JYU DISSERTATIONS 308

Emilia Kangas

Discourses of Fatherhood in Leadership and Organisations

JYVÄSKYLÄ UNIVERSITY
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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this dissertation study is to increase understanding of men's work-family relationships by examining fatherhood, especially in leadership and organizations from a gender perspective. In this study, discourse analysis is used. To gain a multidimensional understanding of the issue in question, the study is implemented on three levels: micro, meso and macro. The research material consists of 59 interviews with fathers and 67 media articles concerning fatherhood in organisations and leadership. This thesis consists of an introductory essay and three empirical studies.

It is often claimed that in the context of organisations and leadership, fatherhood is generally ignored. According to the critical organisational research perspective, workplaces are gendered and certain masculinities have become represented as the organisational ideal. My results show that on the micro level, father managers continue to construct their fatherhood mainly by drawing on traditional masculine ideology. However, this study also shows that some father managers have broken with tradition and do gender differently. From the meso perspective, my results show that some leadership practices relating to men's work-family balance are supportive and encouraging, but the traditionally masculine management culture is still alive in many respects in organisations, and that hinders men's opportunities and willingness to take up involved fatherhood. On the macro level, my findings show that fatherhood in Finnish working life seems to be in transition: although traditional fatherhood is still strongly positioned around men's work-family relationships, involved fatherhood is increasingly present in societal-level discourses, which offer men both the possibility of redoing gender and the possibility of multiple patterns of masculinity. It can be concluded that leadership as well as organisations in general, still tend to value traditional masculine ways of working, and this pressures fathers to pursue masculine ideals and limits their opportunities to have a good work-family relationship.

Keywords: discourse, fatherhood, gender, leadership, masculinity, organisation, work-family,

TIIVISTELMÄ (A FINNISH SUMMARY)

Tämän väitöskirjan tavoitteena on lisätä ymmärrystä miesten työ-perhe suhteesta tutkimalla isyyttä erityisesti johtamisen ja organisaatioiden näkökulmasta. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää, millaiselta isyys suomalaisessa työelämässä näyttää, miten miesjohtajat ja –asiantuntijat yhdistävät työn ja perheen ja miten miesten työ-perhe suhdetta organisaatioissa johdetaan. Saavuttaakseni mahdollisimman kokonaisvaltaisen ymmärryksen aiheesta, olen tutkinut aihetta yksilön (mikro), organisaation (meso) ja yhteiskunnan (makro) tasolla. Väitöskirjatutkimukseni on luonteeltaan empiirinen. Väitöskirja sisältää johdantoesseen ja kolme erillistä tutkimusta. Tutkimusaineisto sisältää 59 haastattelua ja 67 isyyttä, johtamista ja organisaatioita koskevaa media-artikkelia. Kaikki aineistot on analysoitu diskurssianalyysin avulla.

Yhdeksi keskeiseksi esteeksi tasa-arvoisen vanhemmuuden edistymiselle työelämätasolla on aikaisemmassa tutkimuksessa tunnistettu organisaatiossa elävä perinteinen maskuliininen organisaatiokulttuuri, joka ei huomioi isyyttä samoin tavoin kuin äitiyttä. Äitiyden ajatellaan vaikuttavan työelämään, mutta isyyden ei. Toisin sanoen, organisaatioiden käytännöt ja toimintamallit tukevat perinteistä miehen leiväntuojaroolia, jolloin isyyden ei ajatella vaikuttavan miehen työskentelyyn.

Tutkimustulosteni pohjalta voidaan sanoa, että yksilötasolla miesjohtajat rakentavat isyyttään pääosin perinteisen maskuliinisen ideologian pohjalta. Samaan aikaan, tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat kuitenkin, että osa miesjohtajista ei enää toteuta perinteistä isyyttä vaan ennemminkin omalla toiminnallaan uudistavat sekä isyyden, maskuliinisuuden että johtajuuden merkityksiä. Organisaatiotasolla näyttää siltä, että osa miehiin kohdistuvista työ-perhe suhteen johtamiskäytännöistä ovat kannustavia ja miesten työ-perhe suhdetta tukevia. Samaan aikaan maskuliininen johtamiskulttuuri on kuitenkin yhä edelleen nähtävissä monin tavoin organisaatioissa, ja tämä taas heikentää miesten halukkuutta ja mahdollisuuksia osallistuvampaan isyyteen. Yhteiskunnan tasolla suomalainen työelämä näyttää olevan muutoksessa. Tutkimustulosteni perusteella perinteinen isyys on edelleen vahvoilla miesten työ-perhesuhteessa käytännön tasolla, mutta osallistuva ja tasa-arvoinen isyys on kuitenkin kasvavasti esillä yhteiskunnallisissa diskursseissa, mahdollistaen isille moninaisemman isyyden ja maskuliinisuuden toteuttamisen.

Kaiken kaikkiaan tutkimustulosteni perusteella voidaan todeta, että johtamisessa ja organisaatiossa on yhä edelleen taipumusta suosia perinteisiä maskuliinisia työnteon tapoja, jotka painostavat miehiä kohti maskuliinisia ideaaleja ja samalla rajoittavat heidän mahdollisuuksiaan hyvään työ-perhe suhteeseen. Toisaalta, hoivaava maskuliinisuus, joka näyttäytyy yhä enemmän työelämässä tasa-arvoiseen vanhemmuuteen pyrkivien isien muodossa, on osaltaan horjuttamassa perinteisen maskuliinisuuden asemaa organisaatioissa ja johtamisessa.

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KIITOKSET

Vuosien työ on tullut päätökseen. Tämä työ ei olisi valmistunut ilman monen ihmisen tukea, kannustusta ja ohjausta. Nyt on tullut aikaa kiittää heitä. Ensimmäisenä haluan kiittää lämpimästi väitöskirjani ohjaajaa professori Anna-Maija Lämsää. Ilman kannustavaa ja asiantuntevaa ohjaustasi työni ei olisi edistynyt. Olet ollut tuki ja mahdollistaja koko pitkän prosessin. Olet väitöskirjataipaleeni alusta alkaen tarjonnut minulle ainutlaatuisia mahdollisuuksia kehittyä tutkimuksen maailmassa. Suuret kiitokset siitä. Lämmin kiitos kuuluu myös toiselle ohjaajalleni apulaisprofessori Marjut Jyrkiselle. Lämminhenkinen ja rohkaiseva ohjaus on auttanut minua uskomaan kykyihini tässä pitkässä prosessissa. Olen kiitollinen professori Päivi Erikssonille ja professori Janne Tienarille väitöskirjani esitarkastamisesta. Teidän arvokkaat kommentit edistivät väitöskirjatyöni viimeistelyä ja erityiskiitokset menevät Päiville suostumisesta vastaväittäjäkseni.

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Suuren osan väitöskirjan teosta olen fyysisesti istunut Seinäjoen yliopistokeskuksen tutkijahotellissa. Iso kiitos työskentelytiloista ja työyhteisön tarjoamisesta kuuluukin Seinäjoen yliopistokeskukselle. Kiitos myös niille lukuisille kanssaopiskelijoille eri yliopistoista, joiden kanssa olen saanut vaihtaa ajatuksia tutkimuksen teosta tutkijahotellilla. Erityiskiitokset menevät Päivi Kujalalle, kiitos lukuisista diskurssianalyysi keskusteluista. Väitöskirjaprosessini loppusuoralla siirryin työskentelemään SeAMKiin, haluankin kiittää myös tätä työyhteisöä kannustavasta ilmapiiristä väitöskirjan loppuun saattamisessa. Erityiskiitos lähijohtaja Pauliina Talvitielle, joka on mahdollistanut, työn, perheen ja väitöskirjani viimeistelyn yhdistämisen. Kiitos kuuluu myös yliopettaja Sanna Joensuu-Salolle.

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kielenhuoltajille, jotka ovat avustaneet tutkimusartikkeleiden kielentarkastuksessa.

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Seinäjoella 8.10.2020

Emilia Kangas

FIGURE

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The research topic

Attitudes to fatherhood in the Western world have changed in the last few decades: public opinion has become more supportive of more committed and participative fatherhood, and theorists have been interested in the changes and future of fatherhood (e.g., Barclay & Lupton, 1999; Marsiglio, Amato, Day & Lamb, 2000; Huttunen, 2001; Brannen & Nilsen, 2006; Dermott, 2008; Johansson, 2011; Miller, 2011; Marsiglio & Roy, 2012; Huttunen, 2014; Eerola, 2015). The changing nature of fatherhood is closely related to the wider societal changes in masculinity, which has tended to be more inclusive and flexible in recent years (Johansson & Andreasson, 2017). A new, more care-oriented masculinity has been intertwined with discourses of gender equality, especially in Scandinavian countries (Johansson & Klinth, 2007; Vuori, 2009). In contemporary discourses of fatherhood, caring masculinity is beginning to overtake traditional breadwinning masculinity. As a result, both masculinity and fatherhood seem to be more fragmented and diversified than before.

However, these changes are not so evident in working life. For women, working life still gives the taken-for-granted option of having both motherhood and interruptions to one's career, regardless of the woman's own thoughts about whether or not to have children. While for men, masculinity is closely attached to working (Perälä-Littunen, 2004, 26; Kugelberg, 1999, 269), motherhood is part of femininity (Perälä-Littunen 2004, 26; Wetherell, 1995). In other words, women carry the attributes of a potential motherhood even though they might not desire to be a mother, now or in the future. One consequence of this is that childless women of childbearing age experience discrimination in their working lives. This appears, for example, in employment contracts: men's new contracts are usually permanent, whereas women's new contracts are mostly for a fixed period (Tilastokeskus, 2013; Vuorinen-Lampila, 2016). Career interruptions are not part

of the plan for men, even though some men already identify themselves more as caring fathers than as breadwinner fathers, and are inclined to take relatively long breaks from work in order to be more participative fathers and equal partners. Generally speaking, the family-work interface has usually been associated with women (Özbilgin, Beauregard, Tatli, & Bell, 2011). Men are often viewed as beneficial financial actors and employees, while at work their fatherhood tends to remain invisible (Tracy & Rivera, 2010). Usually, organisational practices still support men's breadwinning role (Burnett, Gatrell, Cooper & Sparrow, 2013). For these reasons, the family-oriented male identity and caring fatherhood are easily excluded from working life. Such patterns of tradition and practice reduce women's equal opportunities to advance in their careers and men's opportunities to begin to understand their rights as equal parents in the context of working life. Assumptions like these also shape women's and men's lives and reconstruct parenting in ways that leave little space for men (Miller, 2011). This can contribute to men's opportunities and freedom to integrate work and family successfully and advance their quality of life and well-being (Hobson, 2011).

Fathers who are attracted to the new ideology of fatherhood struggle to resolve the tension between that ideology and the expectation that they will at the same time conform to a traditional male-worker ideology (Sallee, 2012). Especially management and leadership have been traditionally associated with men - that is, with men who represent the traditional image of masculinity (Hearn & Parkin, 1987; Klenke, 2011). Although leadership within organisations is now moving towards more varied forms of leadership (Bryman, Collinson, Grint, Jackson & Uhl-Bien, 2011), the bond between traditional masculinity and leadership has not been broken (Carli & Eagly, 2011; Powell, 2014; Whitehead, 2014). Much of what is assumed about leadership depends, either explicitly or implicitly, on traditional masculinity; that is a very valued feature of leadership and management (Acker, 1992; Heilman, 1997; Powell et al., 2006; Post et al., 2008; Carli & Eagly, 2011; Grint, 2011; Hearn, 2011; Klenke, 2011; Lämsä & Piilola, 2015). In the common understanding, the characteristics of an effective leader are still masculine (Kanter, 1977; Acker, 1992; Heilman, 2001; Powell, Butterfield, & Parent, 2002; Katila & Eriksson, 2013). The problems of traditional masculinity and its effects on women have already been quite well explored and identified in organisational research (e.g., Carly & Eagly, 2011; Klenke, 2011), but the problems that men with family responsibilities may encounter are still relatively under-researched.

Male employees, especially those in positions of leadership and management, are often assumed to keep their family responsibilities separate from the world of work (Aaltio-Marjosola & Lehtinen, 1998; Hearn & Niemistö, 2012). Even though the atmosphere in Western societies generally has now become more sympathetic towards more caring and participative fatherhood, many organisations still expect that fatherhood will not interfere with work responsibilities. This is still the norm, especially for male managers (Halford & Leonard, 2001). This practice of separating family and work suggests that the

traditional male manager who is free from family responsibilites is still valued in organisations. The old-fashioned masculine ethos (Kanter 1977, 43) still seems to be for practical, breadwinning fatherhood (Holter, 2007; Gatrell, 2007); acceptance of the contemporary, more caring and involved fatherhood is not yet very widespread.

Although organisations are less hierarchical than they used to be, managers still often act as role models within their organisation (Weaver, Treviño, & Agle, 2005). It is therefore critical to study how managers and leaders act and speak about the work-family relationship and what kind of leadership practices men use in this context. After all, leadership is crucial in setting the tone for an organisation's work-home culture (Schein, 1985; Thompson, Beauvais & Lyness, 1999). Managers have an opportunity to buffer conflicts between family and organisation and create new strategies and practices that take family responsibilities into account (Bowen, 1998), so that both men and women could have equal opportunities in the private and the public arenas.

