retaining the women engineers will be improved. A possible opportunity for change in the construction industry could be the male culture evident in the consultancy sector, which, according to the study, is more flexible.

I conclude that there is a gap in the literature concerning gender in the real estate industry, and it seems to be more or less gender-blind.

2. Gender Theory

2.1 Feminist politics, ideology and research

The study of women established the field of gender theory, and masculinity theory has recently become part of gender theory. Feminism is broadly defined as the recognition of men's and women's unequal conditions and the desire to change this (Wahl, 1996). There is a distinction between *feminist politics, ideology and research*. According to Wahl, *feminist politics* strives to create equal conditions for men and women; *feminist ideology* is ideas of how things are and ought to be, and *research* is the scientific production of descriptions, explanations and interpretations, based on feminist theoretical perspective. Central ingredients of this perspective include the gender system and the insight that most mainstream research has been gender-blind and has implicitly used the man as the standard for the individual.

There are different ways of categorizing the field of gender research, Alvesson and Billing (1999) and Ahl (2004) distinguish three useful perspectives. The first perspective sees sex as an unproblematic variable, and could be referred to as *feminist empiricism*, where men and women are assumed to be basically similar. The second perspective differentiates women from men as knowing subjects, which includes a *feminist standpoint*. The third perspective is the post-structural perspective that builds on an understanding of gender as *socially constructed*, where men and women are not assumed to have gender specific traits with any social consequences, but assumptions of such differences shape reality and are therefore important study objects. Calás and Smircich (1996) say that, despite the diversity in different approaches, most feminist theories share some assumptions, for example the recognition of male dominance in social arrangements and a desire for change from this form of domination.

There are two ways of conceptualizing sex; the essentialist view that argues that sex is something; it can be measured and is a concept firmly tied to the body. The other way is the constructionist view, which considers that gender is something we learn, something we do, and it varies in time and space (Alvesson and Billing, 1999, 2009). Applying the later perspective to the study objects implies a focus on the gendering processes.

2.2 Masculinity

The study objects are commercial real estate companies and housing companies in the real estate industry in Sweden. To me, it is of great importance to understand theories of masculinity since the real estate industry is dominated by men.

Kimmel (2006) points out that, if men remain unaware of the centrality of gender in their lives, it will only help to perpetuate gender inequality. He considers that there have been attempts to tell the story of American manhood - by women. But many feminist analyses failed to resonate with men's own experiences. He thinks that this is not surprising, since women have theorized about masculinity from their point of view, from the way women experience masculinity. He argues that women have theorized that men's relationship with women was the pivotal relationship in the lives of both women and men. Masculinity was defined by the drive for power, for domination and for control.

Furthermore, he argues that manhood is less about the drive for domination and more about the fear of other men's domination, having power or control over one another. Throughout history men have been afraid that others will see them as less than manly, as weak, timid, frightened. And men have been afraid of not measuring up to what it means to be a man, afraid of failure. Kimmel means that it is other men who are important to men; men define their masculinity, not as much in relation to women as in relation to each other. He says that masculinity is largely a homosocial enactment and that homophobia is the fear of other men. Kimmel's study was conducted in the US and it has of course to be borne in mind that the Swedish context might be different. I argue, however, that several similarities probably exist.

2.3 Hegemonic masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity was first introduced by Connell (1987, 2008) and refers to the dominant form of masculinity within the gender hierarchy, which, according to Acker (1990) plays an important part in legitimating organizational power. The term hegemony refers to Antonio Gramsci's (1967) analysis of class relations, and the dynamic that occurs so that a group can maintain a leading position. It means that hegemony can only exist with acceptance from the subordinated groups. Although hegemonic masculinity subordinates other masculinities and femininities, it can be challenged by them. In most Western societies today,

hegemonic masculinity is associated with whiteness, heterosexuality, marriage, authority and physical toughness. Connell also argue that, in order to be able to understand gender, we have to be able to go beyond gender, that is to say we cannot fully understand, class, race or global inequities without looking for gender. Connell furthermore argues that the gender order in the world still gives men privileges compared with women.

2.4 Management

Managerial masculinity is still centrally related to power, and Connell (2005) argues that transnational business masculinity emanates from globalization. It is a male-dominated world with a strong consciousness of change. It is an intense and stressful labour process that creates multiple linkages among managers and subjects them to mutual scrutiny, a force for gender conservatism. Economic globalization has heightened their insecurity about their place in the world and the gender order. A manufacturing manager used to put capital to work in production and used to have a direct relationship with the production process, but Roper (1994) argues that this pattern of managerial masculinity has been superseded by professionalized, finance-oriented management.

Working as a manager in a large multinational corporation means one thing above all else, according to Connell (2005), that is, the managers direct the flows of capital that constitute the corporation as a social form and, in enormous agglomerations, constitute multinational business. Two or three decades ago a key training ground for young international executives emerged in doing an MBA. It is crucial to understanding business masculinities that much of this labour is directed to other managers, according to Connell (2005).

Based on the fact that the real estate industry is dominated by men and linked both to the financial and construction industry, I argue that the financial industry probably has finance-oriented management with international aspects and is, therefore, influenced by *hegemonic transnational business masculinity*. The construction industry has manufacturing-oriented management that is probably influenced by the *hegemonic engineering masculinity* (Cettner, 2008).

Ross-Smith and Huppertz (2010) argue that female and feminine dispositions have become currency in the masculinized field of management and have become embodied culture capital.

Women's gender is a tangible asset, but it is a limited currency, often double-edged and perhaps best conceptualized as a tactical rather than strategic resource. This is a way to think beyond the dichotomy of dominance and subordination.

2.5 Gender and organization

Calás & Smircich (1996) argue that, using feminist theories not only as a women's issue in organization studies, more inclusive organization studies would be created. They say that organizational scholarship has primarily been a literature written by men, for men, and about men.

Wahl et. al (2001) describe structures, leadership, symbols and change as important factors in the study of gender and organization. Of importance is the gender blindness in classical organizational theories. Kanter (1993) was one of the first to discuss structural aspects. She considered that structural factors – opportunity, power and numbers – influence performance and success. Wahl et. al (2001) describe the construction of leadership close to the construction of masculinity. Symbols in the organization are about cultural manifestations from a gender point of view. One expression is about gender symbols and gender marks. Different professions are gender-marked. The manager of human resources is often a woman, and so is also the information manager. Women often have the role of giving service in the organization.

The gender order is central in the organizational theory, and the power relations between the sexes are important and are expressed through structures and symbols. This means, according to Wahl et al (2001), that there will be a gender order in every organization, but it is changeable.

During recent years intersectionality has been discussed; it tries to examine how various socially and culturally constructed categories interact on multiple levels. The categories do not act independently of one another; instead, they create a system of multiple forms of interaction. Lykke (2005) says that intersectionality is to be used to analyse how cultural hierarchies and power structures interact and create inclusions or exclusions concerning gender, ethnicity, race, class, sexuality, age, nationality, etc. According to Eriksson-

Zetterquist and Styhre (2007), the consciousness of processes in organizations has increased the interest in intersectionality, for example; doing gender.

2.6 Doing gender

In 1987 Candace West and Don Zimmerman wrote an article about doing gender, and the purpose was “to advance a new understanding of gender as a routine accomplishment embedded in everyday interaction” (West & Zimmerman 1987:125).

Today the gender issue focuses more on the similarities than the differences between women and men, and I think it is a useful way for deconstructing the organizations. My theoretical standpoint and point of departure is the doing gender perspective.

I think of gender as independent of a person’s biological sex, but will refer to what is regarded as masculine or feminine. Acker (1992: 250) defines gender as a “patterned, socially produced distinction between female and male, feminine and masculine”. Gender is something that is done, and it varies in time and place. Ahl (2004) points out that when gender and not sex are discussed it means that the study object goes beyond men and women.

Gender is a fleeting concept, and the actual content of what is regarded as feminine and masculine varies over time, place and social context (Alvesson and Billing 1999, 2009). Hirdman (1992) created the concept of gender system. It has two sets of logic; one is the logic of separation and the other the logic of superiority. This means that men and women are kept apart, and more importantly anything considered “female” is kept apart from anything considered “male” and the two genders are ordered hierarchically, with the man above the woman. Men act homosocially, Connell (1987, 2008), and both men and women recreate the gender system.

The post-structural perspective builds on an understanding of gender as socially constructed; women and men as categories are not taken for granted. Calás and Smircich (1996) says that gender is not considered to be a property but a relationship that brings redefinitions of subjectivities and subject positions over time, this is both as products and as products and producers of the social context.

Many researchers working on gender and organizations have thus drawn on concepts of gender as a social practice (Alvesson & Billing, 1999, 2009). These approaches gained prominence with the move away from counting bodies in organizations, and emphasized instead how gender is socially constructed at work (Alvesson and Billing, 1999, 2009). Doing gender approaches have been useful in showing that gender is not a property of a person but a process that people enact in everyday situations.

2.7 Analytical tools

I am aware that empirical studies are important, but cannot provide the ultimate truths. Gender relations may vary not only between different societies, cultures, class, ethnic groups, age, profession, but also within and across these categories and may also be different within situations and processes at the same workplace (Alvesson & Billing, 1999, 2009).

I have been inspired by Martin (2003) who says that feminist theorists seek to change the gender order. To do so there are at least six well-established feminist research streams in organizations, that take a more action-oriented approach to system change. They are;

1. Fixing individual women;
2. Valuing the feminine;
3. Adding women and stirring (minimal structural change);
4. Making small, deep cultural changes;
5. Creating new organizational structures; and
6. Transforming gendered society

The first four of the *six change strategies* were developed by faculty researchers at the Simmons Center for Gender in Organization (Coleman and Rippin, 2000; Ely and Meyerson, 2000a, 2000b and Kolb, 2000).

The strategy of *fixing individual women* is the primary approach of those organizations that seek to hire more women as employees, often in previously male-dominated positions; the organizations mainly focus on managerial women. Both men and women remain trapped when applying this strategy, according to Martin (2003).

Martin (2003) also says that the strategy of *Valuing the feminine* reinforces gendered stereotypes and fosters little change.

Adding women and stirring alters a few rules. Women are allowed to enter positions that have been closed to them before; hiring women to male dominated jobs is equal to giving them 'equal opportunity' to succeed. Recruitment is focused rather than retention and promotion, and the strategy also means that it is hard not to be stereotyped as a woman.

The strategy *Making small, deep cultural changes* focuses on changing relatively small aspects of an organization's culture. Those aspects are selected as they have implications for gender relations. With small changes and steps it is possible to have a cumulative effect on gender equity, a long-term time investment is required according to Martin (2003).

Martin also says that to be able to *create new organizational structures* and *transforming gendered society* represent a more radical feminist approach.

Having the change strategies presented by Martin (2003) in mind when conducting my study seems to be an interesting way to go. The strategies are in practice hard to separate often one leads to another. In order to be able to analyse my work, I will be using different organizational gendering analytic tools inspired by Kanter (1993), Wahl (1992) and Acker (1990, 1992, 1994).

Kanter (1993) argues in her pioneering work *Men and Women of the Corporation* from 1977, that "the job makes the person", she wanted to understand how organizations influenced the people working in them and how these people, in turn, came to reflect their situations and their behaviour. She shows that gender differences in organizational behaviour are due to structure rather than to characteristics of women and men as individuals. She identifies three variables as central explanatory dimensions for structural determination; The *structure of opportunity*, the *structure of power* and the *proportional distribution of people of different kinds* (the social composition of peer clusters.) I looked for these variables in empirical study one - my mapping of the industry and in empirical study two and three- the interviews.

The *structure of opportunity* refers to expectations and future prospects. The structure of opportunity of mobility and growth is determined by such matters as promotion rates from particular jobs, ladder steps associated with a position, the range and length of career paths

opening from it, access to challenge and increase in skills and rewards, and as a variable for each person, the individual's prospects relative to others of his or her age and seniority.

The *structure of power* is determined by both formal job characteristics and informal alliances. Kanter uses "power" in a sense that distinguishes it from hierarchical domination. Power is then "the ability to get things done, to mobilize resources, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet" (Kanter, 1993 : 166).

The *variable of proportion* refers to the social composition of people in approximately the same situation. Kanter argues that it is a simple quantitative matter of how many people there are of different social types in various parts of the organization, e.g. the proportions of women, men, blacks, ethnic minorities. Being different is a matter of how many similar people that compose the work force.