Despite considerable interest in identity and gender relations, within management and leadership research there has been a relative absence of studies on gender relations or on the gendered identities of fathers as workers and managers. Usually, interest has been directed towards women and women managers' work-family relationships (e.g., Heikkinen, Lämsä & Hiillos, 2014; Lämsä & Piilola, 2015). Studies on male managers' fatherhood in relation to their leadership practices are rare, with a few exceptions (e.g., Aaltio-Marjosola & Lehtinen, 1998; Hearn & Niemistö, 2012). According to Peper et al. (2014), the positive behaviour and example set by particularly supervisors and managers are important for the advancement of a work-family culture that is characterised by high levels of support and low levels of hindrance. This makes it important to study men's work-family relationships from a leadership perspective. Managers and leaders both set examples with their own parenting practices, and they also strongly influence the organisational practices around the work-family interface. This doctoral study addresses the topic and focuses on fathers' work-family relationship in the context of leadership and organisational life in Finnish working life.

1.2 The Finnish context

Nordic societies are considered frontrunners in gender equality, appearing at the top of rankings for gender equality globally (The Global Gender Gap Report, 2020). Gender equality is generally seen as an important societal goal in Finland and as a core means to fully harness the expertise of both women and men for the general benefit of society (Katila & Eriksson, 2013). However, in practice, men still continue to have greater access to positions of power, social prestige, higher rewards and greater resources (The Global Gender Gap Report, 2020). It is a significant problem that, although women's participation in the (workplace) labour market is high in Finland and women usually work full-time (Statistics Finland, 2016), women still carry the main responsibility for housework and

childcare and have problems in career advancement. In fact, parental leave is used almost exclusively by mothers in Finland; one fifth of fathers do not use any of the available family leave (Kela, 2017). In a Nordic comparison, Finnish men are at the bottom of the list for using parental leave (Cederström, 2019). This results in a paradox in the Finnish societal context: Finland has relatively advanced gender policies, but fathers' readiness to use parental leave is lower than in other Nordic countries (Kela, 2017). According to Närvi's (2018) study of Finnish fathers' parental leave, one reason for fathers' unwillingness to use longer parental leave is poor organisational practices in the workplace. Companies do not usually take on substitutes for the time fathers spend on parental leave. In Närvi and Salmi's (2019) study on the obstacles to Finnish fathers' take-up of parental leave, only one of the five organisations studied had routine channels for recruiting temporary personnel and commonly hired substitutes. In the other four organisations involved in the study, the tasks of fathers who took parental leave were delegated to colleagues or simply waited for the father to return to work (Närvi & Salmi, 2019). The only exception that Närvi and Salmi (2019) found was in the rescue services, where the nature and organisation of the work, with clearly defined working times and hierarchical control, supported male employees' leave-taking, and men were able to leave work behind them at the workplace. According to Närvi (2018), especially professional employees typically took care of their own jobs themselves, either before, after or during their leave. These men reported that the lack of substitutes made longer absences difficult because they were responsible for what they usually did at work even during their parental leave. All this indicates that working life has not yet internalized the changes in masculinities and fatherhood. Contemporary fatherhood challenges not only the fathers themselves but also the old practices around work-family relationships in Finnish working life. Conversely, organisational practices can influence fathers' feelings of what is acceptable parental leave and how long it can last (Närvi, 2018, 70).

However, parental leave is only one aspect of equal parenthood at work. The work-family relationship is a much broader issue than organising the early years of childcare. Fatherhood or motherhood does not end when mothers and fathers return to work. The relationship between work and family is multidimensional and the two spheres are interlinked. A functional work-family relationship becomes more obvious when parents really try to fit the two together. In Finland, women do more housework than men (Pääkkönen, 2013), even though the employment rate between the genders is almost the same. In 2018, men's employment rate was 72.7% and women's 70.6% (Tilastokeskus, 2018). Women's larger share of housework is mostly due to childcare (Piekkola & Ruuskanen, 2006). Mothers spend more time on (unpaid) childcare while working full-time, not just during parental leave. Men, on the other hand, do more employed work than women, and they generally have more leisure time. Women actually experience more responsibility for housework much more often than men do (Tasa-arvobarometri, 2017). Fathers of small children also do more overtime than other men in Finland (Haataja, 2005). In addition, the development

of mothers' pay is significantly weaker than of fathers' pay. In Finland, fathers earn more than men on average, whereas mothers earn less than childless women (Napari, 2010), so having children negatively affects mothers' pay but not fathers' (Napari, 2010). Having a family is also thought to be one reason for women's slower progress in management careers (Mikkelä, 2013; Lämsä & Piilola, 2015). For men, however, having children is not a hindrance in a career in management. In fact, in Finland, childlessness is rarest among men working in managerial positions (Pajunen, 2013). All this indicates, as McKie and Jyrkinen's (2017) study confirms, that gendered ideologies and practices are evident in all aspects of Finnish working life.

1.3 The aim of the research

This doctoral study opens up and demolishes assumptions about fatherhood in organisational life, especially in the context of leadership and organisations in Finland. This research combines the topic of changing fatherhood with a discussion of masculine leadership and the theory of (un)doing gender. The overall aim of the study is to increase our understanding of men's work-family relationships by examining fatherhood in working life from a gender perspective and with a particular focus on leadership and organisations. This study uses discourse analysis as a methodological approach to understand how fatherhood is constructed in discourses of working life.

To gain a multidimensional understanding of the phenomenon being studied, this article-based doctoral study is implemented on three levels: micro, meso and macro. The study consists of an introductory essay and three empirical studies, one study on each of the three levels (see Figure 1).

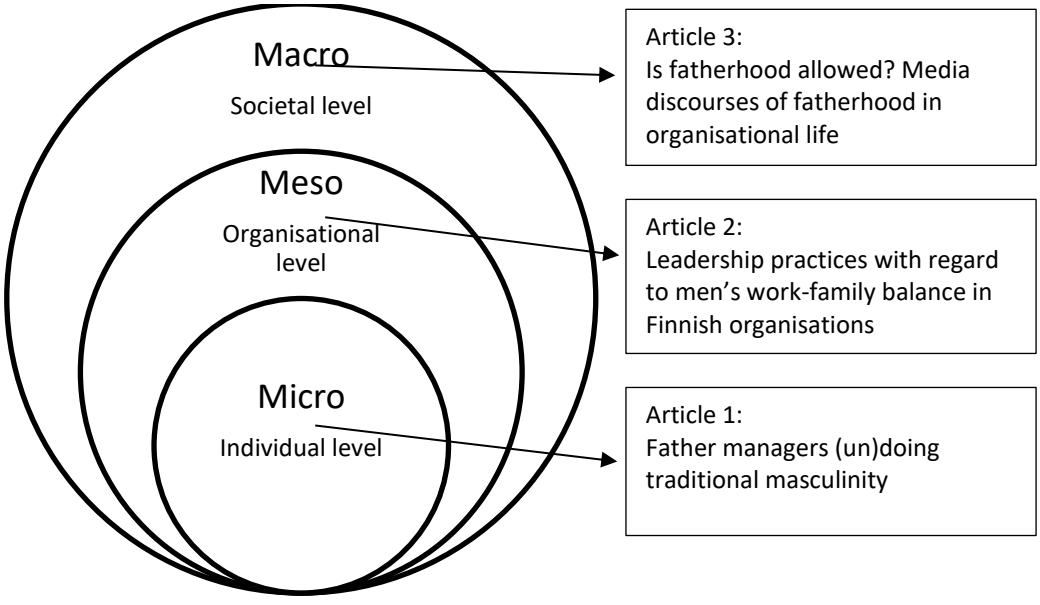

FIGURE 1 The three levels of the study

One independent piece of research has been carried out on each level. The first study deals with male managers' talk about their fatherhood; this is micro-level research, in which the topic is explored from the viewpoint of individual managers. The second study is about leadership practices concerning men's work-family balance in different kinds of organisations. This means that the second study can be considered meso-level research because it concerns mostly actual leadership practices at the organizational level. The third study concerns media discourses on men who are fathers as well as managers and professionals in their organisational lives; this can be positioned as macro-level research since it moves mostly at the societal level. The topic is explored through media texts.

In the three studies of this dissertation, the following research questions are answered:

1. What kinds of discourses do father managers construct about their fatherhood?
2. What kinds of discourses do working men construct about leadership practices that affect their work-family balance?
3. What kinds of discourses do media texts construct about managers and professionals as fathers in organisations?

In this introductory essay, I further elaborate on my results from the articles to theorize the masculinities of fatherhood in leadership and organisations that are discursively produced. I also discuss what kind of gender of managers and professionals as fathers is produced discursively on the studied micro-, meso- and macro-levels.

1.4 Contributions of the study

In this study, three research areas are combined: work-family research with a gender perspective, research on changing masculinity or masculinities, and research on gender in leadership and management. By offering a synthesis of these research fields, the study contributes to discussions of changing masculinities in working life organisations, leadership and fatherhood.

In line with these three perspectives, the study has three main aims. Firstly, it *seeks to add a gender perspective to our understanding of fatherhood in the context of working life*. Work-family research has most often dealt with problematic aspects of women's relationship with the work-family interface. Overall, the conflict perspective has dominated work-family research for quite some time (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). The positive aspects of work-family relationships were almost entirely missing from the literature before the work-family enrichment perspective arrived. The work-family enrichment theory evolved from an interest in examining positive relationships between work and family lives (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). At the core of this theory is

the idea of two-way enrichment, in which work experiences can enrich family life and family experiences can enrich working life (see Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). The understanding that work and family life influence each other is now widely held in the field of work-family research. There is now quite a substantial body of research literature on work-life balance. Work-family balance is a general feeling that results from being effective and satisfied in one's roles both in the family and at work (Greenhaus & Powell, 2017).

Nevertheless, this more positive branch of work-family research has also been criticised for not acknowledging very well gender aspects of the work-family relationship. Although work-family research has shifted and now takes in more multi-dimensional aspects of the work-family interface, most research has still focused on how women can combine work and family (e.g., Ezzedeen & Ritchey, 2009; Heikkinen, Lämsä, & Hiillos, 2014; Lämsä & Piilola, 2015; Özbilgin, Beauregard, Tatli, & Bell, 2011). As a result, the male gender perspective on work and family has tended to be rather rare in work-family research (Holter, 2007). At the same time, fatherhood has been widely discussed in many research fields, and studies on fatherhood have evolved and increased in number in recent years (e.g., Barclay & Lupton, 1999; Marsiglio & Pleck, 2005; Dermott, 2008; Johansson & Klinth, 2008; Miller, 2011; Marsiglio & Roy, 2012; Dermott & Miller, 2015; Brandth & Kvande, 2016; Johansson & Andreasson, 2017). The big question in this research is whether men and fatherhood have changed (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003). Mostly, studies of contemporary fatherhood have shown that new forms of fatherhood are emerging, and fathers are increasingly taking on more parenting roles. Discourses of fatherhood nowadays involve such notions as involved fathering (Wall & Arnold, 2007; Eräranta & Moisander, 2011), new father(hood) (Barcley & Lupton, 1999; Ranson, 2001), caring fathers (Johansson & Klinth, 2007) and the intimate father (Dermott, 2003). Fatherhood, then, like other sociological categories, has become pluralised (Dermott, 2008, 20) or fragmented (Hearn, 2002). According to Hearn (2002), there is not just one fatherhood, but rather a range of different kinds of fatherhood which both support and contradict each other. The changing discourse of fatherhood is part of a broader discussion about men's changing identities and masculinities (Johansson & Klinth, 2008; Crespi & Ruspini, 2016; Lengersdof & Meuser, 2016). Nevertheless, Crespi and Ruspini (2016, 3) argue that there has been a lack of consideration of the complex intersection between 'old' and 'new' forms of masculinity and between fatherhood, the work-life balance and gender relations.

In recent years there has been greater interest in studying especially men's work-family relationship (e.g., Holter, 2007; Halrynjo, 2009; Allard, Haas, & Hwang, 2011; Eräranta & Moisander, 2011; Ranson, 2012; Burnett, Gatrell, Cooper, & Sparrow, 2013; Ladge, Humberd, Baskerville Watkins, & Harrington, 2015; Gatrell & Cooper, 2016). These studies on fatherhood in working life have highlighted a range of issues about men's work-family relationships. They have shown, for instance, that fathers who try to reduce their working hours to be more involved with their children and families often face a poor response at work (Gatrell, 2007; Holter, 2007; Lewis, Brannen, & Nilsen, 2009). Allard, Haas, and

Hwang (2011) found that men feel that they receive little support for combining work and family life, particularly from upper management. Halrynjo (2009) reported that men working in traditionally male-dominated sectors feel they would like to work less but that it is impossible. Despite the increasing interest in men's work-family relationship, family-oriented men are still often marginalized both in research and practice, coming up against gender disparity and negative peer relations (Burnett et al., 2013). Men have a tendency to draw on traditional views of fathering when discussing their fatherhood in relation to their careers, even if they would really like to be a more involved parent (Ladge, Humberd, Baskerville Watkins & Harrington, 2015). In work-family research, then, the prevailing understanding is that fatherhood tends to be invisible in many ways in both research and the workplace. This dissertation seeks to rectify this by making the topic more visible.

Overall, it seems that there is as yet no proper conceptualisation of working fathers (Ranson, 2012), and businesses have not yet recognised what involved fatherhood means. Ranson (2012) argues that even though the cultural image of the new father, involved with his children and engaged in hands-on caregiving, is now well within sight, the father's responsibility for breadwinning has not yet been displaced. A shortcoming of previous research on this topic is that the majority of work-family studies from the perspective of men have focused mainly on the experiences of individual fathers. What is needed now is more multidimensional research on the issue, and this doctoral study seeks to meet that need. Operating on the micro, meso and macro levels, it analyses men's work-family relationships from the individual, organisational and societal perspectives. In this study, the understandings gained on each of these three levels are brought together to produce a multidimensional picture of changing fatherhood in working life.

Secondly, this study *contributes to the research field of gender in leadership by making a theoretical contribution to understanding changing and unchanging masculinities in leadership and fatherhood*. Importantly, critical organisational research has increased our understanding of how workplaces are gendered and how certain masculinities have become represented as the organisational ideal (Kanter, 1977; Acker, 1990; Kerfoot & Knights, 1993; Collinson & Hearn, 1996; Liu, 2017). In addition, many critical management scholars have recognised the connection between management and masculinity (Collinson & Hearn, 2001): discourses of leadership are still understood to consist of 'core elements of masculinity' (Ford, 2006). That is to say, ideas of good leadership in organisational life are still masculine (Katila & Eriksson, 2013; Klenke, 2011; Powell, 2014). Billing and Alvesson (2014), on the other hand, have argued that the construction of masculine leadership is in fact no longer so strong as it used to be, and that the de-masculinisation of leadership has begun to happen as new ideas of modern leadership have emerged. Nevertheless, the reality in most workplaces, industries and countries, is that men still dominate leadership and management, and organisations are therefore places of men's power and masculinities (Hearn, 2014).

This study extends the scope of current studies of gender in leadership by adding the perspective of changing fatherhood. Previously, breadwinner fatherhood has been the dominant model in the context of working life, consistent with the traditional idea of masculine management. Now, however, with younger men beginning to claim a greater share in bringing up their children (Dermott, 2008; Miller, 20011), modern models of fatherhood may also be challenging the traditional masculinities in management and leadership. The focus in this study is therefore on how gender can be done and redone, not only in fatherhood but also in leadership; in other words, on how traditional masculinities are both reconstructed and challenged in fatherhood and in leadership through new forms of masculinity. In conclusion, the second contribution of this study is bringing out how the new forms of masculinity that are part of contemporary fatherhood are challenging traditional leadership ideals and practices, and how traditional masculine leadership is holding on to its power and holding back the new fatherhood in the context of working life. Fathers with a more egalitarian view of parenting are challenging the traditional masculine leadership, but they are also silenced by it.

Thirdly, from the methodological point of view, by using a discourse analytical approach, *this study offers more in-depth examination of the intersections between men's work and their families as a complex bundle of social norms, and in relation to those norms, working life conditions, organisational practices and gender.* According to Sunderland (2004), using discourse analysis is valuable because of its capacity to connect language to broader social relations of power and inequality, particularly in terms of gender. Discourse analysis can reveal the contradictions within and between discourses, and it can show what can be said and done and the means by which discourse makes particular statements seem rational or natural, even though they are only valid at a certain time and place (Jäger & Maier, 2009, 36). In this thesis, discourse is also viewed as performance: discourse organises or undermines gender identities (Aschraft 2004). This view is interested in the process by which discourse encourages or minimises differences in gender identities. According to Aschraft, the performance perspective illustrates how discourses construct gender. According to this view, discourse is an ongoing, productive and interactive performance of identities. Several scholars have a similar understanding of the pivotal role of discourse in producing gender identity (Butler, 1990; Alvesson & Billing, 1992; Gherardi, 1994). Similarly, discourses construct identities of fatherhood and leadership. Discourse analysis can be used to identify the currently dominant and subordinate discourses of fatherhood in organisations and leadership. Therefore using discourse analysis this study seeks to highlight the complexity of the discourses and identities of fatherhood in the context of leadership and organisations.

1.5 Research process

This study originated in my Master's thesis, which was the foundation for the first research article of this doctoral study. After my Master's thesis, I was quite convinced that more research was needed on fatherhood in the workplace, especially from the perspective of management and leadership. Shared discussions with researchers in the field of work-family studies and the evident lack of empirical studies further convinced me of the importance of this topic. However, the biggest motivator for this doctoral study is my own personal interest in improving gender equality generally. The work-family discussion has mostly been seen as a woman's issue, and a lot of interest and research has been directed towards the issue of gender equality and the challenges women face when trying to reconcile the demands of work and family from this point of view. I wanted to study the subject from the male viewpoint: I think that men's involvement in the gender equality issue needs more attention. However, this was also a reasonable step from the perspective of work-family research, a field in which interest in men is gradually emerging, but the perspective of organisation studies is mostly still missing.

At the very start, I decided to explore the phenomenon from various angles by writing research articles which would provide different levels (micro, meso and macro) of understanding of the issue. From the start, I had quite a clear idea about how to carry out this doctoral study. I was interested in studying fatherhood in working life from a leadership perspective through separate research articles in order to concentrate on individual, organisational, and societal discourses. I chose discourse analysis as my methodology to study the phenomenon. For example Bochantin and Cowan (2016) have argued that research into work and family has been dominated by a functionalist paradigm and that we need other methodological perspectives that challenge the basic assumptions and expectations of work–family research. Overall, the choice of discourse analysis stemmed from my theoretical commitments and the theoretical contribution I am trying to make. Alternative methodologies, such as surveys or other quantitative methods, would not do justice to my conception of gender as socially constructed, relational, and actively constituted in everyday practices. In addition, as an approach, discourse analysis has been successfully adopted by many social constructionists (Burr, 1995, 163) before me. All three articles have been written with co-author(s), whose roles in each article are summarised in Table 1.

TABLE 1 Summary of the roles of the authors in each article

Article	Research problem and literature	Research design and data	Data analysis, results and writing
Article 1: Kangas, Emilia, Lämsä Anna-Maija & Heikkinen Suvi (2017). Father Managers (Un)Doing Traditional Masculinity. In Anna Pilinska (ed.) *Fatherhood in Contemporary Discourse – Focus on Fathers*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, UK: 17–30.	I framed the research problem and wrote the literature review.	The research data (29 thematic interviews) was collected by Suvi Heikkinen during her doctoral thesis.	I analysed the data. I drew up the research results in co-operation with Anna-Maija Lämsä. I had principal responsibility for writing a research article. Anna-Maija Lämsä commented, and helped me finalise the article for publication.
Article 2: Kangas, Emilia & Lämsä, Anna-Maija. Leadership practices in relation to men's work-family balance in Finnish organizations. *Community, Work and Family,*	I framed the research problem and wrote the literature review.	The research data were collected in the Social and Economic Sustainability of Future Worklife: Policies, Equalities and Intersectionalities in Finland (WeAll) project*. The WeAll research group designed the interview study and collected the data from six organisations. I worked as a doctoral student in the Weall project 2015-2018. I participated in the interview design and did three of the 30 interviews used in the article.	I did the data analysis. I drew up the research results with the co-operation of Anna-Maija Lämsä. I had principal responsibility for writing a research article. Anna-Maija Lämsä as the second author of the article contributed her knowledge of leadership. In addition, she commented on the manuscript throughout the writing process.
Article 3. Kangas, Emilia, Lämsä, Anna-Maija & Jyrkinen, Marjut, (2019). Is Fatherhood Allowed? Media Discourses of Fatherhood in Organizational Life. Gender, Work and Organization, 26 (10), 1433-1450.	I originally framed the research problem and literature review. Anna-Maija Lämsä as second author of the article added her knowledge of organization studies to the literature review. Marjut Jyrkinen as third author of the article added her knowledge of gender studies to the literature review. Anna-Maija Lämsä and Marjut Jyrkinen both helped me to rework the research problem during the research process.	I planned the research design and collected the data (67 media articles).	I analysed the data. I drew up the research results in co-operation with Anna-Maija Lämsä and Marjut Jyrkinen. I had principal responsibility for writing a research article. However, both Lämsä and Jyrkinen acted as my advisers and co-writers during the writing process and contributed their knowledge (gender and organisational studies) to the article. In addition, they commented on the manuscript during the writing process and thus helped me draw up the final research report.

*The multidisciplinary project is funded by Strategic research funding (Academy of Finland). The WeAll project examines equalities and inequalities in working life. www.weallfinland.fi

In the first article, I used existing interview material. These interviews had been collected by Dr. Suvi Heikkinen, who is the third author of my first article. In these interviews, experienced managerial men talked about their career and family life over the course of their lives. These interviews were very rich, but no other researcher was interested in examining them from the perspective of fatherhood. These interviews fit in very well with my research interests. I used this material to examine individual-level discourses. Developing my Master's thesis (Kangas, 2013) into a scientific article was a good lesson in how to do academic research. In this process, Professor Anna-Maija Lämsä, my first supervisor, was very helpful in commenting on my ideas and texts. She is therefore the second author of my first article.

For my second article, I planned to take an organisational approach. During discussions with my supervisor, Anna-Maija Lämsä and other colleagues, I became interested in the leadership-as-practice approach. While familiarising myself with this approach, I realised that its concept of leadership is very much in line with my own understanding of leadership. The essence of the leadership-as-practice approach is its understanding of leadership happening as a practice rather than residing in the traits or behaviours of particular individuals (Raelin, 2016). I decided that this approach would add an appropriate leadership perspective to my second article. Apart from that, my second research interest is in fathers' work-family balance. So bringing together my focus on the organisational level and fathers' work-family balance, my second article examines discourses of leadership practices with regard to fathers' work-family balance in different organisational settings. My co-author in the article was, again, my first supervisor, Anna-Maija Lämsä, who contributed her knowledge of leadership to the article.

In this research I utilised data collected in the WeAll project (Economic Sustainability of Future Worklife: Policies, Equalities and Intersectionalities in Finland, Academy of Finland Strategic Council No. 292883). I worked as a doctoral student in the WeAll project 2015–2018 and participated in planning and collecting the research material for the entire research group. The material that we collected included interviews in six organisations. In total these data were very comprehensive, but for my purposes they were slightly too general. The interview frame that all the interviewers used included questions not only about the work-family relationship but also about work wellbeing and job satisfaction, which were not relevant for my research purposes. Since the interview frame was quite broad there was no possibility of focusing very closely on individual sub-themes such as men's work-family relationships. Therefore the research material used in my second article was not as rich as it could have been if I had done the interviews independently. On the other hand, because of collecting research material with the WeAll research group I got access to organisations that I could not have accessed if I had been working independently. Consequently, the research material was still very diverse, from organisations in three different sectors (logistics and security; health and social care; legal consultancy and IT).

Before my doctoral studies, I had also studied journalism and mass communications, and I was always interested in taking advantage of this knowledge in my doctoral study. I therefore decided that I would use media texts in my third article, where the focus was to be on societal-level discourses of fatherhood in working life. As in my first article, the focus was on not only fatherhood but also management and leadership, so I decided that in this third study I would examine media discourses about managers and professionals who were also fathers. I chose to analyse articles published between 1990 and 2015 from the following media sources: 1) Helsingin Sanomat, the biggest mainstream newspaper in Finland; 2) the economic newspaper Kauppalehti and 3) the economic weekly magazine Talouselämä. I thought that these three media sources would give me a good understanding of discussions about fatherhood in working life, especially from the leadership and management points of view. In addition, I was interested in how the discourses changed over time, so the period of scrutiny was quite long. This particular period was chosen because of changes that took place then in the Finnish parental leave system with regard to fathers' opportunities to participate in family life: in 1991, fathers were given the possibility of six days' paternity leave; in 2003, one month's paternity leave was introduced; and early in 2013, paternity leave and the father's quota were combined, giving fathers the right to nine weeks' paternity leave. I myself collected the data from the magazines' electronic databases. During the research process I realised that I needed to make gender studies a stronger component of this research, so on the recommendation of my first supervisor, I asked Associate Professor Dr. Marjut Jyrkinen to join our research team and be my second supervisor. Her knowledge of gender studies and her supervision helped me improve my analysis from the gender perspective. Therefore in my third article, both Anna-Maija Lämsä and Marjut Jyrkinen acted as my advisers and co-writers during the writing process, and Lämsä is therefore the second and Jyrkinen the third author of that article.