To be able to understand the dramas of the many and the few in the organization, Kanter distinguishes four group types that can be identified on the basis of different proportional representations of kinds of people: *uniform groups*, *skewed groups*, *tilted groups* and *balanced groups*. *Uniform groups* have only one kind of person, one significant social type. The group may develop its own differentiations, but may be considered homogeneous as to sex, race or ethnicity. *Skewed groups* are those in which there is a large preponderance of one type over another, up to a ratio of perhaps 85:15 according to Kanter. The few of another type in a skewed group can appropriately be called "*tokens*" and are often treated as representatives of their category, as symbols rather than individuals. *Tilted groups* move towards less extreme distributions and less exaggerated effects; in this situation with ratios of perhaps 65:35 dominants are just a "majority" and tokens become a "minority". Minority members have potential allies among each other, according to Kanter, can form coalitions and can affect the culture of the group. They begin to become individuals differentiated from each other as well as a type differentiated from the majority. At about a ratio of 60:40 and down to 50:50 the group becomes balanced.

Kanter thinks that the proportional rarity of tokens is associated with three perceptual tendencies: *visibility*, *contrast* and *assimilation*. Tokens get attention, they have higher *visibility* than dominants alone.

Contrast or polarization and exaggeration of differences is the second perceptual tendency. In uniform groups, members and observers may never become self-conscious about the common culture and type, which remains taken for granted and implicit. The presence of a person bearing a different set of social characteristics may increase the self-consciousness of the numerically dominant population to be aware of their commonalities and their differences from the token; to preserve this they try to keep the token slightly outside, to provide a boundary to the dominants (Kanter, 1993: 210-211).

Assimilation, the third perceptual tendency, involves the use of stereotypes, or familiar generalizations about a person's social type. Tokens are, according to Kanter, more easily stereotyped than people found in a greater proportion, and as Kanter (1993: 211) points out: "Tokens are ironically, both highly visible as people who are different and yet not permitted the individuality of their own unique, non-stereotypical characteristics."

Kanter has been criticized for not arguing that gender, power and structure does matter (Alvesson and Billing 1999, Acker 1990, Wahl 1992).

Wahl (1992) has constructed the idea of gender structure, which includes three different distinctions between gender within organizations. Gender structure includes three different traits that show the gender division within the organization: The number of women and men within the organization (*distinction one*); the segregation between the sexes in occupations, professions and positions (*distinction two*); the hierarchical division between the sexes, influence and power possibilities (*distinction three*). The intersectional perspective is not taken into account in Wahl's idea of gender structure.

When doing my mapping of the annual reports, I looked for the number of women and men according to Wahl's distinction 1. I also looked for the segregation among women and men in positions, distinction 2. This was also discussed in the interviews. Hierarchical division between the sexes, distinction 3, was also looked for in the mapping and discussed in the interviews.

Acker (1990) argues that organizational structure is not gender-neutral; abstract jobs and hierarchies assume a disembodied and universal worker. She says that a theory of gender and organizations is needed for a number of reasons; one is that organizations are one arena in

which widely disseminated cultural images of gender are invented and reproduced, and another is that some aspects of individual gender identity, perhaps in particular masculinity, are also products of organizational processes and pressures. The theories of organizations have ignored sexuality; a gender-neutral structure is also asexual. Gendered organization means that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine. Gender is not an addition to ongoing processes, conceived as gender-neutral; it is an integral part of those processes, which cannot be properly understood without an analysis of gender.

Acker (1990, 1992, 1994) identifies four different interacting processes as points of entry, a way into the on-going flow of actions and interactions that constitute organizational life; they are analytically distinct but parts of the same reality. Gendering may produce gender-explicit or gender-neutral practices and it occurs through concrete organizational activities, and its processes also have class and racial implications.

The first point of entry is through the ordinary, often daily procedures and decisions that, while doing the work of the organization, also segregate, manage, control, and construct hierarchies in which gender, class and race are involved. Division of labour, of permitted behaviours, of locations in physical space, of power, including the institutionalized means of maintaining the divisions in the structures of labour markets, the family and the state, construct *gender divisions*. For example, men are almost always in the highest positions of organizational power. Managerial decisions often initiate gender divisions and organizational practices maintain them.

The second is the construction of *symbols and images* that explain, express, reinforce, or sometimes oppose those divisions. These have many sources or forms in language, ideology, popular and high *culture*, dress, the press, television. The image of the top manager or the business leader is an image of successful, forceful masculinity. The organization itself is often defined through metaphors of masculinity of a certain sort. They are lean, mean, aggressive, goal-oriented, efficient, and competitive but rarely, empathetic, supportive, kind or caring. Organizational participants actively create these images in their efforts to construct organizational cultures that contribute to competitive success.

The third set of processes that produces gendered social structures, including organizations, are *interactions* between women and men, women and women, men and men, including all those patterns that enact dominance and submission. Men are the actors, women the emotional support. Interactions may be between supervisors and subordinates, between co-workers, or between workers and customers, clients or other outsiders. Interactions are part of the concrete work of organization, and the production of gender is often “inside” the activities that constitute the organization itself.

Fourth, these processes help to produce gendered components of *individual identity*, which may include consciousness of the existence of the other three aspects of gender, such as, in organizations, choice of appropriate work, language use, clothing, and presentation of self as a gendered member of an organization. This includes creating the correct gendered persona and hiding unacceptable aspects of one’s life, such as homosexuality.

These practices are supported by the assumption that work is separate from the rest of life and that it has first claim on the worker.

Acker’s theories about the gendered processes have inspired several studies, for example: Vänje’s (2005) study of gender practices and leadership in industrial organization, and Cettner’s (2008) study of women in the construction industry in Sweden, (this study is described in the literature review), but also Linghag’s (2009) study of describing and understanding the transition from staff to management, and in particular how gender is done in this process - this study was carried out in a banking company.

Gendered processes are concrete activities, what people do and say, and how they think about these activities. I find Acker’s model of gendered processes useful as an analytical tool for understanding *how* and *why* the gender structure is constituted as it is in the real estate industry.

I interpret Acker’s sets of gendering processes such that the *structure* forms the *gender division*. This is shown in *symbols and images*, in the *interaction* that forms the *identity* of the persons in the organization, that in turn form the *structure* and *gender division* and also the other way around. If not questioned and discussed, the organization reproduces the gendered processes that form the structure and gender division.

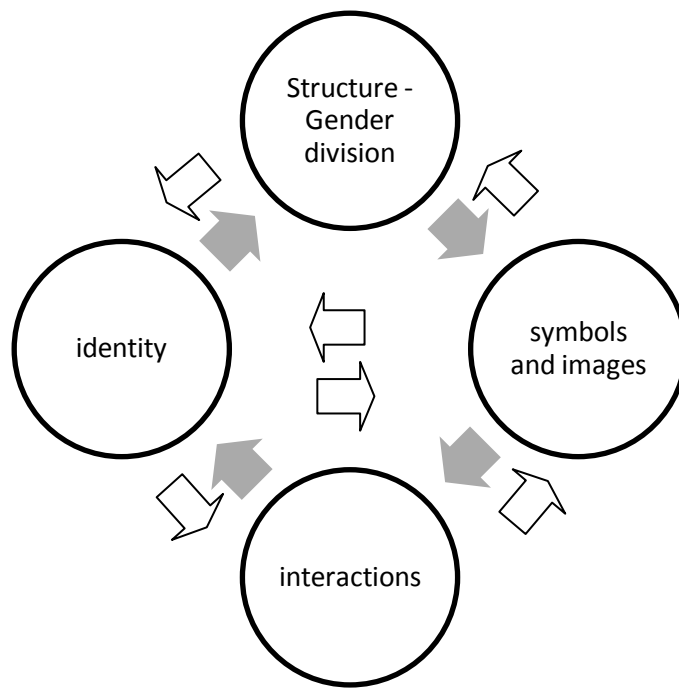


Figure 2.1 Interpretation of Acker's (1990, 1992, 1994) four sets of gendered processes.

To see if and how gender is integrated in the on-going activities and interactions, I will use Acker's four sets of gendered processes when conducting my interview guide and when I analyze my interviews. As interpreted in the introduction, I interpret and use Acker's model of four gendering processes in that *symbols* and *images* create the *culture*, and that *interactions* between women and men, women and women and men and men form the *identity* that together form the *gendered structure* that creates the *gendered division*. The gendered structures are produced through daily procedures and decisions. In Table 2.1 Acker's four sets of gendered processes is presented and general examples are given.

Table 2.1 Four gendered processes according to Acker (1990, 1992, 1994)

Four gendered processes (or points of entry) according to Acker (1990, 1992, 1994)	Examples in general
<p>“Construction of gender division - division of labour, of allowed behaviours, of locations in physical space, of power, including the institutionalized means of maintaining the divisions in the structures of labour markets, the family, the state.”</p>	<p>Men are almost always in the highest positions of organizational power.</p> <p>The manager’s decisions often initiate gender divisions and organizational practices maintain them.</p>
<p>“Construction of symbols and images that explains, expresses, reinforces, or sometimes opposes those divisions. Organizational participants actively create these images in their efforts to construct organizational cultures that contribute to competitive success.”</p>	<p>These have many sources or forms in language, ideology, popular and high culture, dress, the press, television.</p> <p>The image of the top manager or the business leader is an image of successful, forceful masculinity.</p> <p>The organization itself is often defined through metaphors of masculinity of a certain sort. They are lean, mean, aggressive, goal-oriented, efficient, and competitive but rarely, empathetic, supportive, kind or caring.</p>
<p>“Interactions between women and men, women and women, men and men, including all those patterns that enact dominance and submission. Interactions may be between supervisors and subordinates, between co-workers, or between workers and customers, clients or other outsiders.”</p>	<p>Men are the actors, women the emotional support.</p> <p>Interactions are part of the concrete work of an organization, and the production of gender is often “inside” the activities that constitute the organization itself.</p>
<p>“Processes that help to produce gendered components of individual identity, which may include consciousness of the existence of the other three aspects of gender. “</p>	<p>Choice of appropriate work, language use, clothing, and presentation of self as a gendered member of an organization. This includes creating the correct gendered persona and hiding unacceptable aspects of one’s life, such as homosexuality.</p>

3. Research Strategy

3.1 The role of the researcher

I am curious to learn how the gender structure in the industry is created and why it is constituted as it is. This is linked to the fact that it is an industry dominated by men. The real estate industry initiated a new form of higher education with a social science approach to start at Malmö University in 1998, the real estate management programme.

The first group of students to graduate from the programme entered the industry in 2001. I was initially responsible for designing the programme with help from representatives of the industry, and I was also in charge of the programme during its first years (1998-2004, except one year 2002, due to parental leave). I felt strongly responsible for the students' future career and their opportunity for finding relevant jobs in the industry after their graduation, and that the programme had legitimacy both inside the university and the industry. One step in generating a closer relationship with the industry was to start the association *Centrum för fastighetsföretagande* (CFFF, "Centre for Real Estate Management"), which was founded in the year 2000 with the aim of providing closer relations between the university sector and industry; this was one way of introducing the programme to the industry. I have made the journey away from the industry to be able to reflect, and I realize from my intention in the study that this was a necessity. My situated knowledge, Haraway (1991), influences my work and my research process.

From the start of my research process in January 2009, I have been writing a diary of what I have been doing every day and I am very grateful for the notes. To see my own process has been very valuable. One thing that was a big change for me in the beginning was that I could not speed up my acquisition of knowledge; I thought many times that nothing was happening. For about twenty years I had been used to solving problems at work, being a doer. To me it was a huge difference becoming a PhD student. I tried to read and write what I learned every day. I had problems the first year with accepting the idea that thoughts and insights took time. And I realized that, as Oliver W Holmes said, "A mind that is stretched to a new idea, never returns to its original dimension" Good or bad, I don't know?

3.2 My background and situated knowledge

Before my employment at Malmö University, I was working in the construction and real estate industry for about 10 years. I worked as a real estate consultant at a technical consultancy company, and was one of the first female consultants working in the company. Initially, I worked as a junior consultant, thereafter as the head of a small department. During this time I attended a trainee programme for future senior consultants and leaders within the company and I had the chance to develop an education division for the company. I always felt lucky that the CEO and the management group supported me.