Each writing process has been one of learning and development in itself. Especially co-writing with experienced researchers has taught me a lot about academic writing. Besides, in writing these three articles and carrying out this doctoral study, I have participated in many academic conferences both in Finland and abroad. After each conference I have come away with new ideas or new viewpoints for my research. My knowledge of the topic has therefore increased not only through writing the articles but also through the discussions I had in the conferences. In addition, working for three years as a doctoral student in the WeAll project (a multidisciplinary project funded by Strategic Research Funding of the Academy of Finland) has taught me a lot about academic work. Working with inspiring and talented academics has challenged me to develop my own scientific knowledge. It has also offered me many opportunities to talk about my research results to both academic and general audiences. In this introductory essay, I will summarise the three research articles and evaluate the research process.

2 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

In this chapter, I describe the theoretical framework of this study. I chose to apply the concept of doing gender (undoing/redoing gender) as the main theory throughout my thesis. Another theory used in this study is the sociology of masculinity – particularly theories and studies about masculinity in management and leadership. Finally, theories relating to contemporary fatherhood in the context of working life and the work-family relationship are an essential part of the theoretical framework of the study.

2.1 Doing gender and undoing/redoing gender

Two meta-theoretical approaches can be distinguished in the gender and organisation literature (Calas, Smircich & Holvino, 2014, 19). The first adapts a more naturalistic orientation towards gender: it understands sex as biological and gender as a social or cultural categorisation usually associated with a person's sex (Calas et. al 2014, 19). This branch is mostly interested in women in management and the conditions and difficulties they face in organisations and management because of their differences from men (e.g. Calas et. al 2014; Broadbridge & Simpson, 2011). In this approach, the system itself is assumed to be gender neutral. In the other meta-theoretical approach, the point is not that women are different, 'but that gender difference is the basis for the unequal distribution of power and resources' (Wajcman, 1998, 159-160). Hence, the second approach understands gender as a social institution, which is socially accomplished through gender relations (Calas et. al 2014, 20). In this study I have chosen to follow the second approach for two reasons. Firstly, it is because it "´*de-naturalizes' the common sense of gender using processual, social constructionist theoretical approaches*" (Calas et. al 2014, 20). This theoretical approach directs attention to seeing men's work-family issues not only as individual problems, but also as part of larger social structures of inequality in their social context. Secondly, unlike the first approach, which has a functionalist and positivist

orientation, this one understands gender as something people do, not something one has (e.g. West & Zimmerman, 1987; Calas et al., 2014).

Gender as a concept became increasingly applied in the social sciences in general, and in organisation studies, in the 1970s and 1980s as a way of understanding individuals socially rather than biologically (Miller, 2011). Masculinity and femininity are a major part of the concept of gender. This study does not attach masculinity to the male sex or femininity to the female sex, but blurs the lines between them by broadening the concept of social gender. In addition, there is no intention here of reinforcing heteronormativity, that is, assuming that the overwhelming majority of sexual relationships in society are heterosexual, rather than acknowledging the diversity of sexualities. However, we still need some concepts that refer to gendered and gendering practices (Connell, 2000, 16–17). According to Connell and Messershmidt (2005), gender is always relational, and models of masculinity are socially defined in contra-distinction to some model of femininity: the one cannot be understood without reference to the other (Kimmel, 1987, 12). Connell's (2000, 40) concepts include the idea that masculinity and femininity are produced together in a process that makes the gender order. It has also been extensively documented in feminist work that the world gender order is patriarchal, privileging men over women (Connell, 2000, 46). According to Pease (2000, 12), the concept of patriarchy is an umbrella term to describe men's dominance over women. He sees patriarchy as institutionalised male power and argues that it is best understood as a historical structure with changing dynamics, allowing opportunities for intervention (Pease, 2000, 13). However, he recognises that radical change in gender relations depends on material and structural changes in the conditions in which patriarchy lies. This means that the structures of patriarchy go beyond the individual actions of particular men (Pease, 2000, 13). Even though a man may change his behaviour and become more equal with his female partner, this change does not challenge structured patriarchy. Men have a choice as to whether they accept patriarchy or work collectively against it, but before men can organise collectively, they need to change their subjectivities and practices (Pease, 2000, 14).

Many researchers working on gender and organisations have been interested in studying gender as a social practice (e.g. Alvesson, 1998; Korvajärvi, 1998; Gherardi, 1994; Gherardi & Poggio, 2001; Martin, 2001, 2003). These researchers are not interested in theorising gender in organisations; rather, they are theorising gendering organisations (Calás, Smircich & Holvino, 2014). According to Martin (2006), gendering practices are the repertoire of actions, including speech, bodily and interpretive, that society makes available to its members for doing gender. Poggio (2006) notes that attention to gender has increasingly focused on gendering processes, that is, on how gender is constantly redefined and negotiated in the everyday practices through which individuals interact. In order to examine gendering processes, we need to accept the principle that gender is actively constituted (Martin, 2006) in everyday practices. Organisational practices are one field where a gendered substructure is negotiated and often contested in everyday life, and where gendering processes

may become visible (Acker, 1990). Organisational research has therefore also moved beyond the reduction of gender to binary biological categories towards a more complex understanding of gender as social practice (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Billing & Alvesson, 2000; Knights & Kerfoot, 2004; Liu, 2017).

According to Calas et al. (2014, 34) the gendering organizations approach has the most potential for intervening on gender inequality in organisations and society. One theme within this approach is the idea of 'doing gender' formulated by West and Zimmerman (1987) in the late 1980s. West and Zimmerman (1987) claim that doing gender involves socially directive, interactional and micro-political activity, which divides certain kinds of objectives into express masculinity and femininity. At the same time, the individual does his or her gender him- or herself, but still inevitably in interaction with others who are also part of doing his or her gender. West and Zimmerman do not see gender as the property of an individual, but they understand it as features that are formed from social orders and as a means to legitimise society's most fundamental dichotomy. West and Zimmerman emphasise that gender is not the sum of characters or a role, but a product of social action. They are interested in seeing how gender is represented as a natural part of the world, even though it is a produced and socially organised result. Masculinities (or femininities) are not programmed within a human's genes or fixed by the social structure; rather, they are actively produced in a given social setting (Connell, 2000, 12). At the centre of doing gender is establishing the difference between boys and girls and men and women with regard to issues that are not determined by biology (West and Zimmerman, 1987). Every newborn baby is placed in a gender dichotomy and treated in a gender-specific way thereafter (Badinter, 1993, 65–66). West and Zimmerman (1987) claim that once this divide has been constructed, it is used to reinforce the essence of gender.

In the early 1990s, Butler (1990, 1993) added the idea of the performative nature of gender. According to Poggio (2006), Butler viewed performance as doing an activity that creates what it describes. Butler (1990) argues that discourses provide positions that individuals can adopt. However, the hegemonic discourse limits the positions available. Gender is not given but rather performed, in a performance in which we express our social identities and gender roles, both of which are more or less learned, mostly unconsciously. Everyone grows up in a particular cultural context that has its own conventions about being a boy or a girl or a woman or a man. We almost automatically reproduce these unconscious models in our daily activities. These roles and behaviour models are not the outcome of our biological readiness; instead, they are social roles that have been formed in us and have become part of our identities. As a result of them we have binary concepts such as woman and man, boy and girl, femininity and masculinity, but gender itself is not binary: gender is various, a varied phenomenon that cannot be divided into two opposing categories. Dividing people clearly into either men or women narrows people's diversity. So although there are clear social categories and different gender roles, this does not mean that everyone identifies themselves either as a man or a woman.

In addition to the concept of doing gender, we need the concept of undoing gender. According to Butler, gender binary can be destabilised and can thereby come undone (Butler, 1990, 2004). In other words, if we understand how gender is done and produced in social practices, this enables us to undo gender in the social, everyday practices in which we take part and to which we contribute. The individual can take a transformative attitude towards them (Butler 2004). On the other hand, according to West and Zimmerman (2009), gender is not undone so much as redone. Butler and West and Zimmerman have partly differing perspectives on the concept of (un)doing gender; Butler focuses on how discourses influence the formation of subjects, while West and Zimmerman emphasise how gender is done in interactions (Kelan, 2010). West and Zimmerman's approach draws on ethnomethodology, while Butler's has its origins in poststructuralism (Kelan, 2010).

Kelan (2010) suggests that studies could produce multiple forms of masculinity and femininity and show the multiplicity of options that people have available, thereby breaking down the idea of single and unitary gender meanings. In both public debate and the academic literature, fatherhood and leadership are easily associated with the traditional masculine gender. To demolish this direct connection, we need the concept of (un)doing gender as well as the concept of redoing gender. By ridding ourselves of the idea that there is so-called 'natural' behaviour for men and women, and especially for mothers and fathers, gender would get new and more diverse meanings, and this could lead to the availability of more diverse identities for both fathers and mothers. What we can say for certain is that both fatherhood and leadership can be done in different ways, but some forms of fatherhood and leadership are more acceptable in particular social and historical contexts.

On the whole, recognising that fathers confront work-family issues differently from women in the organisational context is not enough. According to Calas et al. (2014), there is a need for scholars to adopt more processual gendering organisation approaches. The doing gender concept as well as the whole gendering organisations approach offer situated understandings of processes and practices leading to gender inequalities (Calas et al., 2014, 36).

2.2 Changing masculinities and fatherhood in leadership

Just as feminist scholarship has moved through the first, second and third waves of academic criticism, so too has the developing sociology of masculinity (see e.g. Whitehead, 2002; Knights, 2019). According to Whitehead (2002, 42), the first wave of masculinity was represented by texts that concentrated on the problematic dimensions of masculinity as a culturally privileged or idealised form of male behaviour. Pleck's (1981) study, for example, challenged the notion of masculinity as functional and socially stable.

Second-wave contributors are writers such as Connell (1987), Kimmel (1987), Hearn (1987) and Brittan (1989), who developed pro-feminist social

constructionist understandings of men and masculinities (Whitehead, 2002, 42). Connell, especially, has made a substantial contribution to developing the sociology of masculinity; she challenged the dichotomous thinking of the theory of a sex role by laying the groundwork for the idea of men doing 'their' masculinity differently (Cornwall, Edström, & Greig, 2011, 3). Her concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' is widely known. In the mid-1980s, hegemonic masculinity was understood as a pattern of practice that allowed men's dominance over women to continue (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). This kind of understanding of hegemonic masculinity was based on the concept of hegemony as a form of covert and taken-for-granted ideological domination (Gramsci, 1971). Hegemonic masculinity was not and is not for all men. According to Connell and Messershmidt (2005), it embodies the most valued way of being a man and demands that all other men position themselves in relation to it. However, there has also been criticism and a re-evaluation of the concepts of masculinity and hegemonic masculinity (for example, Hearn, 2004, Messerchmidt, 2008). One of the criticisms concerns its logic on a dichotomisation of sex versus gender. However, as Connell and Messershmidt argue, masculinity is not something fixed and embedded in the body, or a personality trait; rather, masculinities are compositions of practice that are achieved in social action and can differ depending on the particular social setting.

According to Connell (2000, 23), the concept of hegemony was originally introduced into discussions of masculinity to capture the differences and hierarchies among men, and the relations between men and women. Although masculinity is socially constructed within a historical context of gender relations, definitions of masculinity are historically reactive to changing definitions of femininity: masculinity is constructed by distinguishing it from femininity (Kimmel, 1987, 14–6). Masculinity (and femininity) therefore change over time. According to Kimmel (1987, 72), what has been constructed can be reconstructed, albeit with considerable struggle. The gender order does not vanish in an instant; the historical process of changing masculinities is a struggle in which large resources are at stake (Connell, 2000, 14). This makes it important to study the circumstances in which gender patterns (masculinities and femininities) are to a greater or lesser extent open to change (Connell, 2000, 23).

The most important shift in discussions and research on masculinity is the move from talking of masculinity to talking of multiple masculinities, and to seeing masculinities as practised by people who identify as men, women or otherwise (Liu, 2017). We should therefore speak about a theory of masculinities, not a theory of masculinity, as well as about changing masculinities rather than changing masculinity. There is no one pattern of masculinity, but there are diverse definitions and dynamics of masculinity (Connell, 2000). There is therefore also no single hegemonic masculinity, but we should identify hegemonic masculinities, depending on the setting. Nor does hegemonic masculinity need to be the most common form of masculinity (Connell, 2000, 30). Connell and Messerschmidt go on to argue that, although hegemonic masculinities can be constructed that do not correspond to the lives of any actual

men, those hegemonic masculinities express widespread ideals and desires. There is, then, a hierarchy between masculinities: some masculinities are dominant while others are made subordinate, or marginalised (Connell, 2000, 10). These different hegemonic masculinities are defined collectively in the culture and are sustained in a nation's institutions (Connell, 2000, 10). It is important to remember that masculinities are not fixed; rather, they are actively produced, using the resources and strategies available in a given social context (Connell, 2000, 12).

As I said earlier, gender has come to be understood as something that is done in the course of social interaction (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Edley, 2001). Thus, masculinity is not fixed, but is being constantly remade (Connell & Messershmidt, 2005). Transforming the status quo becomes a matter of challenging existing discourses (Edley, 2001; Butler 2004). However, challenging the existing discourses, at least the dominant ones, is neither easy nor straightforward. As Edley (2001) asserts, telling stories about gender identity is not a case of anything goes. There are restrictions on the construction of gender identity: the possibilities are limited by what others will agree to or allow (Edley, 2001). These limits on identity construction are not always determined from the outside. It is often alleged that men in Western cultures tend to avoid representing themselves as emotional beings. This has often worked to their own best interests (see Seidler, 1989). Edley, however, argues that there is also evidence that men might find some difficulty in constructing themselves as emotional, even in circumstances that demand it. Although masculinity is a set of discursive practices that influence how men speak, feel and think, it is important to understand that many of these practices become so entirely familiar, so routinised and automatic, that most men mistake history for nature (Edley, 2001). The result is that men are not free to construct their masculinity as they want.

In the third wave, critical studies on men and masculinities have gone in many different directions. Some writers have concentrated on politicising masculinities (e.g., Whitehead, 2002; Cornwall, Edström, & Greig, 2011), while others have been interested in developing a global understanding of masculinities (e.g., Pringle, Hearn, Pease & Ruspini, 2011). Violence, men and masculinity has also been a very popular research area (e.g., Breines, Connell, & Eide, 2000; Anderson & Umberson, 2001; Kirby & Henry, 2012). The viewpoint of this study, the important research area of changing masculinities that is in focus here, is changing fatherhood. The concepts or ideals of "new" or "involved" fatherhood have been developed and introduced in most countries in the global north (e.g., Lengersdorf & Meuser, 2016, 149). According to Elliot (2016), discourses have begun to focus on men's caring role only quite recently—even though some men have cared for their children for a long time, and various societies have recognised different types of caring masculinities. However, generally speaking, the words "care" and "men" are not often linked together (Jyrkinen, Väkiparta & Lämsä, 2019).

The shift in Western societies towards industrial production and paid employment positioned men as important sources of economic support: as breadwinners (McCarthy & Edwards, 2011). At this time, home and working life were two separate spheres (Kanter, 1977). Nowadays the connection between these two worlds is recognised (Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1992). Especially the dual-career family model has challenged the traditional perspective of fatherhood (Jump & Haas, 1987, 110). In dual-earner families, men are taking increased responsibility for childcare (Plantin et. al, 2003), with the result that the breadwinner role of men is no longer taken for granted but is increasingly questioned (Cunningham, 2008). According to Holter (2007), one clear change in fatherhood is the near disappearance of the breadwinner's role. In his study of European men, only 10% of the men he questioned responded that it is men's responsibility to earn the money and women's to take care of the home. The majority of men thought it was just as important for the father to be present and actively involved with the child as for the mother. In addition, men, and especially the fathers of small children, reacted critically to long working days. The research results were, however, to some extent inconsistent: some men, for example, wanted a more balanced division of incomes but still expected women to take the main responsibility at home. According to Holter, this inconsistency well illustrates the current, changing situation in Europe.

Holter (2007) created two models of the changes in how men reconcile work and family in Europe: the new man model and the new circumstances model. The new man model is a model of ideological change, while the new circumstances model is a model of practical change. In the new man model, the change is linked firmly to attitudes towards equality and equality between the norms for both sexes. The latter model does not include real changes in men's attitudes, but rather new social circumstances such as, for instance, the wife's urge to have a more equal relationship. In Holter's research, this second model was more powerfully represented. He argues that the new man model can be seen as an early sign of upcoming change which has, until now, only been seen in a very few cases. Active fatherhood was one of the most significant themes in Holter's study. The centrality of children in men's lives was also important. Social equality seemed ideological to some, more practical to others, and emotional to others. Holter asserts that the dissolution of the breadwinner role is a result of women's changing demands and desires. According to Holter, the phrase "no intention" represents well one of the topics or themes in the new situation model, meaning that men have not reduced their working hours as a result of their own consideration of the matter, but rather because of changed circumstances. Occasionally, the motive for change may be the fear of divorce, with its possible outcome of losing touch with one's children. According to Feathersone (2003), some men no longer take their children for granted but recognise that, as with all relationships in this post-traditional world, they need to work and earn their identity as a father, not just assume that it is an automatic right.

Johansson and Klinth (2008) have done research on gender equality and the state of masculinity in Sweden. They argue that the hegemony of traditional

masculinity is in transition: new kinds of fathers are emerging, and they are known as "New Fathers". According to them, the entire parental model has changed. Before, men were encouraged to help mothers, and now they are expected to parent evenhandedly, so both parents can have a career. Statistics, however, tell another story. They show that women still bear the main responsibility at home and in childcare, and men still earn two-thirds of the family income (Johansson & Klinth, 2008).

In Finland, knowledge and expertise about fatherhood tend to be organised around two competing realities or rationalities (Eräranta, 2005; Vuori, 2009). Eräranta and Moisander (2011) have named these two competing concepts of fatherhood as manly fathering and involved fathering. The basic model of manly fathering is of the man who stands his ground as the moral authority and master of the household. The central part of this discourse is a clear dichotomy of roles: the male as breadwinner and the female as homemaker. Eräranta and Moisander explain that manly fatherhood includes the idea of the biological difference between mothers and fathers as parents. This discourse strongly associates fatherhood with masculinity and with the view of masculinity as the opposite of femininity. At the same time, this discourse excludes the possibilities of feminine men or feminine fathers. Involved fathering, on the other hand, constructs a more open-minded, socio-political form of fatherhood because in this discourse the baseline is shared parenthood and a dual-earner family structure. According to Eräranta and Moisander, the involved fathering discourse questions the distinct roles of mothers and fathers and constructs parenting as a caring, intimate and committed relationship with the children, which is achievable for both genders. An involved father tries to find a balance between his own career and his family so that his partner will have equal opportunities in the labour market. In addition, he can form stronger, closer and personally more rewarding relationships with his children (Eräranta & Moisander, 2011).

Many researchers claim that even though some fathers' involvement in childcare responsibilities has increased, men still have a tendency to take part only in the nice parts of parenting, such as playing sports and outdoor activities (Craig, 2006). Meanwhile, women take care of the rest of it (Sayer et al., 2004; Johansson & Klinth, 2008). Men's opportunity to choose the pleasant or convenient roles of parenting can be seen as a significant form of power. Fatherhood can be elective, while motherhood is a social duty (Vuori, 2009). It is expected that men will be good fathers who care and are involved, but at the same time there are still different parenting roles for women and men (Johansson & Klinth, 2008). Hands-on care is still culturally defined as feminine, which seems to make it difficult to combine intimate care with ideas of masculinity (Isaksen, 2005, 123). Dermott (2008, 77) illustrates how the culture suggests that motherhood and fatherhood may be considered interchangeable, but in terms of conduct there is still a significant difference. There is also the consideration that it may in fact be mothers who hold the gatekeeping role; they may themselves adhere to the role of primary parent, thus limiting or organising the father's opportunities to interact with his children (Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Dermott, 2008;

Gaunt, 2008). In Finland, the status of primary parent is given not only to mothers themselves, but also to childcare professionals (Alasuutari, 2003). Whatever the case may be with regard to mothers' gatekeeping practices or, in the wider picture, with childcare professionals, parenting is still deeply gendered in terms of daily childcare, the relationship between care and paid work, discourses on what is suitable, and who has the primary responsibility for nurturing and care (Dermott, 2008). Care is gendered - at work and in the home (Jyrkinen et al. 2019).

For academics or other actors, it is difficult to ascertain what is the best concept to use to describe these new, changed fathers. Common terms are "involved" or "new" father/fatherhood, but both concepts involve some complexities. According to Dermott (2008, 23), the concept of "new" highlights a remarkable shift in both the meaning and enactment of fatherhood. It defines 'new fatherhood' as loving, involved and non-authoritarian compared to the emotionally distant and authoritarian fatherhood of the past. However, Dermott argues that the concept 'new' can result a vague and ill-defined category that covers anything that is going on in present-day fatherhood, and that it is impossible to say when the change to 'new' occurred: drawing the line between 'old' and 'new' is tricky in many ways. As for the concept of 'involved fatherhood', according to Dermott this focuses more on 'doing' fatherhood. She claims that 'involved fathering' tends to refer especially to men's growing participation in childcare. Nevertheless, the term 'involved' is either that clear concept. Is only the caring father an involved father, or is the father who focuses on earning a living also an involved father?

Dermott (2008, 24) suggests that it would be reasonable to recognise various forms of involvement, but this could be quite confusing, since 'involved fatherhood' was originally defined as one form of fatherhood in contrast to the breadwinner form of fatherhood. All things considered, it does not seem to be helpful to seek a single concept or term to capture the changes in fatherhood. Instead, putting together a collection of various images and representations of fatherhood might give us a better understanding of it. It is also important to keep in mind the connection between changing fatherhood and changing masculinities since, when concepts of fatherhood are revised, this process of social change will also affect masculinities (Brandt & Kvande, 1992; Seidler, 2003), and vice versa. According to Doucet (2006), the caring father represents non-hegemonic masculinity. However, the increased participation of fathers in childcare does not inevitably question the feminine connotation of care (Lengersdorf & Meuser, 2016, 156). Some studies have shown how important it is for men to make sure that care work is consistent with masculinity (Lengersdorf & Meuser, 2016, 156). Lengersdorf and Meuser (2016, 158) argue that the feminine associations of care will continue as long as the gendered assignment of the positions of primary and secondary carer continues, and men choose to accept the secondary position. Because of the link between the two, changing fatherhood calls for changing motherhood as well (Lengersdorf & Meuser, 2016, 158). As long as mothers are positioned as primary caregivers and hold on to that role, it will be hard to establish equality in the sharing of care.

Now, when in family life the fatherhood model is under the process of reconstruction (Suwada, 2016, 191), the reconstruction of fathering practices also challenges masculinities in working life.

2.3 Work-family relationships and fatherhood

Researchers generally regard the barriers to equality between mothers and fathers as being mostly in their working lives (Johansson & Klinth 2008). Hearn (2011) sees workplaces as part of the problem, but he also sees them as a solution to gender equality. According to Knijn and Selten (2002, 171), the demands of the labour market do not fit well with the ideologies of caring fatherhood. Holter (2007) claims that the main obstacle to the development of gender equality is the persistence of unrecognised organisational structures that reinforce traditional gender divisions. Holter goes on to argue that this organisational gender draws its values from the traditional division of gender, even though the ideological environment around it has changed. He sees a deep gap between organisational practices and general beliefs about equality. The men in his studies discussed the cost to men of equality. Nurturing fathers feel that they suffer two devaluations at work: they experience devaluation because they have prioritised caring responsibilities, and then they suffer extra devaluation because they are men, and caring responsibilities are usually linked to femininity. Hence, a man's value in a traditional masculine organization can be doubly devalued if he is an active parent and father. Kugelberg (2006) came to the same conclusion. He said that being marked as a caring father at work was risky because then there was the possibility of ending up in the same "trouble basket" as mothers. Both Kugelberg and Holter articulate the problem that the idea of a good worker or good manager in the organisational mind is essentially different from individuals' personal ideas of a good worker or good manager. Individuals have relaxed their stereotypical thoughts and practices, but business and organisational life still depend on these traditional ideas. Institutional and organisational practices prevent the transition towards a new, non-traditional work-family life balance (Holter, 2007). This can be the reason for the slow transformation of fatherhood in the organisational context. According to Hochschild (1997), adults see caring tasks as less socially rewarding than the work tasks associated with employment.

The conflict between work and family has emerged as a subject for discussion lately, with the questioning of the old traditional roles. However, despite this new interest, there have been only a few studies that have focused on how fathers experience this conflict (Allard et al., 2011). There is no certainty that women and men experience conflict similarly (Eby et al., 2005), although there are studies that show that men and women experience the work-family balance differently (e.g., Dribe & Stanfors, 2009; Schober, 2013). Behson (2002) found that the organisational culture has a direct impact on the conflict between work and home. Research by Allards et al. (2011), which included 377 respondents who were fathers and who worked in the private sector in Sweden,

found that men felt that they receive little support from upper management for combining work and family. According to Allards et al., this finding indicates that upper management perceives work and family as two quite separate parts of life. Holter (2007) reaches the same conclusion in his research, in which his main finding was the lack of support for fathers in their organisations. According to these studies, employers do not see men as caregivers. Huttunen (1999) concluded that fatherhood should only be practised in such a way that it does not interfere with the man's paid work. Therefore, nobody wants fatherhood to affect men's working lives. This is still the view at a time when fathers have become more interested in having an active role in childcare (Wall & Arnold, 2007; Flaquer, Moreno & Lopez, 2016), and the conflict between work and family life is becoming a more similar experience for fathers and mothers (Lippe, Jager & Kops, 2006).