Lately, I have been thinking and reflecting a lot about those years. I remember when the CEO told me about his idea of incentives – *“Hold out a bone and see if someone will catch it, and if so – who.”*, a statement that for me seems to be addressed to young hungry “men” willing to take up the competition with each other. I was socialised into being a consultant in a technical consultancy company – a position that I, today, consider to be symbolized as a masculine gendered position. I was also socialized into ideas about management, which I also consider to be symbolized as masculine.

“Sex-typing means that some jobs are defined as suitable (only) for men, or women respectively, gender symbolism refers to the cultural and personal beliefs and meanings behind such typing. The concept of gender symbolism then goes a bit deeper than sex-typing, meaning not only that a particular job is openly viewed as women’s or men’s work, but it refers also to non-explicit meanings, unconscious fantasies and association”(Alvesson and Billing, 2009: 70).

I was the “female token” Kanter (1993), pointed out as being one of the few. Tokenism is, as mentioned before, associated with perceptual tendencies such as: visibility, contrast and assimilation. I did very well and was presented in the annual reports and in other public situations. After some years the company went bankrupt and I continued my career at Lund University.

After a while I was recruited to Malmö University where my task was to develop the real estate management programme. This was part of the aim of professionalizing the industry. Quite early at Malmö University I also initiated and took part in developing the real estate agent programme and an association with the purpose of establishing closer relations between

the real estate industry and the university. I also realize, when looking back on those years, that being socialized into a consultant, always looking for new commissions; to do business, I did not realize to the full extent the difficulties of being socialized into, for me, a new position in another context; i.e. from a technical consultancy company to the university.

I find the real estate industry fascinating, partly because I have my background in this industry. As a woman working in and with the industry, it made me curious why the gender structure was constituted the way it was. For me, there have always been “bones” to catch, if not handed out, and I invented them myself. I realize that my journey will influence my research process. According to Haraway (1991), situated knowledge means that objectivism is impossible to attain, and no one can be guilty of relativism, since it is only possible to see from a position, from somewhere. My situated knowledge will influence me and my journey as a researcher. My decision to start my research journey by mapping what the gender structure looks like on paper, i.e. in annual reports, is a way for me to face the research problem.

3.3 The research approach and the method used

According to Robson (2002), there are a variety of different “cultures” of inquiry and there are two broader strands, most commonly labelled post-positivist and constructivist. I consider myself connected to constructivism. Robson also says that the research participants are viewed as helping to construct the reality with the researcher, and since there are multiple realities, the research questions cannot be fully established in advance.

Empirical study one consists of the mapping of the industry, using annual reports. *Empirical study two and three* consist of two interview studies; it seemed to be the right way to go. I was interested in understanding how the gender structure was constituted and why it was constituted as it was. Since the industry has had mostly older men with an engineering background or men with little formal education, it was important to interview those people who have recently entered the industry with higher education qualifications, but with enough experience to have an input to my questions. Therefore, I decided to conduct interviews with graduates from the real estate management programme at Malmö University, part two of the study.

Since I know that interviews provoke a knee-jerk reaction that the data are biased (Eisenhard and Graebner, 2007), I decided to conduct interviews with established strategic working women, i.e. CEOs, *part three* of my study. This was also due to my wish to obtain a more longitudinal view of experience from women working and making careers in an industry dominated by men. As Eisenhard and Graebner (2007:28) say, “it is a key approach to use numerous and highly knowledgeable informants who view the focal phenomena from diverse perspectives”.

Early in the research process, I conducted five informal interviews with representatives of the real estate industry in the south of Sweden. My own situation was that at that time I had a close relationship to the respondents and that I did not want to record the interviews. To record the interview felt to me like an intrusion. To me, the interviews were more like conversations with colleagues I had worked with. I took notes and many times during the future process of the study I have looked at those notes, regretting that I did not record the interviews I conducted. Sometimes I looked at the notes to confirm my thoughts and insights, and sometimes to acquire a deeper insight. I did not realize at that time the importance of those discussions or interviews made in order to see a pattern in my attempt to look into and understand the industry.

At that time, I interviewed two women and three men. They represented both commercial and housing companies and they worked as CEO, human resource manager, real estate manager, project developer and as a consultant working with the industry. Two main issues were brought up: the change in the industry and the educational level.

I identified from the interviews that the change in the industry consists of different ingredients as, for example the focus on the tenants, that there are more women working in the industry, and more international investors investing in Swedish real estate.

The human resource manager thought that it has been easier to employ women as real estate managers in recent years. The real estate programme at Malmö University has increased the opportunities. The importance of diversity in the organization was brought up by the real estate manager; according to him, it would contribute to a better culture in the organization. Although change is taking place in the industry, it is still an industry dominated by men.

Construction engineering at high school still forms a common educational background for those working as real estate managers.

I realized later on in my own researches that most of the persons I interviewed initially thought of women and men in an essentialist way, i.e. man and woman are carrying different qualities, and they hoped for change in the industry with more women and new generations entering the industry. I also realized that I had not really understood or problematized gender in depth. To me, internalising the gender theory meant an insight that gender is done in interaction and that it varies in time and place.

My intention was that my possibly preconceived notion was taken care of by mapping the gender structures in the industry. The empirical material was mainly annual reports and in some cases the different companies' homepages. I wanted to find facts about the current situation in each company, and how the situation had changed over time, i.e. are there more women employed today than before, has the structure of the board of directors changed over time, and so on? I include reports from 2001 and 2008, which implies a longitudinal perspective. This is important since I wanted to be able to see whether there have been any major changes in the industry over the past decade. I chose to start my mapping with the year of 2001, since this was the year the student from the real estate management programme at Malmö University entered into the industry.

To structure my work, I had to develop a model for what information I was looking for and why I was looking for that information. I present my analytical tools in Chapter Two, and Kanter (1993), Wahl (1992) and Acker (1990, 1992, 1994) were helpful to me. Acker's four sets of organizational gendering processes are described further later in this chapter, linked to my interviews. To be able to capture the processes in depth through interviews is, of course, difficult, but what I capture is a discussion of the processes. This is, of course, a limitation of my study.

The three different parts consist of different types of empirical material. In *empirical study one* I use primary annual reports and in some case homepages, and I use excel-sheets to structure my work in different tables.

In *empirical study two*, the interview with younger graduate women and men, working in housing companies, commercial real estate companies and in real estate units in the municipalities, I have voice-recorded and transcribed the interviews.

In *empirical study three*, the interview with women working as CEOs in commercial real estate companies and in housing companies, I conducted both face-to face interviews and telephone interviews. The interviews were also voice-recorded and transcribed. My study includes both younger women and men and established women, and I consider they are in the same class, i.e. graduates.

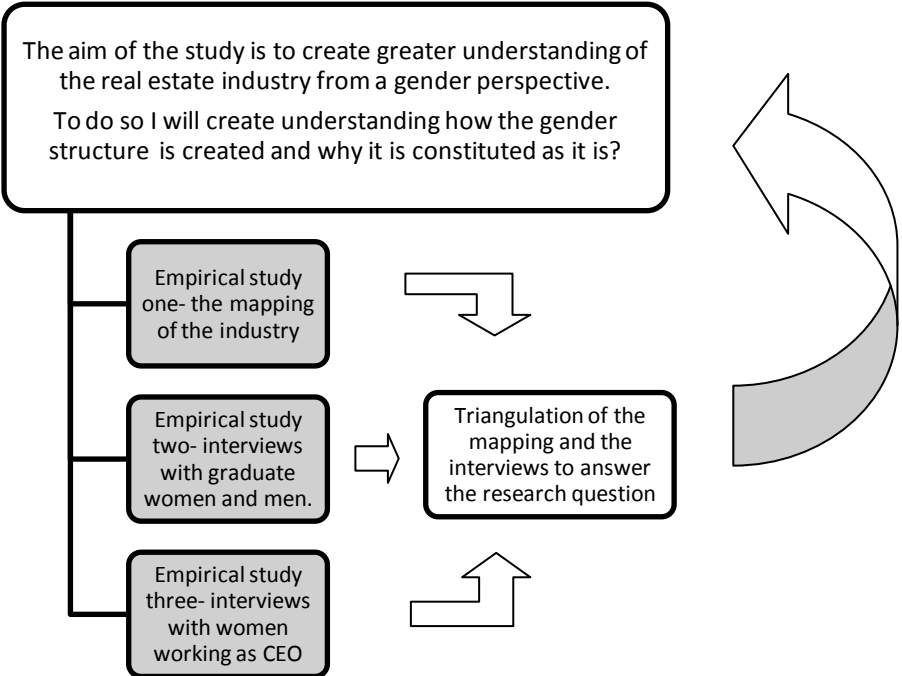


Figure 3.1 The empirical and theoretical process

My study consists of two types of empirical information; Mapping of annual reports (*empirical study one*) – for me a tool to illustrate the industry and interviews (*empirical study two and three*).

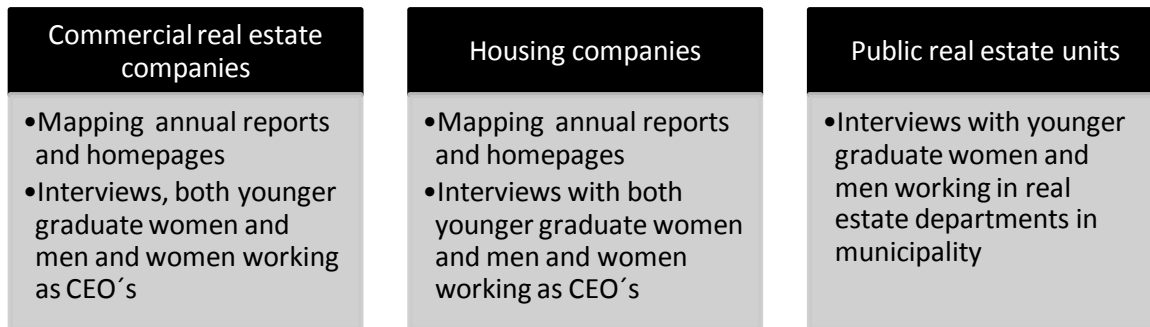


Figure 3.2 Different empirical arenas of the real estate industry in my study.

3.4 The study of the industry based on mapping

My argument for using annual reports as input in order to map the industry is that I acquire facts about the number of women and men in the industry. It does not say anything about how or why the structure is constituted as it is, or what kind of processes that have formed it. Counting the numbers of women and men will only give me numerical facts for my respondents to react to; a starting point for my interviews. Comparing and counting the number of women and men in 2001 and in 2008 says something about whether there has been a change in the structure. It takes time for structures to change, and it is impossible to carry out a retrospective study, since gender is constructed here and now, in day-to-day interaction.

When selecting companies to map, I intended initially to select companies that had activities in the south of Sweden. To me it seemed natural to choose members of *Centrum för fastighetsföretagande* (CFFF, “Centre for Real Estate Management”), which, as mentioned before, is an association with the purpose of establishing closer relations between the real estate industry and universities in the south of Sweden. I was also interested in larger companies from Gothenburg and Stockholm and also some housing companies outside Skåne. All of the housing companies from the south of Sweden (Skåne) that are mapped are members of CFFF, but only two of the commercial companies. The reason that only two of the companies are members is that the head offices in the other companies chosen are located in Stockholm. I chose to map 14 housing companies and 8 commercial companies. (Appendix 4.1 and 4.2)

I ordered the annual reports from the Swedish Companies Registration Office (*Bolagsverket*) in Sundsvall. All the housing companies chosen initially that existed in 2001 also existed in 2008 and in 2010. For the commercial companies, a lot of changes took place during this period; new companies were formed, companies were sold and bought, and companies were divided. One reflection at this point was that housing companies were to some organizational extent unchanged, and many of the commercial companies were altered. How would this affect the organizations today?

Early in 2010 I received my annual reports from the Swedish Companies Registration Office (*Bolagsverket*) and started to map the companies. To know what to map I was inspired by Kanter (1993), Wahl (1992) and Acker (1990, 1992, 1994), and I wanted to look at the horizontal and vertical segregation of gender which implies the power structure and opportunities in the companies. I also looked into the “dead end jobs”, Kanter (1993), in the staff, jobs like human resource manager or information manager, often sex-typed positions. The proportion of women and men are also an important indication.

I have mapped commercial and housing real estate companies, since the definition is that commercial real estate companies include all real estate companies except housing companies. Primary I used annual reports. I counted the number of women and men employed in the companies in 2001 and 2008, the composition of women and men on the board of directors in 2001 and 2008, the gender of the CEO in 2001 and 2008, the composition of the management board in the year of 2010. It was hard to find information about management boards in all the annual reports, and I chose therefore to look for supplementary information on the companies’ homepages. I used the present year at that time; the year of 2010 instead. The information I found is considered to be important information to analyze in relation to the information about the gender structure. I also looked into the gender of the responsible accountant in the different companies in 2001 and 2008. I used an excel sheet to register and sum the number of people in the organizations.

Table 3.1 Mapping of the industry

Looking for:	Information about:
Business concept	Business concept
Owner	Ownership
Turnover	Size
Employed	Variable of proportion according to Kanter (1993) Distinction 1 according to Wahl (1992)
Employed women/men	Variable of proportion according to Kanter (1993) Distinction 1 according to Wahl (1992) Gender division according to Acker (1990, 1992, 1994)
Board of directors women/men	Structure of opportunity and power, variable in proportion according to Kanter (1993),) different distinctions according to Wahl (1992) and gender division according to Acker (1990, 1992, 1994)
Chief executive (CEO) woman/man	Structure of opportunity and power, variable in proportion according to Kanter (1993), different distinctions according to Wahl (1992) and gender division according to Acker (1990, 1992, 1994)
Management board women/men	Structure of opportunity and power, variable in proportion according to Kanter (1993), different distinctions according to Wahl (1992) and gender division according to Acker (1990, 1992, 1994)
Accountant women/men	Structure of power

3.5 Interviews

To acquire my empirical input after doing my mapping, I chose to interview younger women and men who had graduated from the real estate management programme at Malmö University and women working as CEOs. The first group of respondents represent people with higher education, with a new form of education tailored for the industry, and with a social science approach, not an engineering approach. The real estate programme at Malmö University has attracted an equal proportion of women and men since the start in 1998. The second group of respondents represent women that have made a career in an industry dominated by men; to me it seemed interesting to also have their view of the mapping and discussion of the processes.

My interviews were based on the mapping of the industry. During the interviews we discussed the facts from the mapping semi-structured. After the discussion of the mapping, I had more specific questions that I wanted answers to. I asked them for example to describe how they would draw the real estate industry; I also asked them to choose between different words used in the industry that symbolize different tasks or arenas in the industry, for example building or money, housing or commercial and city or real estate. To ask them to draw the industry and to choose between words I aimed to see whether the respondents regarded the industry differently.

Most of the time in the interviews was spent on discussing the mapping of the industry; with the additional questions asked I wanted to obtain a deeper understanding of the mapping and see whether I was able to find out anything about what caused the structure, i.e. processes in the industry. In some of the cases I presented the material before I turned on the voice recorder, and in some I did not. I also noted that I was more structured about what I wanted after the first five or six interviews.

I knew all of the graduated women and men that I interviewed. I was, however, more in touch with some of them than others during their studies at Malmö University. During the period of the interviews I know that they were in contact with each other. I do not know if or how that has affected the interviews. Six of the respondents had children, two of them were expecting children and four had no children. The respondents are of the same age, around 35 years old.

I only knew one of the women respondents working as a CEO, a former student at Malmö University. These respondents are of varying ages, but are older than the other group of respondents.

Each interview covers in one way or another all four sets of the gendered processes. The interview guide is presented in Appendix 5.1 and 6.1. I use the mapping of the industry to show numerical facts about the *gender structure*, as an entry for my interviews. In the interviews made with younger graduate women and men and women working as CEO's I obtain information about how and why the *gender structure* is constituted, that in turn is formed by the *symbols* and *images* that forms the *culture*, the *interaction* and the *identity*, as shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Four gendered processes according to Acker (1990, 1992, 1994)

Four gendered processes (or points of entry) according to Acker (1990,1992,1994)	Examples in general	Examples for my interviews
<p>“Construction of division along lines of gender-division of labour, of permitted behaviours, of locations in physical space, of power, including the institutionalized means of maintaining the divisions in the structures of labour markets, the family, the state.”</p>	<p>Men are almost always in the highest positions of organizational power.</p> <p>Manager’s decisions often initiate gender divisions and organizational practices maintain them.</p>	<p>Younger graduate women and men Reaction to the mapping (Table 5.1) Dress code (Table 5.4) Hero and heroine (Table 5.5)</p> <p>Women CEOs Reaction to the mapping (Table 6.1)</p>

<p>“Construction of symbols and images that explain, express, reinforce, or sometimes oppose those divisions. Organizational participants actively create these images in their efforts to construct organizational cultures that contribute to competitive success.”</p>	<p>These have many sources or forms in language, ideology, popular and high culture, dress, the press, television.</p> <p>The image of the top manager or the business leader is an image of successful, forceful masculinity.</p> <p>The organization itself is often defined through metaphors of masculinity of a certain sort. They are lean, mean, aggressive, goal-oriented, efficient, and competitive but rarely, empathetic, supportive, kind or caring.</p>	<p>Younger graduate women and men Reaction to the mapping (Table 5.1) Hero and heroine (Table 5.5) Behaviour given a high premium (Table 5.6) Dress code (Table 5.4)</p> <p>Women CEOs (Table 6.2)</p>
<p>“Interactions between women and men, women and women, men and men, including all those patterns that enact dominance and submission. Interactions may be between supervisors and subordinates, between co-workers, or between workers and customers, clients or other outsiders.”</p>	<p>Men are the actors, women the emotional support.</p> <p>Interactions are part of the concrete work of organization, and the production of gender is often “inside” the activities that constitute the organization itself.</p>	<p>Younger graduate women and men Reaction to the mapping (Table 5.1) A good day at work (Table 5.7) Hero and heroine (Table 5.5)</p> <p>Women CEOs (Table 6.3)</p>
<p>“Processes that help to produce gendered components of individual identity, which may include consciousness of the existence of the other three aspects of gender. “</p>	<p>Choice of appropriate work, language use, clothing, and presentation of self as a gendered member of an organization. This includes creating the correct gendered persona and hiding unacceptable aspects of one’s life, such as homosexuality.</p>	<p>Younger graduate women and men Reaction to the mapping (Table 5.1) Picture drawing (Table 5.3) What word would you choose? (Table 5.2) Dress code (Table 5.4)</p> <p>Women CEOs (Table 6.4)</p>

Interviews with younger graduate women and men

For the interviews made in part *two* of my study, I chose former students who had attended the very first class of the real estate management programme at Malmö University. Why? Because they represent something new, a non-engineering academic education, tailored in some way to the industry. I decided to choose persons who are in the same geographical market, i.e. the south of Sweden, and preferably in Malmö and Lund. This first class of students I know quite well, and I realize that this might have affected the interviews; probably it was harder for them to disregard my questions, and the interview was probably easier to get going, since they probably trusted me and that my intention with the study was of interest for them. I realized afterward that during my interview I sometimes spoke too much; I was more into a conversation with them than I probably would have been, if we have not known each other. So I think the access for an interview was easier for me than it would have been if I have been a stranger, and probably the interview would have been more formal with unknown respondents. Fontana and Frey (2005: 708) argue that “Gaining trust is essential to the success of the interviews.”

An interview is a constructed situation and a kind of conversation according to Robson (2002), but it is a flexible and adaptable way of finding things out. Face-to-face interviews offer the possibility of modifying one’s line of inquiry, following up interesting responses and investigating underlying motives. The lack of standardization may raise concerns about reliability and has to be dealt with, and it is of importance to realize that interviewing is a time-consuming way of getting information (Robson, 2002).

In the beginning, I had the idea of choosing people working only in housing and commercial real estate companies in Malmö and Lund, but I extended the group to include those working at the real estate units at the municipalities in Malmö and Lund. I decided to get an “outside” view (i.e. not working in a housing or commercial real estate company), since I wondered what did not show in the mapping material, and since I learned that there were probably different kinds of structure in the industry due to different organizations with different concepts.

I started to search for former students from Malmö University, and I managed to identify about 30 of them. The class had about 35 who graduated in 2001. I found that nine of them

worked in real estate companies in Malmö and Lund, both housing and commercial, and two of them worked in real estate units in the municipalities in Malmö and Lund.

I started by sending an e-mail asking two persons for an interview; one woman working at a housing company and one man working in a commercial company; they both responded very quickly by mail that they were positive to an interview. After that positive response, I e-mailed a question to the remaining seven people working in the commercial and housing companies and to the two persons working in the municipality at the real estate units, asking whether they would consider being interviewed and presenting my project very briefly. Immediately, just after two or three days, eight of them responded positively.

The first two interviews took about 1-2 hours, were face-to-face interviews, and took place at the respondent's office; one hour seemed short, but it was due to another appointment for one of the respondents after our interview.

Having completed the first two interviews, I chose to take a break for about two weeks; during this time I transcribed the interviews and was able to reflect on them. The last person that I had asked for an interview also responded positively. The following nine interviews had the same design as the first two. The interviews took between 1½-2 hours. The first period of my interviews included interviews with eleven respondents and was conducted between 26.8.2010 and 20.10.2010.

I recorded each interview. I thought in the beginning that the voice recorder would disturb the discussion; at the beginning of the interviews I was aware of it, but as the interviews continued I forgot the presence of the recorder. Not one of the respondents refused to be recorded. The interviews took place at the respondents' offices, with one exception, which took place at my office at Malmö University, as the respondent was on parental leave. It was useful to visit the respondents' workplaces, as the office shows the image of an organization.

During and after my first period of interviews, I reflected and found, surprisingly, that it was probably not the type of company or organization that made most impact on some of the gender processes – it was the type of position. I also found that many of the respondents had been working at several different organizations since they graduated. Seven of the respondents worked as real estate managers, considered to be a symbolized as a masculine

position. Table 3.3 presents the respondents in part two of my study; younger graduate women and men. I chose to sort them according to their position, not according to gender or type of organization. This classification is used throughout my tables in the study.

Table 3.3 Younger graduate women and men

	Gender	Company	Position	Place of interview
1	Woman	housing	real estate manager	Respondent's office
2	Woman	housing	real estate manager	Respondent's office
3	Man	commercial	real estate manager	Respondent's office
4	Man	commercial	real estate manager	Respondent's office
5	Man	commercial	real estate manager	Respondent's office
6	Woman	commercial	real estate manager	Respondent's office
7	Woman	municipality	real estate manager	Respondent's office
8	Woman	municipality	real estate manager	Respondent's office
9	Man	municipality	letter	Respondent's office
10	Woman	commercial	letter	My office
11	Woman	commercial	establishing/letter	Respondent's office
12	Man	commercial	trader	Respondent's office

I took a break from my interviews and reflected on my study for about three months, after having conducted eleven interviews with younger graduate women and men. I then decided to continue with my second period of interviews with former students from the real estate management programme at Malmö University. I chose to extend the respondents to include established women with different educational backgrounds working as CEOs. I also decided that the geographical area outside Malmö and Lund would be enlarged, especially for those women working as CEOs.

I e-mailed two former students from the real estate management programme, one woman working in a municipality in the south of Sweden who had been working in several different organizations since she left Malmö University. I thought that she would bring further interest to my study, and one woman working as a CEO in a housing company in the south of Sweden, also with experience from different organizations and companies. Both responded quickly that they agreed to do an interview.

These last interviews were interesting, since I had taken a break in doing the interviews for almost three months and had reflected a lot, and in a sense these interviews confirmed my thoughts, the information from the interviews was in a way saturated (Robson, 2002).

Interviews with women working as CEOs

In order to support and acquire another and a more longitudinal view, I also chose to interview women working as CEOs; they had different higher education backgrounds and were of different ages, all of them older than the younger graduates interviewed in part two. I identified four women working as CEOs, and the woman working as a CEO who graduated from the real estate management programme from Malmö University. They worked in and around Stockholm, in Gothenburg and in the south of Sweden. Some of them work or have worked in public-owned real estate companies, some work or have worked in commercial real estate companies. I e-mailed them and asked to do a telephone interview with them, and they responded very quickly that they agreed to do an interview.