The idea of working fathers being involved in family life and trying to adjust their working lives so that they have more family time is also becoming more common (Ranson, 2012; Wada, Backman & Forwell, 2015; Almqvist & Kaufman, 2016). Research has also shown that men are increasingly feeling the conflict and tension between work and family (Crespi & Ruspini, 2016). For example, a study by Mills and Grotto (2017) among senior executives found that men increasingly experience work-to-home conflict, despite having fewer care responsibilities at home than their spouses. Men are experiencing cultural and institutional barriers, such as problems with paternity leave, difficulty in working flexible hours, and prejudice from colleagues and managers when trying to become more involved fathers (Stevens, 2015; Crespi & Ruspini, 2016, 3).

According to McLaughlin and Muldoon (2014), there is a vanguard of fathers aiming to practise involved fatherhood and struggling to balance work and family demands. Bergmann and Schiffebänker's (2016, 119) research in organisations with masculine ethics reported that men did opt for parental leave, but they chose a shorter period than they could legally have taken that better suited the needs of the company, in order to avoid any restrictions: the main idea was to plan their absence from work in such a way that there was minimal risk of causing the organisation any inconvenience. In organisations with caring ethics (most often female-dominated sectors), on the other hand, men chose a longer period of leave without expecting any problems or obstacles when returning to work (Bergmann & Schiffbänker, 2016, 119). In these 'caring' organisations, preconditions such as replacement regulations were well-developed, and paternity leave was seen as only one of many forms of leave. Interestingly, in organisations with caring ethics, men felt that they could openly announce their plans to take parental leave, while in organisations with masculine ethics, men tended to take their paternity leave in the summer months, when more people are off, so the leave was more or less hidden from the organisation (Bergmann & Schiffbänker, 2016, 120). In organisations with caring ethics, most men returned to their jobs easily after long paternity leave, but a small group of men had problems doing so, despite the positive gender-equality

strategy in the organisation. Bergmann and Schiffbänker (2016, 121) conclude from this that line managers' micro-practices towards returning fathers play a greater role than organisational targets, and can be identified as either a supportive or strongly discouraging factor in men's successfully returning to work after paternity leave and in maintaining a sustainable work-life balance.

In organisations with masculine ethics, some men returned to different positions that offered a better work-life balance or changed employers in order to have better work-family balance. Only men in positions of leadership could decide for themselves how to organise the work-family balance. To Bergmann and Schiffbänker (2016, 122), this exemplifies their observation that men in 'masculine organisations' with less personal decision-making power have fewer possibilities of establishing a good balance between work and family. Bergmann and Schiffbänker's research also showed that men in female-dominated sectors with comparatively better work-family balance practices benefit from their working conditions and are less likely to work overtime than men in male-dominated sectors. From this it can be concluded that the masculine organisational culture seems to negatively affect men's willingness both to take longer paternity leave and to work fewer hours.

2.4 Masculine management/leadership and fatherhood

The Finnish language does not make an explicit difference between leadership and management, In English and in the field of organisational research there is, however a difference between management and leadership. The following definition put forward by Nicholls (1987, 21) describes the distinction:

> Management can get things done through others by traditional activities of planning, organizing, monitoring and controlling—without worrying too much what goes on inside people's heads. Leadership, by contrast, is vitally concerned with what people are thinking and feeling and how they are to be linked to the environment, to the entity and the job/task.

However, this distinction is not always clear in practice or research. Definitions of leadership usually include some kind of influence process (Yukl, 1989) in which the leader influences the follower. However, this kind of simple understanding has been criticised for various reasons. Alvesson (2002, 94) argues that leadership does not entail just a leader acting and a group of followers responding; rather, it is a complex social process in which the meanings and interpretations of what is said and done are significant. According to Hearn (2014, 418), leadership is a more specific term than management, indicating acts and processes of leading. In other words, it shows some direction and initiative. Management refers to people, i.e., managers who manage and organise, as well as to the wider process of managing, which may involve people, technologies,

systems, etc. According to Alvesson (2002, 101), managers coordinate, plan, control, etc., but they also try to create a commitment to plans, rules, goals and instructions, thus making 'leadership' and 'management' difficult to differentiate in practice.

The issues of gender and gendering are linked to both management and leadership. For this reason, distinguishing between the two concepts sharply is not necessary in this study. Traditionally, manager and leadership have been constructed in masculine terms (Schein, 1973, 1975). The ideas, 'think manager, think male' or 'think manager, think masculine' have been identified in a lot of studies on the stereotypes of leadership (e.g., Heilman, 1983, 1995; Schein & Mueller, 1992; Koenig et al., 2011). However, Collinson and Hearn (1996, 1–4) remarked that although most managers are men, there has been a strange silence on the interrelations between men, masculinities and management. They argue that management literature has consistently failed to question the gendered nature of management, although images of middle and senior management seem to be saturated with particular notions of masculinities. According to Collinson and Hearn (1994), men's domination of senior positions arises in the many interconnections between particular masculinities and managerial practices, for example, paternalism, entrepreneurialism, careerism and personalism. In practice, both managers and men repeatedly take these asymmetrical power relations for granted, often ignoring the hierarchical nature of organisational life and/or its gendered character (Collinson & Hearn, 1996, 11). As a result, through formal and informal power dynamics the taken-for-granted hegemonic masculinities of management are reproduced (Collinson & Hearn, 1996, 11). This 'masculine ethic' (Kanter, 1977, 43) includes characteristics that are assumed to belong to only men: 'a tough-minded approach to problems, analytic abilities to abstract and plan, a capacity to set aside personal, emotional considerations in the interests of task accomplishment, a cognitive superiority in problem-solving and decision-making'.

However, management and leadership practices and ideals have changed in recent decades and nowadays the preference is that they should not be merely masculine ones. According to Billing and Alvesson (2014, 213), leadership ideals are becoming more 'non-masculine'. Fletcher (2004) argues that new leadership ideals consist of new and non-masculine labels like post-heroic, shared, and distributed leadership. According to Clegg et al. (2005), how to be a leader is changing, with less of the modern authoritarian leader and more of the postmodern collegiate and facilitatory approach to leadership. Billing and Alvesson (2014, 214) claim that the preferred leadership ideas in recent years are not necessarily 'pro-women' or feminine, but they do not fit well with the traditional ideas of the masculine character of the good manager: technocratically rational, aggressive, competitive, firm, and so on. They talk about the idea of a cultural process of de-masculinisation of leadership ideals. They also see de-masculinisation as a balancing force to the historical and to some extent ongoing domination of men and certain forms of masculinities in leadership.

However, masculine management and leadership have not yet collapsed. In most organisations and countries, men continue to dominate leadership and management (Hearn 2014, 417), and, for the most part, masculinist attitudes and behaviour tend to continue to exist (Whitehead, 2014, 453). The assumptions and ideas of good leadership are also still masculine (e.g., Klenke, 2011; Katila & Eriksson, 2013; Powell, 2014). It seems that certain kinds of masculinities are very persistent, especially in management and leadership, although some new models of the leadership ideal are now getting more space. According to Whitehead (2014, 453), one reason for this persistent ideal of masculine leadership is the gender binary, which sustains both masculine and feminine distinctions to some extent throughout all societies. This division is sustained in the workplace through language, stereotypes and culture. The division of labour framed mainly through the public/private divide still places women in care roles and men in positions of authority and leadership (Whitehead, 2014, 453). According to Whitehead (2014, 454), behind the persistence of masculinities in management still lies the unchanging gender binary, in which societies are framed around male and female dualism.

Aaltio-Marjosola and Lehtinen (1998) saw managers with a family as travellers between two worlds. The role of the father has changed, as discussed above, and is moving towards a more caring and active style of parenting, although the caring father does not fit with the mysticism of a leader (Zaleznik 1991) or the masculine paradigm of leadership. Full-time jobs and overtime work are seen as signs of loyalty, dedication and competence (Haas & Hwang, 1995). This applies especially to leaders, whose distinguishing feature is seen to be working long hours and putting work before other responsibilities, such as family (Kugelberg, 2006). Leadership, as we have already seen, is an area of organisational culture where masculine factors, behaviour and appearance are particularly linked (Alvesson & Billing, 1997). Supporting a certain kind of masculinity in organisations and leadership also reproduces particular assumptions about the roles of fathers and mothers (Calas & Smircich, 1993; Tienari & Koveshnikov, 2014, 520). If a man's (or a woman's) identity does not meet the culturally dominant ideals, it is likely that he or she will inevitably face resistance in the workplace due to these cultural standards (Alvesson & Due Billing, 1997).

Aaltio-Marjosola and Lehtinen (1998) observed that male leaders' private lives, including fatherhood, have been overlooked in research. One reason why leaders' fatherhood and their relationships with their children have been less recognised, they say, is the convention of leadership discourse, where the obligations of working life and private life are separated. One phase of Hearn and Niemistö's (2012) research involved interviews with male and female managers, and the interviews confirmed the persistence of this separation; in their study, father managers very clearly divided their lives into private and public. Aaltio-Marjosola & Lehtinen also found that there is no cultural support for alternative fatherhood in working life. Leaders both grow in this society and are part of the renewal process. For change to come about, the faces of leadership

also need to be modernised (Aaltio-Marjosola & Lehtinen, 1998). Hearn and Niemistö (2012) likewise argue that fathers and managers need to be seen in context. Managers are gendered, and some of them are fathers and mothers.

3 METHODOLOGICAL CHOICES

3.1 Social constructionism

Both the research topic and theoretical framework of this doctoral study are linked to the epistemological and ontological choices made. The research approach here is social constructionism, which is theoretical in orientation and which offers critical alternatives in the social sciences (Burr, 2015). Social constructionism abandons the positivistic ideal of one reality. There is no clear definition of what social constructionism is or what kind of researcher can be positioned as a social constructionist. Nevertheless, there are a few assumptions (from Gergen, 1985) that are considered key concepts of social constructionism (Burr, 1995; 2015). These assumptions run through this doctoral study. First, the social constructionism adopted here takes a critical stance towards taken-for-granted truths and understandings about the world and ourselves. Social constructionism denies the idea that conventional knowledge is based upon an objective, unbiased observation of the world. Seen from the viewpoint of this dissertation, for example, one taken-for-granted 'truth' could be that it is more natural for a mother to care for a child than for a father to do so. In this thesis, I challenge this kind of understanding: I do not rely on the idea of one reality which can be considered objective. I see mothers' higher share of care work as a more socially and historically constructed practice than as the result of the objective fact of their being better or having more natural caring ability. I therefore adopt the epistemological stance that opposes the positivism and empiricism that assumes that the nature of the world can be revealed by observation.

The second assumption is that the categories and concepts that we use are historically and culturally specific. For example, the notion of fatherhood has different meanings today from fifty years back, and it is conceived differently in

Finland from in India. Hence, concepts and understandings are historically and culturally bound (Burr, 1995, 3).

Thirdly, knowledge is constructed and sustained by social processes. Our shared versions of knowledge are constructed in social interactions between people in everyday life. The shared version of fatherhood (or motherhood) is constructed, reconstructed and sustained in various encounters in everyday life. This means that what we understand as truth is our currently accepted way of understanding the world; in the future, we might understand the world differently due to new interactions between people in different social contexts. (Burr, 1995, 4).

The fourth assumption is that there are several 'social constructions' of the world. There is no one understanding of fatherhood, but rather, there are numerous 'truths'. Every understanding or construction brings with it different kinds of human action (Burr, 1995, 5). If we understand fatherhood as traditional and masculine, we probably do not expect fathers to take part in the work of caring for children, but if we understand fatherhood through contemporary participative fathering, we probably expect fathers to take on similar caring tasks to those of mothers.

Berger and Luckmann's (1966) description of social life as human beings creating and sustaining social phenomena through social practices has influenced social constructionism. Their understanding of social constructionism is a combination of social realism and symbolic interactionism (Aaltonen & Kovalainen, 2001, 19). Both realism, which stresses social reality, and symbolic interactionism, which underlines the centrality of relatively universally agreed-upon systems of signs, have influenced the emergence of social constructionism in the social sciences (Aaltonen & Kovalainen, 2001, 19). Social constructionism has a multidisciplinary background. For example, it has drawn on the work of Michel Foucault, but its cultural roots are also in postmodernism: it is a movement that has arisen from and is influenced by various disciplines and intellectual traditions (Burr, 2015, 16-17).

Criticism of social constructionism usually starts with its relativistic standpoint. For me, too, radical relativism can be problematic in social constructionism. If we think that 'there is nothing outside of the text', as Derrida (1976, 158) has claimed, how can we say or criticise anything at all? If we think that conceptual meanings are only constructed inside and between texts, how can we say anything about conceptual changes on a societal level? For example, if leadership does not reference outside reality at all, how can we examine possible changes in leadership in any social context? There is no need to deny the existence of material reality, but as Foucault says, our only way of apprehending reality is through discourse, which then determines our perceptions of reality (Burr, 2015, 103). In this study, the existence of material reality is not denied but the possibility of reporting it directly is questioned, and it is found to be problematic that reality is in some way reflected in our speech or other symbolic meanings (Burr, 2015, 118). Hence, the social world is the one that is socially constructed. What is common to all the different approaches of social

constructionism is that they reject the positivistic epistemology that sees social reality as an unchanging, objective fact (Aaltonen & Kovalainen, 2001, 21). The different approaches of social constructionism ask slightly different questions, but they share an understanding of language as performative and constructive. Language both constructs and represents the world.