When conducting those interviews, I had greater input. I had not only done the mapping but also acquired the information from the interviews with the younger graduate women and men. Apart for my interest in their reaction to the mapping, I was also more interested in how they regarded their career. I had Acker's four sets of gendered processes in mind, and was thinking of identity as a main point of entry. They are probably socialized by the symbols, images and interaction in to the industry, and therefore their identity is of great interest.

With four of the CEOs I conducted telephone interviews (Fontana and Frey, 2005), and with one of them a face-to-face interview. Telephone interviews have the advantage of lower costs in terms of time, effort and money (Robson, 2002). I voice-recorded and transcribed the

interviews. The drawback in conducting a telephone interview is, however, that it is hard to see the reactions of the respondents.

I started out describing, and in one case showing, my mapping of the industry, and I wanted a reaction on this. I also had open-ended question related to culture, image and identity. I did not send my questions to them in advance.

My own process of formulating questions, inspired by Acker's four sets of gendered processes, made me aware of my own process of understanding the industry. The narratives of the CEOs reveal their individual identity and, according to Acker as I interpret her, this is due to a consciousness of the construction of division of gender, construction of symbols and images and interactions.

4. Empirical study one – the industry in figures

4.1 The industry in figures

In this chapter I present my mapping of the gender structure of the real estate industry, based on primary annual reports and in some case homepages.

I analyzed 22 companies: 14 housing companies and 8 commercial companies. The comparisons, are based on annual reports from 2001 and 2008. Information for comparing management boards, is I acquired from the different companies' homepages. (6.4.2010)

I analyzed the structure of the board of directors, chief executive officer (CEO), management board, employee and accountant.

It is of importance to know that the board of directors of the housing companies consist of politicians; according to this, it is also of interest that the CEOs in the housing companies are appointed by the board, i.e. politicians.

I also chose to study the accountants. This was of interest to me since I think that those who study and examine the companies consist only of men in an industry dominated by men. I found that there was no woman accountant in the commercial real estate industry in 2001 or in 2008. There was one woman assistant accountant in one company in 2008. In the housing companies I found no woman in 2001, but one woman in 2008.

Employees

In the housing companies studied I found that there has hardly been any difference between the number of women and men between 2001 and 2008. In 2001 there were 63% men and 37% women and in 2008 there were 63% men and 37% women. The total number of employees had decreased in the housing companies between 2001 and 2008.

Table 4.1 Women and men employed in housing companies in 2001 and 2008.

	2001	2008
Women	755 (37%)	692 (37%)
Men	1,304 (63%)	1,163 (63%)

In the commercial real estate companies there is no difference either between the ratio of men and women employed; in 2001 there were 61% men and 39% women and in 2008 there were 61% men and 39% women.

Table 4.2 Women and men employed in commercial real estate companies in 2001 and 2008

	2001	2008
Women	393 (39%)	713 (39%)
Men	609 (61%)	1112 (61%)

Board of directors

My study shows that the board of directors in the housing companies consisted in 2001 of 71% men and 29% women and in 2008 of 66% men and 34% women. The board of directors in the commercial real estate companies consisted in 2001 of 92% men and 8% women, and in 2008 of 79% men and 21% women.

Table 4.3 Women and men on boards of directors in housing companies in 2001 and 2008

	2001	2008
Women	30 (29%)	33 (34%)
Men	73 (71%)	65 (66%)

Table 4.4 Women and men on boards of directors in commercial real estate companies in 2001 and 2008

	2001	2008
Women	3 (8%)	10 (21%)
Men	35 (92%)	37 (79%)

There has been an increasing number of women on the boards of directors of both housing and commercial real estate companies from 2001 to 2008, but, despite the greater increase of women in the commercial real estate companies, there are still more women on the boards of directors of the housing companies.

Chief executive officer (CEO)

In the study of the chief executive officer (CEO), I found that there are a majority of men working as CEOs in all real estate companies in Sweden. In the nine commercial companies that I have been studying there is *no* woman working as CEO either in 2001 or 2008. I found that there has been a decrease in the number of women working as CEOs in the housing companies from three to two. In March 2010 I found out that one of the women in the studied companies working as a CEO has since been replaced by a man.

Table 4.5 Number of CEOs in housing companies in 2001 and 2008

	2001	2008
Women	3	2
Men	11	12

Management boards

On the management boards I found that there is a larger proportion of women in the housing companies than in the commercial real estate companies: 39% women in the housing companies compared to 13% in the commercial real estate companies. Table 4.7 shows only

the number of women and men on management boards in 2010, not a comparison between 2001 and 2008 as in the former tables in this chapter.

Table 4.6 Management boards in housing and commercial real estate companies in 2010, expressed as a percentage

	Women	Men
Housing companies	27 (39%)	42 (61%)
Commercial companies	8 (13%)	55 (87%)

In the commercial real estate companies the management boards consist of 87% men and 13% women. On the boards of four of the nine commercial companies there was no woman.

4.2 Empirical findings from mapping annual reports and homepages

I found some interesting facts in the empirical material; that there are no differences in the proportion of men and women working in the mapped companies between 2001 and 2008. There are no women working as a CEO in the commercial real estate companies in 2001 or 2008. In the two housing companies with a woman as CEO, the board of directors consists of a majority of women; on all the others boards of directors there are a majority of men. The number of women working as a CEO in the housing companies declined from 2001 to 2008 from three to two. In March 2010 one of the two women working as CEOs was replaced by a man.

There are more women than men working in the commercial real estate companies, but there are more women in a leading position in the housing companies. There are almost no women working as accountants to audit the finances, either in commercial real estate or housing companies.

I found that, even though there has been an increase in the number of women on the boards of directors in the commercial companies, there are mostly men on the management boards in the commercial industry and only men working as CEOs. I found it interesting that, in those two housing companies with women as CEOs, there is a larger number of women than men in the management group.

The understanding I have developed so far gives me an input for interviews in which I want to create understanding about the industry from a gender perspective, based on how younger graduate women and men and women working as CEOs perceive the industry.

5. Empirical study two – younger graduate women and men

In this chapter I present the interviews conducted with women and men graduating from the real estate management programme at Malmö University in 2001. I interviewed seven women and five men, working in different positions in commercial real estate companies and housing companies and in real estate units in municipalities in the south of Sweden.

Reactions to the mapping of the real estate industry

In Table 5.1 I present their reactions to the mapping of the real estate industry. Column one presents the gender of the respondent, column two what sort of company or organization the respondent is working in, housing, commercial or in municipality, and column three shows what kind of position they hold, and in column four, their reactions to the mapping. I quote comments from the interviews, that I found symbolizing or characterizing the structure or the processes, referring to Table 4.1. As mentioned before, I sort the respondents by their position.

Table 5.1 Reaction to the mapping of the annual reports

	Gender	Company	Position	
1	Woman	housing	real estate manager	<p>“This mapping seems correct to me, I think it is very male-gendered.”</p> <p>“I feel like an upstart.” “Aren’t there more women wanting to work in the industry?”</p> <p>“It is problematic being a woman and a parent of small children, wanting to pursue a career, and maybe having to work part-time.”</p>

2	Woman	housing	real estate manager	<p>“It is male-gendered, above all in the higher positions.”</p> <p>“I work as a real estate manager and we are two out of eleven.”</p> <p>“I think there are more and more women that enter the industry and go into the property management.”</p> <p>“When I go out and look at the construction work, I think of what I wear, I don’t want to challenge that I am a woman.”</p> <p>“There are almost no women applying when we are looking for caretaker and there are most women applying when we are looking for customer service personnel.”</p> <p>It is mostly people with a higher education that apply for customer service posts; those applying for janitor posts have lower educational qualifications and more often with an ethnic background other than Swedish.”</p> <p>“I think the climate is tougher for a woman in the commercial companies, it is a feeling, I haven’t been working there.”</p> <p>“It can impede us women, when there are a lot of men; sometimes it is hard to speak out.”</p> <p>“I sometimes feel that the expectations of me as a woman are greater than of the men.”</p>
3	Man	commercial	real estate manager	<p>“I am not surprised; this is the proportion of women and men that I thought the industry consists of.”</p> <p>“Nothing has changed in the higher positions, it is mostly men.”</p> <p>“There are mostly men in the technical positions.”</p> <p>“Women work with human resources, finance, administration and letting.”</p>
4	Man	commercial	real estate manager	<p>“I thought it would have had happened a lot.”</p> <p>“It is mostly men working in property management.”</p> <p>“It is easier with letting for women.”</p> <p>“Property-caretaker many women applied for this position when we were looking for one, it sounds “softer”.</p>

5	Man	commercial	Real estate manager	<p>“There are more women today”.</p> <p>“It is still male-gendered above all in the leading positions”.</p>
6	Woman	commercial	real estate manager	<p>“All of my bosses have been men”.</p> <p>“Women work mostly with finance and administration”.</p> <p>“I think it is all about culture”.</p> <p>“Women have to learn to help themselves, for example, to dare to work as a real estate manager”.</p> <p>“I think it will be loosened up if more men take paternal leave and accept the softer self”.</p> <p>“To review the role of being a boss, not having to work 60-70 hours a week”.</p> <p>“It will take time, maybe at least 10-15 years”.</p> <p>“Older men 50+ have another way of treating me than men my own age”.</p>
7	Woman	municipality	real estate manager	<p>“I am the only real estate manager in my organization, one out of seven”.</p> <p>“Women are at a lower level in the organization”.</p> <p>“Men employ men”.</p> <p>“One does not think of a boss as a woman”.</p> <p>“In the real estate industry there are mostly men working; there are more men to choose from”.</p> <p>“I think paternal leave does have an influence; men are home some weeks and the women work part-time”.</p>
8	Woman	municipality	Real estate manager	<p>“I think a lot has happened since we left Malmö University, but to get more women into the industry will take time”.</p> <p>“The real estate managers are both women and men in my organization, an equal proportion, and there is an age mix.”</p> <p>“I think there are younger men working preferable often, civil engineers in the commercial real estate companies”.</p> <p>“It is different kinds of people who want to work in commercial companies compared with municipalities”.</p>

9	Man	municipality	letter	<p>“It is very dominated by men”.</p> <p>“Maybe it is the tradition”.</p> <p>“Building contractors are just men”</p>
10	Woman	commercial	letter	<p>“I am not surprised that it is this way, we do only have male bosses”.</p> <p>“I can understand why it is male-gendered, there are a lot of technical skills”.</p> <p>“I do not think that women apply to the industry”.</p> <p>“Women work with marketing, service, information and finance”.</p>
11	Woman	commercial	establishing/letter	<p>“I thought there would be more women in the industry”.</p> <p>“In the higher positions it is mostly men”.</p> <p>“I meet more women today than before as my customer within retail and service”.</p>
12	Male	commercial	trader	<p>“I am a bit surprised; I thought that the proportion of women would be higher”.</p> <p>“The technical part of the industry makes it dominated by men”.</p> <p>“I think in some years there will be more and more women in leading positions in the industry”.</p> <p>“There are no differences as regards knowledge between men and women; it is the culture in the industry that matters”.</p> <p>“A general opinion is that the publically owned organizations are to a greater extent responsible for creating diversity”.</p> <p>“There are mostly men working as caretakers.”</p> <p>“My feeling is that men are more risk-takers than women”.</p>

The reaction to the mapping of the industry was diverse opinions; generally speaking none of the respondents were surprised.

Regarding the reason why the structure is constituted as it is, there are also diverse opinions, expressed both by women and men.

Some women describe their own experiences of the gender structure and of being a female token, Kanter (1993). There seems to be a tendency that both women and men working as real

estate managers, regardless of organization, are more aware of the domination of men in the industry than those working with letting and transactions. Eight out of twelve respondents work as real estate managers. Of the women working as real estate managers, five out of eight respondents seem to a higher degree aware of them being tokens than the two women working with letting.

The latter part of the interview contained shorter kinds of questions, all open-ended. The aim of this part was mainly to see whether I could find any processes that form the structure of the industry. I quote the answers made from the respondents

Words symbolizing the industry

Table 5.2 presents what the respondents answered when responding quickly to words they thought symbolize the industry. They had to choose between *house* or *people*; this comparison may reveal whether it is the building or the people that are most important for the respondent. *Building* or *money* might indicate the importance of maintenance of the building or keeping to the budget, *housing* or *commercial* implies the interest of work, and *city* or *real estate* indicates whether the interest lies mainly in the real estate or if it is beyond the real estate. The purpose of having two sets of words to choose from, associated with the real estate industry, was to me a way to see how they regarded the real estate industry linked to their own interest.

Table 5.2 Which word would you choose?

	Gender	Company	Position	House/ people	Building/ money	Housing/ Commercial	City/ Real estate
1	Woman	housing	real estate manager	Both	Both	Housing	City
2	Woman	housing	real estate manager	House	Building	Housing	City
3	Man	commercial	real estate manager	People	Building	Housing	Real estate
4	Man	commercial	real estate manager	People	Money	Commercial	Real estate
5	Man	commercial	real estate manager	People	Money	Commercial	Real estate
6	Woman	commercial	real estate manager	House	Money	Commercial	Real estate
7	Woman	municipality	real estate manager	House	Money	Commercial	Real estate
8	Woman	municipality	real estate manager	People	Building	Commercial	Real estate
9	Man	municipality	letter	People	Building	Commercial	City
10	Woman	commercial	letter	People	Building	Commercial	City
11	Woman	commercial	establishing /letter	House	Building	Commercial	City
12	Man	commercial	trader	Both	Money	Housing	Both

The table shows that those working as real estate managers in commercial companies and in municipalities chose the word ‘real estate’ instead of the word ‘city’; six out of six. The two real estate managers working in housing companies chose the word ‘city’ and those working

with letting chose the word ‘city’. When choosing between commercial and housing, the respondents chose according to their position. To me this shows that the respondents are socialized into their positions, regardless of gender.

Description of how to draw the industry

Table 5.3 presents how the respondents would describe the real estate industry if they were to draw it. This was to me a way to see how they would describe the real estate industry in a broader sense. This might not directly be connected to Acker’s four sets of gendered processes, described in Table 3.1.

Table 5.3 If you were to draw a picture of the real estate industry, how would you draw it?

	Gender	Company	Position	
1	Woman	housing	real estate manager	“Happy people in the middle with a lot of activities in different situations in life, around the buildings that support the people in their daily activities.”
2	Woman	housing	real estate manager	“A big house filled with different kinds of activities as; retail, small boutique, collective, care, home and also everything you can work with, I fill it with people and I do not think of money.”
3	Man	commercial	real estate manager	“A house with customers and money.”
4	Man	commercial	real estate manager	“A house with customers.”
5	Man	commercial	real estate manager	“Different kinds of operators, some with the interest in long-term ownership and some short-time ownership.”
6	Woman	commercial	real estate manager	“Agreements and communication, a lot of meetings, generates business.”

7	Woman	municipality	real estate manager	“The house or the project in the middle and around it customers/tenants and administration, construction companies, power distributors, finance, everything around the house.”
8	Woman	municipality	real estate manager	“As a circle with happy customers and money.”
9	Man	municipality	letter	“A limited area with a lot of people, and there are some companies taking care of them, and we have the government that are responsible for planning; the goal is that the people will have good housing, meeting places and to be part of a greater society, a town or a city.”
10	Woman	commercial	letter	“I would draw buildings.”
11	Woman	commercial	establishing/ letter	
12	Man	commercial	trader	“A building with a pack of money.”

When asked to describe how to draw the real estate industry, those working with housing or in the municipality describe the industry beyond the real estate itself, while the respondents working in the commercial sector describe the real estate and the business connected to it. This means that the respondents are as I interpret, socialized into the organizations they belong to and their business concept.

Dress code

Table 5.4 presents what the respondents answered when asked about the dress code in their organization. This is linked to Acker’s four sets of gendered processes, as described in Table 4.1.

Table 5.4 What is the dress code like in the industry?

	Gender	Company	Position		
1	Woman	housing	real manager	estate	“We don’t have any, but I can’t be dressed too feminine.”
2	Woman	housing	real manager	estate	“We have a dress code for our caretaker, only the CEO wears a suit or jacket; people comment when I have a skirt and high-heeled boots, and ask if I am not a real estate manager.”
3	Man	commercial	real manager	estate	“Relaxed clothing, especially in our company, known for simplicity.”
4	Man	commercial	real manager	estate	“Has changed, more ties before, more relaxed in housing, more formal in commercial due to business.”
5	Woman	commercial	real manager	estate	“It is different in different companies, if business meetings more formal.”
6	Woman	commercial	real manager	estate	“There is a difference between housing and commercial, more business in commercial, more formal dress code, jeans and jacket is ok.”
7	Woman	municipality	real manager	estate	“It is jeans and a shirt and a jacket, I think about what I wear, I don’t want to be seen.”
8	Woman	municipality	Real manager	estate	“More formal in the commercial real companies; more Armani, here it is more relaxed.”
9	Man	municipality	letter		“It is relaxed.”
10	Woman	commercial	letter		“It is more relaxed, it is more of jeans and a shirt and sometimes jacket.”
11	Woman	commercial	establishing/ letter		“In our organization it is very relaxed.”
12	Man	commercial	trader		“It is relaxed, if you have a formal meeting with e.g. the bank, more formally dressed.”

The dress code of the housing companies is felt to be more relaxed than in the commercial real estate companies, due to the fact that they are connected to business; an interesting aspect is the awareness that some of the women working as real estate managers show about their clothes.

Hero or heroine

Table 5.5 presents who the hero or the heroine is; this is linked to Acker’s four sets of gendered processes of the industry as described in Table 3.1.

Table 5.5 Who is your hero or heroine?

	Gender	Company	Position	
1	Woman	housing	real estate manager	“Not a special person, but someone who dares to question things, to go against the majority.”
2	Woman	housing	real estate manager	“Women that have succeeded; I am inspired by my former classmates that have interesting jobs.”
3	Man	commercial	real estate manager	“Our owner (man).”
4	Man	commercial	real estate manager	“Our founder (man).”
5	Man	commercial	real estate manager	“I do not have any special hero, but I admire those who have worked their way up and maybe my boss (man) who is a good sounding board; I can identify myself in him.”
6	Woman	commercial	real estate manager	“Maybe my former boss (man) who has taught me a lot and my husband who made me a better person.”

7	Woman	municipality	real manager	estate	“Those who find effective solutions, are humble and who think that everyone will gain by having mutual goals and results, my present boss (male) is that kind of person.”
8	Woman	municipality	Real manager	estate	“A man that I worked with at my first job who always helped me and pushed me into things.”
9	Man	municipality	letter		“I don’t have a hero; I always ask myself if it is right or wrong.”
10	Woman	commercial	letter		“My former boss (man); he taught me a great deal.”
11	Woman	commercial	establishing/ letter		“My former boss and our owner (man).”
12	Man	commercial	trader		“Our owner (man).”

When asking about hero or heroines, there are four out of twelve respondents who do not refer to a particular person; eight out of twelve respondents refer to a man, “*Our owner (a man)*.” or “*Our founder (a man)*.” or “*My former boss (a man)*.” One woman working as a real estate manager in a housing company refers to women: “*Women that have succeeded.*”

High premium behaviour

Table 5.6 presents what is behaviour organization sets a high premium on. This is linked to the Acker’s four sets of gendered processes as described in Table 4.1.

Table 5.6 What behaviour does your organization set a high premium on?

	Gender	Company	Position	
1	Woman	housing	real estate manager	“To be able to say that my company is the best landlord and that we are able to do things differently.”
2	Woman	housing	real estate manager	“Good ideas and good results, I try to pay attention to the small things my colleagues do.”
3	Man	commercial	real estate manager	“First in the morning at the company, work week-ends, running, have a lot to do.”
4	Man	commercial	real estate manager	“Doing good business.”
5	Man	commercial	real estate manager	“Doing business, we have a bell that rings when a job is completed.”
6	Woman	commercial	real estate manager	“I can’t answer that question since I have worked in my current employment too short a time.”
7	Woman	municipality	real estate manager	“Devotion and participation.”
8	Woman	municipality	real estate manager	“When the customers are satisfied and when working in the commercial real estate companies it was more to keep the budget.”
9	Man	municipality	letter	“Devotion and taking the initiative.”
10	Woman	commercial	letter	<i>(The question was not asked in this interview)</i>
11	Woman	commercial	establishing/letter	“Doing a good job.”
12	Man	commercial	trader	“Knowledge, result and capacity.”

Doing business is given a high premium in the commercial real estate companies. For those working in housing companies and in the municipality a high premium is set on other things like ideas and devotion.

A good day at work

Table 5.7 presents what the respondents would describe as a good day at work; this is linked to Acker's four sets of gendered processes, described in Table 3.1.

Table 5.7 Can you describe a good day at work?

	Gender	Company	Position	
1	Woman	housing	real estate manager	"When my staff are happy and are on the go."
2	Woman	housing	real estate manager	"I can justify myself today, but I could not before. I have changed. Today I can feel satisfied after a tough telephone call if we reached consensus."
3	Man	commercial	real estate manager	"Receive praise from customer or colleagues."
4	Man	commercial	real estate manager	"When I have completed a piece of business, it can either be an old or new customer."
5	Man	commercial	real estate manager	-
6	Woman	commercial	real estate manager	"If I conclude a piece of business."
7	Woman	municipality	real estate manager	"To meet customers/tenants and that they are satisfied and that our different roles work."
8	Woman	municipality	real estate manager	"To meet my customers and when they are satisfied with jobs that are done."
9	Man	municipality	letter	"If I have drawn up a good lease and the employers at the home for the elderly get a better work environment, or if I manage to lower the lease for a kindergarten so they get more money to do fun things."
10	Woman	commercial	letter	"Managed a good letting and everyone is satisfied."
11	Woman	commercial	establishing/ letter	"When I have reached a conclusion and the lease is completed."
12	Man	commercial	trader	"When I have completed a piece of business and we shake hands."

A good day at work seems to be doing business for those working in commercial real estate companies; five out of seven respondents said so. The satisfaction from the tenants/customers was important for those working in the municipality, three out of three.

For one woman, working as a real estate manager in a housing company, satisfaction was when her staff was happy. Considering what is regarded to be a good day at work, seem to be linked to behaviour on which there is a premium in the organization, Table 5.6.

6. Empirical study three – women working as CEOs

In this chapter I present the interviews I conducted with women working as CEOs. In the tables I quote answers made by the CEOs that to me symbolize or express interesting aspects revealing how the gender structure is constituted, or why it is constituted as it is. I present first what was discussed considering the mapping of the industry, and thereafter I present different tables according to Acker's gendering processes; image/culture, interaction and identity.

Reactions to the mapping of annual reports

Table 6.1 presents what the women working as CEOs said about the mapping of the industry.

Table 6.1. Female CEO's reactions to the mapping of the annual reports

1	<p>“I think that maybe not much has happened over the past decade; it is about 30% women, but in the 1980s and 90s I think more happened. I was alone in the beginning as a woman, but then something happened. I think the culture in some public organizations has created more equal opportunities. Even so it is not a question.”</p> <p>“It needs courage to employ a woman in male-gendered organizations; you don't want to be criticised and then it is safer to employ a man.”</p>
2	<p>“If you hadn't told me about the mapping, I would have said that there are more women today. Maybe they haven't reached the top positions yet? To get a top position you have to have a position in the hierarchical level, in the line.”</p>
3	<p>“I think the mapping is in line with what I think; it goes forward slowly. I think I have more women at the middle management level today than before.”</p>
4	<p>“It will take time and I think there are more women today.”</p>
5	<p>“I think that more women are in the industry; it will take time to reach the higher positions; there are not so many women to employ yet.”</p>

The women working as CEOs say that there are more women today than before in the industry, at least since these women entered the industry, but it will take time to get more women into higher positions. It is important to work in the line, at the hierarchical level.

Symbols and images

Table 6.2 presents what the women working as CEOs thought about the symbols and images in the industry.

Table 6.2. Female CEOs’ discussion on symbols and images

1	“I dress masculine; there are a lot of dark suits in the industry, and I dress in a jacket and I don’t wear a dress. I have always attended seminars in the evenings after regular work and always saw that as a part of the job.”
2	“There is a hierarchical order in the industry: first retail centres and then commercial and then housing. There are different dress codes in commercial and in housing; it is more formal in commercial due to business to business.”
3	“Housing is less manly than working with commercial real estate. There are more women working as caretakers in housing than in commercial, due to more technology in that area of real estate. More relaxed clothing in housing than in commercial. When I was younger, I wore a suit, but now I am older I wear what I want, no suits anymore.”
4	“I dress like a CEO, I think I have to adapt to the dress code.”
5	“There is a different dress code in the industry; it is more formal in commercial real estate companies.”