There are two main forms of social constructionism. Micro-social constructionism focuses on micro-structures of language use in interaction, and macro-social focuses more on how macro linguistics and social structures frame our social lives (Burr, 2015, 24). The former sees social construction as taking place within everyday discourse between people in interaction. According to this form of social constructionism, we cannot make any claims about a real world that exists beyond our descriptions (Burr, 2015, 24). Conversation analyses are the most popular analytical method in this form of social constructionism, focusing mainly on the analysis of interactions in order to reveal the rhetorical means that people use to achieve their interactional goals (Burr, 2015, 25).

This doctoral study can be positioned more firmly under macro- than micro-social constructionism. The focus here is more on social structures, social relations and institutionalised practices (Burr, 2015, 25) than on rhetorical or linguistic means. The concept of power is closely connected to macro-social constructionism. Studies in this field are often interested in analysing forms of social inequality such as gender (Burr, 2015, 26). In this thesis, I also draw on deconstructionism. Deconstructionism highlights the constructive power of language as a system of meanings rather than the constructive work of individuals (Burr, 2015; 20). According to Denzin (1995, 52), deconstruction is the critical analysis of texts. How we speak and represent the world through texts, pictures and images constitutes the discourses through which we experience life (Burr, 2015, 21). We can use deconstruction to show how discourses present a particular vision of the world, after which it becomes possible to challenge those discourses.

3.2 Discourse analysis approach

The data of social constructionist research are often analysed using discourse analysis (Burr, 2015, 90). Since the 1980s, discourse analysis has been widely used in qualitative research in social science. Discourse is a way of speaking—how we use language in different contexts and how we give things meanings. However, it is a lot more than just a way of speaking; it is intimately connected to social structure and social practices (Burr, 2015, 74). Discourse, above all, is a social phenomenon (van Dijk, 2009, 67). Here, I define discourses as socially constructed ways of knowing some aspects of reality. In other words, discourse is a particular way of representing parts of the world (Fairclough, 2005). According to Jäger and Maier (2009, 35), discourses are not only expressions of social practice but also serve particular ends. They exercise power in society by institutionalising and regulating ways of talking, thinking and acting (Jäger &

Maier, 2009, 35). This means that power is something that, in theory, anybody can exercise through discourse (Burr, 2015, 91).

Discourse analysis is interested in how social reality is constructed in different social practices. It seeks to understand the role of discourse in the construction of the social world (Wiggins, 2016, 32). Hence, one strength of the discourse analysis approach is that it makes it possible to uncover the social reality surrounding fathers' work–family relationship, and examine and understand the complexity of the phenomenon and how people make sense of this complexity. According to Heikkinen, Lämsä and Niemistö (2020), discursive constructions of work–family practices make visible the complex connections between individuals and organisations in the environment in which they act. Discourse analysis has the capacity to put other social analyses in connection with the fine detail of particular instances of institutional practice so that it is time-oriented in both its textual detail and the wider social and cultural contexts (Fairclough, 1995, 159). It is concerned not only with discourses as such, but also with how discourses are used in different social contexts. Discourse analysis enables a critical-performative view of organisations (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011). If we can find out how men talk about work–family relationship and practices, we can identify the work–family practices that are limited, enabled and controlled in organisational life (Fairclough 1992). The objective of using discourse analysis in this doctoral study is not just the discourse per se, but also the relationship between discourse and the social world.

Discourse analysis is not, however, one particular method of analysis, but rather a collective of different approaches, which can differ considerably from one another. In this doctoral study, I have chosen to use a different discourse analytical approach in each of the three articles. Figure 2 presents a summary of the methodological choices made in this doctoral study.

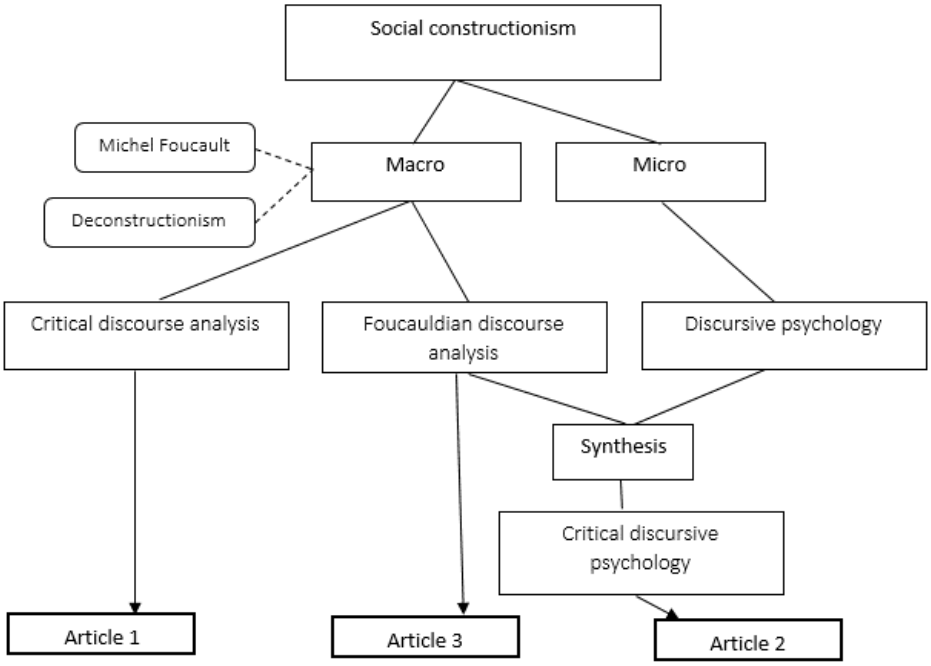

FIGURE 2 Methodological choices of this study

I apply critical discourse analysis (CDA) in the first article, the synthesis approach, i.e., critical discursive psychology (CDP), in the second, and Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) in the third. Both CDA and FDA utilise the idea of deconstruction and can be positioned under macro-social constructionism, while the synthesis approach applied in my second article attempts to step outside the analytical boundaries of the micro and macro forms of social constructionism. The synthesis approach combines FDA with the discursive psychology approach, which can be positioned within micro-social constructionism. In discursive psychology, discourse is treated as situated in a particular context and as action-oriented (Wiggins, 2016). Discursive psychology and Foucauldian discourse analysis among other things take different approaches to agency: discursive psychology mostly treats people as active users of discourse, whereas Foucauldian discourse analysis sees people as being both shaped by discourse and having the ability to make choices about which discourses are used (Wiggins, 2016, 50). In addition, Foucauldian discourse analysis situates discourse within a wider context than does discursive psychology (Wiggins, 2016, 50). Burr (2015, 26) argues that there is no reason why these two forms of social constructionism (macro and micro) cannot be integrated. Similarly, Wetherell (1998) has argued that we could and should be concerned with how both situated language use and the wider social context within it are produced.

Since critical discourse analysis (CDA) is applied in my first research article, which focuses on male managers' discourses of fatherhood, I need to clarify its main principles. According to Wodak and Meyer (2009, 3), CDA is characterised

by its problem orientation, its eclecticism, its interest in de-mystifying ideologies and power through a systematic investigation of semiotic research material, and its attempts to make the researcher's own position and interests apparent while remaining self-reflective. Nevertheless, CDA is not a singular or specific theory, but its applications in studies are manifold, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, 5). Fairclough (1995, 43) considers one of the main characteristics of CDA to be its ability to look at how discourse cumulatively contributes to the reproduction of macrostructures. CDA applies a critical lens, which is focused on how knowledge, subjects and power relations are produced and transformed within discourse and how they are operationalised through a variety of methods to analyse texts in context (Leitch & Palmer, 2010).

Fairclough (1995, 27) uses the concept of ideological discursive formations. He argues that these are present in social institutions. Often, one ideological discursive formation is dominant. This dominant discursive formation has the capacity to 'naturalise' its ideologies so that they become 'common sense'. In other words, it creates the illusion that other ideological discursive formations are not common sense or rational. Opening up or denaturalising 'natural' ideologies is the objective of critical discourse analysis. Fairclough suggests that denaturalisation involves making clear how social structures determine the properties of discourse and how discourse, in turn, determines social structures. According to Hardy (2001), an essential part of the theory of discourse is the mechanism whereby the dominant discourse is in ongoing conflict with competing discourses. The dominant discourse has to reproduce and reformulate itself in interactions day by day in order to maintain its dominance (Hardy, 2001). A discourse will not maintain its status without continuous work and reproduction, in other words, discursive work. Wodak and Mayer (2009, 10) construct CDA as being fundamentally interested in analysing the complex structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. The aim of CDA is therefore to critically investigate social inequality as it is expressed, constituted and legitimised in discourse(s) (Wodak & Mayer, 2009, 10), and it is in this way that it is used in my first article. In this sense, the roots of the CDA approach lie in connecting the everyday to larger political and economic questions (Mumby, 2004), such as inequality in working life.

In my second research article, the synthesis approach to discourse analysis was used. As I said above, both critical discourse analysis and Foucauldian discourse analysis can be positioned under macro-social constructionism, which does not thoroughly explain our subjectivity or agency (Burr, 2015, 138–139). According to Davies and Harré (1990), positions in discourse provide the content of our subjectivity: once we take up a position within a discourse, we inevitably come to understand the world and ourselves through that perspective (Burr, 2015, 139). Our idea of who we are and what is possible and not possible for us, what is right, and what is right or wrong for us to do, then all result from the subject positions we occupy within the discourse (Burr, 2015, 139). From this point of

view, our subjective experience of ourselves, i.e., subjectivity, is determined by the various subject positions—some permanent, some temporary—that we take up in discourses (Burr, 2015, 139). According to Burr (2015, 139), this view of subjectivity is problematic from the point of view of agency: if people are a product of discourse, how can they have agency? Both CDA and FDA position individuals as largely passive with respect to discourse. In answering this dilemma, some theorists have developed synthesis approaches to discourse analysis which combine micro and macro forms of social constructionism (e.g., Edley, 2001; Wetherell, 1998; Budds, Locke, & Burr, 2014). Both Edley and Wetherell have reconciled the approaches of discursive psychology and Foucauldian discourse analysis. They call their synthesis approach critical discursive psychology (CDP). The central point of CDP is a focus on the dual role of discourse. According to Budds et al. (2014), this means that discourse is both constitutive in shaping, enabling and constraining possibilities of identities and social action, and also constructive. Discourse can be a tool used by participants in social interactions to achieve particular effects. This focus on the dual role of discourse is applied in my second research article, where I am interested in the leadership practices that are brought into play in the interaction of managers and employees.

In the third research article, the Foucauldian discourse was used in the analysis. In this study, the focus was on the discourses of working men on the subject of leadership practices relating to work-family balance. The roots of Foucauldian discourse analysis lie in the work of Michel Foucault and post-structuralism (Willig, 2015). According to Willig (2015, 154), FDA is concerned with language and its role in the constitution of social life. Discourses enable and constrain what can be said, by whom, where, and when (Parker, 1992; Willig, 2015, 154). Besides regulating what can be said, discourses include different possibilities for what a person can do, what they may do to others, and what they are expected to do (Burr, 2015, 191). Discourses guide both individual and collective creations of reality (Jäger & Maier, 2009, 37). Discourses therefore exercise power in society by institutionalising and regulating ways of talking, thinking and acting (Jäger & Maier, 2009, 35). According to Burr (2015, 191), one aim of Foucauldian discourse analysis is to identify the discourses operating in a particular area of life and to consider the implications of these discourses for subjectivity, practice and power relations. In this doctoral study, the specific area of interest is fatherhood in organisations and leadership and how the discourses that operate in this area affect men's understanding and opportunities. Another aim of FDA is to reveal contradictions within and between discourses, what can be said and done, and the means by which discourse makes certain comments seem rational and beyond all doubt, even though they are only valid in a particular context (Jäger & Maier, 2009, 36).

To conclude, every discourse approach used in this doctoral study aims to uncover the accepted, unquestioned truths that dominant discourses construct and reconstruct in social life. Burr (2015, 141) emphasises that change can happen by opening up marginalised and repressed discourses, making them more visible

and leading to alternative identities. However, this is not an easy task. The dominant discourses, such as masculine management or breadwinner fatherhood, are often tied to social arrangements and practices that support the status quo and maintain the positions of powerful groups. By challenging these discourses and resisting the positions they offer, we are also concurrently challenging their associated social practices, structures and power relations (Burr, 2015, 142). The possibility of social and personal change lies in our capacity to identify, understand and resist the discourses to which we too are subject (Burr, 2015, 144). If our aim is to change the discourses of fatherhood in working life, we need to first identify and understand the dominant and marginalised discourses that are available. Only then can we consciously resist (or support) them.