There are different dress codes in the industry according to the CEOs; it is more formal in the commercial real estate companies and more relaxed in the housing companies. I would say that all of the CEOs have adapted to the dress code in the industry and the position at least at some time during their career.

Interactions

Table 6.3 presents what the women working as CEOs thought about interactions.

Table 6.3. Female CEOs’ thoughts on interactions

1	“I haven’t cared that I have worked in a male-gendered industry. I have had bosses (men) that have been pushing me to do things. I chose to spend a lot of time attending seminars in the industry outside official working hours. I think men do more networking.”
2	“I haven’t cared about working in a male-gendered industry. I haven’t had any mentor; I have had good men as bosses that have supported me. As a woman, you have to be seen more and to take up a greater deal of space. I have been networking, mostly networking with women.”
3	“I haven’t cared about being a woman in a male-gendered industry. I haven’t been networking a lot.”
4	“I have had privileges being a woman in a male-gendered industry. I think that women are judged more harshly than men.”
5	“I interact very well with men; those men born in the 40s have helped me.”

All of the women liked working in the industry, and have had no problems working in an industry dominated by men. One CEO says that it is up to you as a woman to adapt. Some of the women refer to former bosses that helped them out in their career, all men.

Identity

Table 6.4 Presents the CEOs' thoughts on identity.

Table 6.4. Female CEOs' thoughts on identity

1	"It was easier in the beginning to create a "brand", when I was alone as a woman."
2	"It can be an advantage being a woman in a male-gendered industry; maybe I had to prove that I could do it; it is maybe harder when you are younger than when you are older. I choose the path that everything is possible."
3	"I am goal-oriented and willing to take risks and challenge myself. I think bringing up children is a good experience when working as a CEO."
4	"I set up goals and I consider being a woman as an asset, and I want to have challenges."
5	"I have goals and I like working with men. I sometimes wonder when will they find out that I don't know anything?"

All of the women say in one way or another that they are goal-oriented. Being a woman in a male-dominated industry has made the women visible, "female tokens", Kanter (1993).

7. Analysis and conclusion

7.1 Analysis

In this chapter I will try to triangulate my empirical results: the mapping of the industry, interviews conducted with younger graduate women and men, and interviews conducted with women working as CEOs.

What does the study show?

The overall aim of my research is to create understanding of the real estate industry from a gender perspective. To do so, I will create understanding of *how* the gender structure is created in the industry and *why* it is constituted as it is.

When analysing my empirical material, I interpret and use Kanter's ideas about the structure and that the job makes the person (1993), Wahl's ideas about gender structure (1991) and Acker's (1990, 1992, 1994) model of four gendering processes, i.e. that the structure forms the gender division. This is shown in symbols and images, in the interaction that forms the identity of the persons in the organization, that in turn form the structure and gender division. If not questioned and discussed, the organization reproduces the gendered processes that form the structure and gender division.

Important input when carrying out my analysis is theories about masculinity as a homosocial enactment, Kimmel (2004), and theories about the hegemonic masculinity, Connell (1987, 2008). This is presented in Chapter Two about gender theory.

I use my interpretation of Acker's four sets of gendered processes that was described in Chapter Two. I highlight each one of the processes to structure my analysis.

Structure that forms the gender division

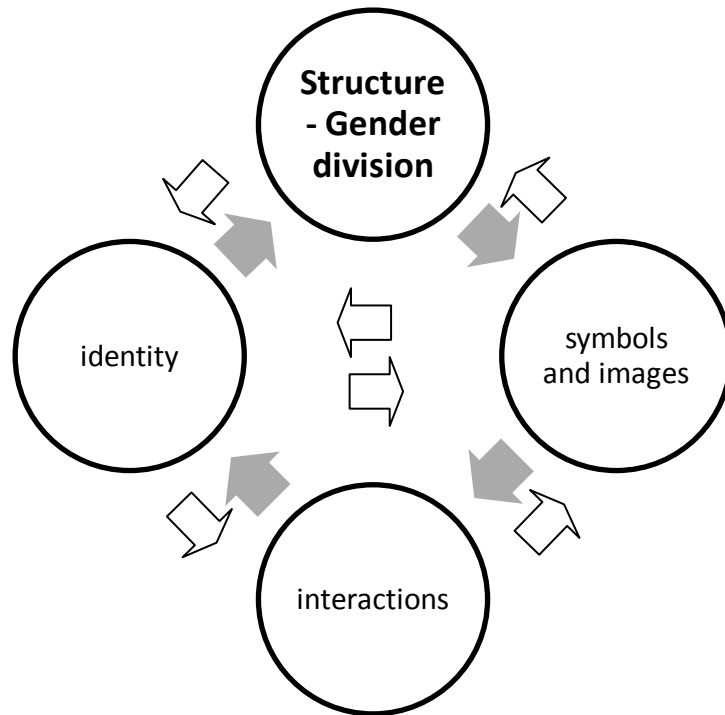


Figure 7.1 Structure that forms the gender division, interpretations of Acker's (1990, 1992, 1994) four sets of gendered processes.

The mapping of the 22 companies showed that there is a vertical segregation in the gender structure; men are on the top level in the organizations; there are some women working as CEOs in housing companies but none in the commercial real estate companies. There are more women on the management boards in the housing companies.

The interviews also showed a horizontal segregation in the gender structure; women more often work with human resources, supporting, letting and finance, and men are in the technical positions, but there are still more men working as real estate managers. The women who are on the management boards often work as human resource managers or information managers, linked to Wahl's (1992) distinction two. This pattern is found both in commercial and housing companies.

The number of women and men in the industry shows the gender structure as *distinction one* according to Wahl (1992), the number of women as a whole in the industry both in 2001 and in 2008 are, according to Kanter (1993), *tilted*, and women are then in minorities. But in certain positions, as CEOs and real estate managers there are women *tokens* due to *skewed* groups.

The *structure of power* (Kanter, 1993), seems to belong to men, and is changing slightly, predominantly in the housing companies. The segregation of women and men implies not only that men are in the higher positions (vertical segregation) but also more often in the technical positions, and women are more often in supporting positions, linked to Wahl's (1992) *distinctions two and three*.

Intentionally or not, the awareness of the real estate industry as part of the service industry and the professionalization of the industry means that women are now more available to be employed, for example, in positions as real estate managers to a higher degree than before, due to professional education, such as the real estate management programme at Malmö University. The real estate manager position is an important position due to the *possibility* position of pursuing a career in the industry (Kanter 1993).

There has been a slight change in the structure; I can see more women in higher positions in the housing companies, which is probably due to growing political awareness.

I argue that the commercial real estate companies have a different structure than the housing companies, due to the fact that there are no women working as CEOs in the commercial companies.

Real estate manager has traditionally been symbolized as a masculine position, due to the fact that many real estate managers are engineers from high school. It is also a position of possibilities for pursuing a career, referring to Kanter's (1993) *structure of possibility*.

There has hardly been any change in the commercial real estate companies in the higher positions. There are more women on the boards, but I doubt that this will make any difference in the *power structure* within the companies.

Symbols and images

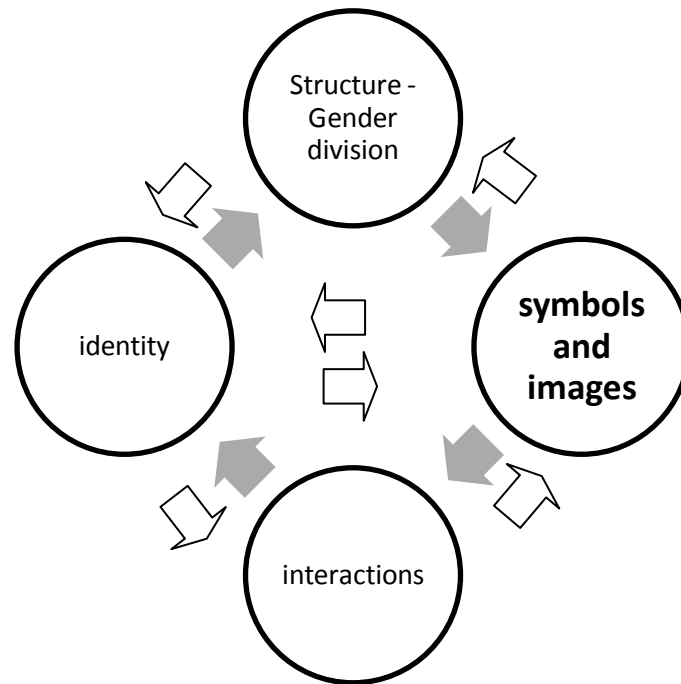


Figure 7.2 Symbols and images, interpretations of Acker's (1990, 1992, 1994) four sets of gendered processes.

The *symbols and images* that form the *culture* are different in the housing and the commercial companies, which is probably due to different business concepts and the fact that the housing companies are dependent on political decisions.

I interpret it as commercial real estate companies being considered to have a more masculine culture than housing companies. For example; the dress code is more formal in the commercial real estate companies. Housing companies have a more relaxed dress code.

There is a hierarchical tension in the industry; first comes commercial real estate companies; business to business, and then housing. Based on my analysis on the masculine culture, I find that it is considered less manly to work with housing.

The hero or heroine is thought of as a man; the owner, the boss or the founder for most of the respondents, both women and men, regardless of organization and position.

The commercial real estate companies have in many cases their own workplaces as showrooms for customers and more often open-space rooms than housing.

The *image* of hard work, late hours and constant organizational change are a commonly held view of commercial real estate companies.

It is not only due to having more women at a strategic level that more women enter the industry and gain higher positions; it is a complex process that has so far mainly been the responsibility of men. Women in higher positions can, however, function as role models. I do not think that women more often employ women. I became aware that the women working as CEOs often referred to men as those people that had helped them out in their career.

Both younger graduate women and men and the women working as CEOs think that it will take time for more women to enter the industry, even though there are more women today than there were twenty years ago, but not ten years ago.

Interactions

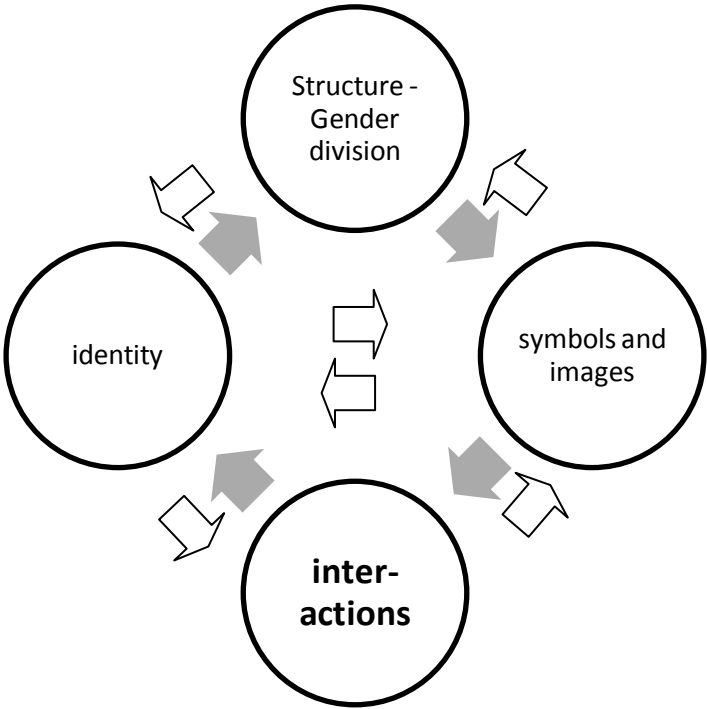


Figure 7.3 Interactions, interpretations of Acker’s (1990, 1992, 1994) four sets of gendered processes.

I found that the interaction processes differ according to position. In the real estate industry the interactions are with the building proprietor (construction industry) of importance for the real estate manager, and the interactions with the financial sector are important for those working with transactions. The real estate manager is in some companies responsible for the letting and in some companies not.

The CEOs said that age and position matters in the interaction, and that networking outside the company with both men and women is important for pursuing a career.

I argue that position does matter in the interaction; the position of real estate manager is still considered to be symbolized as a masculine position; there is an awareness of dress code of those women working as real estate managers and some women have to some extent accepted sexual jokes if working as real estate managers. According to what Kanter (1993) says about tokens in relation to the numbers, the women working as real estate managers are female tokens. The real estate managers interact outside their own organization with construction companies, and as mentioned earlier the construction industry has a masculine culture and a complicated relation to women according to Cettner (2008).

Identity

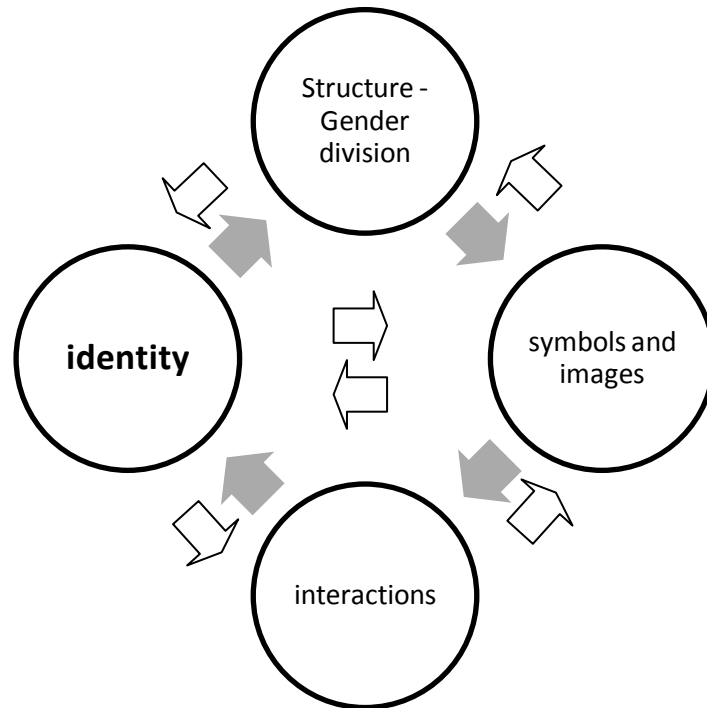


Figure 7.4 Identity, interpretations of Acker's (1990, 1992, 1994) four sets of gendered processes.

Doing business is a satisfaction mainly for those working in a commercial company; there is a different type of satisfaction for those working with housing, such as when the customers are satisfied.

The position and type of organization makes an impact on what the respondents said about the industry, organization and satisfaction.

Identity is shaped in interaction with the organization but also in interaction with the position a person holds, as the position is symbolized as feminine or masculine; some expressed the opinion that older men treat younger women in another way than younger men do.

The women working as CEOs are goal-oriented and hardworking and have been female tokens (Kanter, 1993). They have in a way used their positions as female tokens as an advantage to pursue a career. Also, referring to Ross-Smith and Huppertz (2010), they have been female currency in the masculinised field of management. They look upon themselves as experienced and have the insight that age matters. Some CEOs noticed that they had to work

harder and are judged in a harsher way than their male colleagues. Some also said that they have been wondering when it will be obvious for others that they do not know anything.

The CEOs seem to have been socialized into the male-dominated industry and adapted to it.

I argue that the interviews with both the younger graduate women and men and the CEOs show that the respondents are socialized in the type of organization they belong to and the position they hold, I also argue that the type of position is of great importance in forming identity and interaction both inside and outside the organization.

I found that the *interaction* is due to position. Position together with organization form *identity*. Identity together with *symbols* and *images* create the *culture* in the organization, which in turn forms the *structure and gendered division*.

7.2 Conclusion

I argue that there is “*something going*” on in the real estate industry, even though the proportion of women and men in the industry has not changed between 2001 and 2008, possibly due to established structures, but there seems to be an opening in the politically managed organizations due to an awareness and a responsibility for diversity, not only as regard gender.

It will take time to bring more women into the industry, and it will take time to get more women into higher positions, probably a longer time in the commercial real estate companies than in the housing companies.

The *symbols* and *images* that create the *culture* are different in commercial real estate companies and in housing companies. The *culture* probably attracts women and men differently. The commercial real estate companies are considered to be more masculine than the housing companies.

The *interaction* is different according to the position, and it differs according to whether the interaction takes place inside or outside the organization. The position of the real estate manager, which used to be considered to be symbolized as a masculine position with an

engineering or technical approach, is an important position for pursuing a career in the industry. I argue that the position of a real estate manager is still a *token position* for women. I also argue that the position as CEO is still a *token position* for women. The numbers of women in this position are few.

The masculine and engineering hegemony and the homosocial enactment made by men does affect the structures in organizations in the real estate industry, but when more women enter the industry there will be a change, eventually, or? To “add the women and stir” (Martin, 2003:74) as a change strategy might not work. This strategy assumes that hiring women into previously male dominated jobs is equal to giving them ‘equal opportunities’ to succeed. Recruitment rather than retention and promotion is the strategy. I argue that the organizations in the industry have to make small deep cultural changes that affect the structure and the gender division.

The *identity* is due to many different things, but the positions and organization seem to have a strong impact, which means that both women and men are socialized into their positions. Being a “female token” is both good and bad.

8. Contribution of the study

In Chapter 1 I referred to Flyvberg (2001) and his value rational questions about why social science matters, and I will conclude my work by referring back to those questions.

1. Where are we going? (Where is the industry going?)

There has not been any major change in the gender structure in the real estate industry between 2001 and 2008. There will probably be a change in the industry in the future; there is a slight difference between the gender structure in commercial real estate companies and the housing companies. There are more women in leading positions as CEOs in the housing companies, due probably to political awareness. There is, however, more women entering positions as real estate managers, a position that previously was considered to be symbolized as a masculine position, with an engineering background. Both of the positions are today token positions for women and related to pursuing a career in the industry.

2. Is this desirable?

Yes, it is desirable to create an understanding of how the gender structure is created and why it is constituted as it is. I argue that the industry needs diversity for its business; it will lead to more candidates from which to choose for the higher positions, and also women wanting to work in the industry. From a humanist view, women and men should have equal job opportunities.

3. What should be done? Having conducted this study, I argue that there is a need for making small cultural changes and new organizational structures (Martin, 2003), but in order to manage this there is a need for in depth studies of the processes that create the gendered structure of the industry. I would suggest in-depth case studies or ethnographic studies of certain organizations. Of course there are similarities between organizations within the real estate industry and also similarities with organizations outside the real estate industry.

One more question can also be added, according to Flyvberg (2001), namely; *Who gains and who loses; by which mechanisms of power?*

I would say it is a win-win situation, both for the industry, the different organizations and the people working in the industry; both women and men would win by identifying and discussing the processes that forms the gendered structures, and being aware of them in order to be able to make changes.

Theoretical contribution

I argue that one contribution indicates that academic research so far has largely overlooked the gender issue in the real estate industry.

To understand gender issues in organizations demands an understanding of the interacting surrounding organizations and their context. Gender and organizational theory has primarily focused on understanding the internal organization, but may have overlooked the influence and role of external actors in how gender is constructed.

Methodological contribution

In my study a methodological contribution is the technique of mapping the industry and the surprising reaction of the respondents. Getting the respondents to choose from two sets of words that describe the industry and letting the respondents describe how to draw the industry is also a methodological contribution of my study.

Empirical contribution

My contribution comprises empirical studies within the real estate industry; so far I have found a lack of empirical studies of gender issues in this industry.

Practical contribution

The real estate industry is facing new challenges, including a change of generation and a change in educational level among employees. This means that mostly older, not very skilled men will meet younger, better educated people with different ethnic backgrounds.

To attract young women and men to the industry will probably be a great challenge in the future. I hope that the study will help reveal the gender structure and the tendency of sex-typed masculine and feminine jobs and that this will create discussions on how the future real estate industry will be developed.

Understanding created in this thesis can be used when developing the programme at Malmö University.

9. Future research

It would be of great interest to look into the *employment process* to create an understanding of how entry into the industry is created. Who employs? What is considered important when recruiting? How about retention and promotion?

In depth case or ethnographic studies of the processes that create the *gendered structure* of the industry would be interesting to look deeper in to. To look into the daily life of a *real estate manager* in different contexts, and to create understanding of how a position in real estate industry is created.

It would also be of great interest to look deeper in to how the industry chooses its symbols and the images that create its culture.

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Interviews

With graduates (face to face)

Interview respondent 1, real estate manager	3.9.2010
Interview respondent 2, real estate manager	15.9.2010
Interview respondent 3, real estate manager	20.10.2010
Interview respondent 4, real estate manager	5.20.2010
Interview respondent 5, real estate manager	27.9.2010
Interview respondent 6, real estate manager	30.9.2010
Interview respondent 7, real estate manager	17.9.2010
Interview respondent 8, real estate manager	20.3.2010
Interview respondent 9, letter	21.9.2010
Interview respondent 10, letter	28.9.2010
Interview respondent 11, letter	17.9.2010
Interview respondent 12, trader	26.8.2010

With CEOs (telephone interviews and face to face)

Telephone interview respondent 1	26.3.2011
Telephone interview respondent 2	16.3.2011
Telephone interview respondent 3	17.3.2011
Telephone interview respondent 4	17.3.2011
Face to face interview respondent 5	25.3.2011

Appendix

The appendices below are numbered according to the chapters they refer to.

Appendix 4.1 Housing companies

List of companies used in my mapping

	Company	Head office, address
1	EBO AB	Eslöv
2	Helsingborgshem	Helsingborg
3	HFAB	Halmstad
4	Landskronahem	Landskrona
5	LKF	Lund
6	MKB Fastighets AB	Malmö
7	Poseidon	Göteborg
8	Sigtunhem	Sigtuna
9	Simrishamnsbostäder	Simrishamn
10	Skurupshem	Skurup
11	Svenska Bostäder	Stockholm
12	Trelleborgshem	Trelleborg
13	Uppsala hem	Uppsala
14	Vätterhem	Jönköping

Appendix 4.2 Commercial companies

List of companies used in my mapping

	Company	Head office, address
1	Wihlborgs	Malmö
2	Diligentia	Stockholm
3	Wallenstam	Göteborg
4	Dagon	Malmö
5	Castellum	Stockholm
6	Kungsleden	Stockholm
7	Hufvudstaden	Stockholm
8	AP-Fastigheter (Vasakronan)	Stockholm

Appendix 5.1-Interview guide used with younger graduate women and men

First a reaction to the mapping of the industry!

What is the real estate industry for you?

What do you think symbolizes the industry?

Of these words, which would you choose:

House or people?

Building or money?

Housing or commercial?

City or real estate

Can you describe how you would draw a picture of the real estate industry!

Questions inspired by Acker

What are your opinions on the proportion of women and men on the boards and in the management groups? (referring to the mapping)

What are your opinions about the proportion of women and men as CEOs? (referring to the mapping)

What are your opinions about the proportion of women and men in the industry?

Have you reflected on this?

How does it affect you?

What is the dress code in the industry?

Who are your heroes and heroines?

Who are your role models?

What metaphor suits your organization?

What metaphor describes your CEO?

What behaviour in your company?

Describe a good day at work!

Do you make the same demand of all your co-worker?

Do you easily cooperate with your co-workers?

What expectations do you have of being in your position?

Appendix 6.1 Interview guide used with CEOs

What kind of education do you have?

Age?

Describe your career!

Reaction to the mapping!

Questions inspired by Acker

Symbols and Image/ Culture

Is there a specific culture in the industry or in your company?

Are there different forms of culture in the industry and how does this affect it?

Why do you think that different positions are gender-marked?

Why are there so few women in higher positions in the companies?

Why are there no CEOs in the commercial real estate companies?

Are you aware of a dress code?

Interaction

How have you coped working in an industry dominated by men?

What “help “have you had?

What resistance have you encountered?

What or who has been important for your career?

Identity

What has been the greatest challenge in your career?

Who have been your role-models?

How do you look upon your legitimacy inside and outside the organization; has it changed?

Has your identity changed during your career?

Are you aware of being a woman, and has it changed?

How do you regard diversity?

Concluding questions

Why do you work in this type of company and not in a housing/commercial company?

Do you consider that the industry has changed during your years working in the industry?

Do you think that the industry has changed during the last 10 years?

Other reflections

What is the most important thing you have learned? How would you summarize your career?

What are the greatest challenges to the real estate industry?