3.3 Process of analysis and the research material

As I explained above, I have used three different forms of discourse analysis in this doctoral study. In addition, I have combined various analytical tools of discourse analysis in my work, which can be seen as a strength but also as a weakness. According to Wiggins (2016), the different ways in which discourse analysis is used across the social sciences can be confusing, even overwhelming: the various fields of discourse analysis and the several tools may lead to incoherence in the analysis. Understanding the differences between different forms of discourse analysis is therefore important, but I do not consider that the different forms are exclusive of each other. Rather, I agree with Wiggins (2016), who considers each form of discourse analysis to be a different camera lens that enables a broader or narrower view of the issue of interest. In the end, through different approaches, we can do different kinds of research, because each approach has a different main aim. It should also be mentioned that the different forms of discourse analysis are not hierarchical; each has its own advantages and challenges (Wiggins, 2016, 32). Therefore for this doctoral project, after deciding the focus of my research I chose the appropriate form of discourse analysis. I think each approach that I used guided me slightly differently in my analysis and so helped me to examine different perspectives on my subject. Choosing the analysis approach for each of the research processes was not easy; it would have been easier to conduct all three studies with the same analytic methods. This would have given this doctoral study a more solid methodology. However, during this journey of mine to complete a doctoral thesis, I have familiarised myself with many of the different approaches and perspectives of discourse analysis, and I consider this has resulted in my having been through an important learning process. Table 2 summarises each form of discourse analysis that I used and the research material in each article.

TABLE 2 Summary of discourse approaches and research material

Research article	Form of discourse analysis chosen	Key aim of the analysis Approach	Research material	Analytical tools	Referenced studies of approach
Article 1	Critical discourse analysis (CDA)	To open up the hidden ideologies that marginalise or oppress individuals or groups in society and to undermine the ideologies	29 thematic interviews with male managers who have children.	Discourses Absences	Fairclough, N. (1992, 1995, 1997)
Article 2	Synthesis approach i.e. Critical discursive psychology (CDP),	To identify the culturally available repertoires that shape our understanding of a particular phenomenon and that define the subject positions available within that discourse	30 open-ended interviews with working men (from various hierarchical levels) from six organisations	Interpretative repertoires/ discourses, Subject positions, Ideological dilemmas	Edley, N. (2001) Budds, K., Locke, A., & Burr, V. (2014)
Article 3	Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA)	To examine how discourses make particular truths about the world available and how these influence people's subjectivities and practices	67 media articles from 1990–2015	Discourses, Action orientation, Subject positions, Discourse and practice, Subjectivities, Historical Analysis	Jäger, S. & Maier, F. (2009) Willig, C. (2013)

In my first article, I follow Fairclough (1997, 31), who declares that the term discourse has two meanings. One, which dominates linguistics, sees discourse as a social activity, and interaction between individuals in social situations. The other way of perceiving discourse has its origins in post-structural social theory, in which discourse is the social construction of reality. Fairclough (1997, 31)

combines these two aspects in his own theory. In my first research article in this doctoral study, I follow Fairclough, and in the analyses I am interested in both meanings of discourse. Language produces concepts like femininity and masculinity, and through these kinds of concepts we make connections and create our understanding of the world (Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002). However, concepts are not permanent, but are dependent on time and place. In the same way, individuals are dependent on linguistic practices to make sense of their own and others' actions (Lämsä & Sintonen, 2001). Discourse is an ongoing productive and interactive performance of identities. When analysing a text, the representations and identities that cannot be found in the text are as important as the content (Fairclough, 1997, 80). One has to observe both what is said and what has been left unsaid. The ideological practice of representing and constructing the social world in a certain way easily turns into traditions that are taken for granted. That is why we need critical discourse analysis, which can reveal these traditions and discourses (Lämsä & Sintonen, 2001).

The research material for the first article consists of 29 interviews with male managers. These interviews were conducted by Suvi Heikkinen. The interviewees were working in small, medium and large organisations in the public and private sectors; some were business owners. Common to all the men were their managerial position and extensive work experience, which ranged from 11 to 41 years (mean 28 years). The interviewees were men in the middle or late stages of their careers and were between the ages of 37 and 61 (mean age 49.8). Their educational background varied from secondary level to postgraduate degrees. Most of the men lived or had lived with their children when the children were small. The number of children varied from one to six (mean 2.4). All the men lived in heterosexual relationships, but a few of the men were divorced from the mother of their children. The interviews can be described as semi-structured and open-ended, which allowed for informal and open discussion with the interviewees. These interviews included discussions about the men's career and work-family relationship. However, for this research, I focused on the parts of the interviews in which fatherhood, work-family relationship and leadership were talked about. The interviews were recorded and were then transcribed verbatim.

I began the data analysis by reading through the transcripts carefully. After that, I identified pieces of the texts that dealt with fatherhood, leadership/management, work-family life and career. In other words, special interest was given to moments when the men spoke of fatherhood in relation to their work. I also paid attention to how the men spoke of the role of their spouse in the work-family relationship. I then concentrated more on these parts of the interviews and as I reread them I made notes of my thoughts and ideas. In this phase, my aim was to pick out the parts where the interviewee expressed the meaning he gave to the topic; they were pieces of text that contained an idea about fatherhood and leadership. I then began to identify the themes that emerged. I noticed that specific themes appeared over and over again, and also that there were contradictions between the themes. After working with the data

and discussing it intensively several times with my co-author, I began to categorise the themes, and that is how I aimed to construct the discourses. Very early on in the research process I realised that, because of the many contradictions in the texts, it was impossible to define just a single discourse on the topic; instead, several discourses could be defined. Finally, after several rounds of reading the materials and discussions with my co-author, I interpreted four discourses of fatherhood in the data: breadwinner fatherhood, uncommitted fatherhood, best parts of fatherhood, and hands-on fatherhood.

In the second article, Edley's model of CDP was applied. This approach recognises that when people talk, they use a repertoire of terms provided for them by history (Edley, 2001). Speakers can make choices, but the options are not always equal: some constructions are more available than others (Edley, 2001). In other words, some ways of understanding the world can become culturally dominant or hegemonic (Gramsci, 1971). According to Edley (2001), the central aim of CDP is to analyse this process of normalisation/naturalisation and to examine whose interests are best served by different discursive formulations. Thus, CDP aims to capture the paradoxical relationship between discourse and the speaking subject. In this perspective, people are at the same time both products and the producers of discourse (Billig, 1991; Edley, 2001).

The research material for my second article was collected in six organisations, all of them in the service sector. Two of them (logistics and security) are male-dominated, two others (health care and social) are female-dominated and in the last two (legal consultancy and IT), the proportions of men and women are pretty much equal. The research material was collected by means of open-ended interviews, which were conducted face-to-face, tape-recorded and later transcribed. The interviews were conducted by me and my colleagues in the WeAll project. The interviews included discussions about the work-life balance and well-being in working life, but for this research I focused on the parts in which the work-life balance was talked about from the family perspective. Altogether, 30 interviews with men were selected for this research, three to six interviews from each organisation. The interviewees were selected following purposeful sampling (Patton, 2002). The chosen men had one or more children who were mostly their biological children, but in some cases the man was the stepfather. All the men had or had had a spouse. All the men lived or had lived in a typical family, which in Finnish society is the dual-earner model. The men who were interviewed were 29–61 years of age. As I was interested especially in leadership practices relating to men's work-family balance, the men represent various tasks and various hierarchical levels in the organisation, from shop-floor to management. When considering discourses of leadership practices, both managers and employees should be heard.

According to Edley (2001), there are three key concepts in CDP: interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas, and subject positions. In my third article, I was particularly interested in discourses of leadership practices relating to men's work-family balance. Edley's model of discourse analysis gives practical tools to examine how men's work-family balance is both constructed

and managed in organisational discourses. Potter and Wetherell (1987, 138) defined interpretative repertoires as "basically a lexicon or register of terms and metaphors drawn upon to characterise and evaluate actions and events". The main idea is that interpretative repertoires are relatively coherent ways of talking about objects and events in the world (Edley, 2001). Edley points out that identifying interpretative repertoires in the actual process of analysis is more like a 'craft skill' than something one can master from first principles. Identifying interpretative repertoires demands familiarity with the research data by repeated reading or listening to the data. One issue that needs to be addressed here is the relationship between the concept of interpretative repertoires and discourses. Unlike Edley, I use the term discourse rather than interpretative repertoires in my third study, even though I otherwise follow his model of the analytical process there. However, these two concepts are closely linked and often used similarly in research. The difference between the concepts is mostly in their methodological positions in discourse analytical work (see Edley, 2001, 202). By looking at the different ways that men talk, for example about their work-family balance, we begin to understand the kinds of limitations that exist for the construction of fatherhood and fathering in organisations.

Edley's second analytic concept is the ideological dilemma. Simply put, an ideological dilemma means that there are contrary lived ideologies, i.e., beliefs, values and practices, in a given society or culture. Lived ideologies can also be understood as 'common sense'. According to Billig et al. (1988), ideological dilemmas are contradictory principles and practices that emerge as discourses in society, taken as common sense in those communities, and not necessarily perceived by the individual as simultaneously contradictory. Edley (2001) notes that the concept of ideological dilemmas carries a further implication in that it alerts us to the possibility that different interpretative repertoires (discourses) of the same social object (for example, fatherhood) are constructed rhetorically. In analysis, we should look at how the dilemmatic nature of common sense is used not only for rhetorical purposes but also, and above all, for its wider cultural significance (Edley, 2001), such as what the conflict of fatherhood versus career is telling us. The reality, that many men feel torn nowadays, suggests that an important ideological shift has occurred (Edley, 2001).

The third analytical concept from Edley (2001) is subject positions. I have already discussed this concept within the Foucauldian discourse approach (above), and Edley's understanding differs very little from that. However, Edley argues that we must remember that people are masters of language and that we can subjectify ourselves within the contours of our own discourse. Therefore, unlike in the Foucauldian approach, CDP pays attention to the discursive resources that the participants in the discourse draw on, and which they negotiate or resist (Budds et al., 2014). It therefore focuses more on the constructive nature of discourse (Budds et al., 2014). According to Edley (2001), CDP is designed to point out how speakers both exploit and are exploited by existing discursive formations. For example, even though there are social constraints on men fathering differently, they also have the possibility of telling

different stories about themselves as fathers and thereby participating in changing the dominant discourse.

In my third research article, I applied Willig's (2013, 2015) model of Foucauldian discourse analysis. I was particularly interested in what kinds of subject positions the interpreted media discourses constructed about fatherhood in organisational life at different times. The key element in Foucauldian discourse analysis is subject positions, which have implications for subjectivity and experience, i.e., what individuals can say, do and feel (Willig, 2015). However, it is not the subject that makes the discourse but the discourse that makes the subject (Jäger & Maier, 2009, 37). This means that according to the Foucauldian discourse approach, discourse constructs its subjects, so subjects do not have agency. This approach therefore sets out to analyse the constitution of the subject in its historical and social contexts from diachronic and synchronic perspectives: who is considered a subject at a particular point in time (Jäger & Maier, 2009, 38). FDA takes a historical perspective and considers how discourses have changed over time (Willig, 2015, 154). If the discourses change, the subject positions also change, as well as people's subjectivities and practices.

The research material for the third article consists of media texts from Finland from the years 1990−2015. I analysed material from three media sources: 1) *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS), the biggest mainstream newspaper in Finland; 2) the economic newspaper *Kauppalehti* (KL); and 3) the economic weekly magazine *Talouselämä* (TE). These three sources are read extensively all over the country, reaching both a general audience and business professionals. HS is a leading newspaper, which can build and shape people's ideas about work and family issues. KL and TE are leading business publications, so they reach primarily professional people in businesses and other organisations. I produced the data systematically from material published in these three different media sources in Finland between 1990 and 2015. I chose this period because during this time there were important changes to Finnish paternity leave. In 1991, fathers were allowed up to 6 days of paternity leave. This was later lengthened to three weeks. The father's quota, a non-transferable period of leave for fathers only, was extended to one month in 2003. At the beginning of 2013, paternal leave and the father's quota were merged so that fathers were given nine weeks of paternity leave.

I used three electronic databases (the magazines' own) to obtain the data sample for this study. We used the following keywords: FATHER, FATHERHOOD, FAMILY, WORKLIFE and MANAGER (the search was conducted in Finnish). The chosen databases during the defined period yielded 531 articles. I read through all the articles to choose those that were relevant. After this, I selected 67 articles for analysis on the grounds that fatherhood was discussed in them from the viewpoint of organisational life, male professionals, and managers, which was the focus of my third article.

After the data collection process, I began to analyse the material I had selected. In the analysis, I applied Willig's (2013, 131–133) Foucauldian discourse analysis, which includes six stages. In the first stage, the researcher should be concerned with which discursive objects are constructed (Willig, 2015, 156). I

therefore made notes about the various ways in which managerial and professional men's work-family relationships and fatherhood were discussed in the media texts. In the second stage of the analysis, I located the various discursive constructions of the topic within the wider organisational and societal contexts (Willig 2015, 132). I also paid attention to any potential topics that were absent. I also looked at how topics were distributed at different times, in other words, what was sayable and what was said at any particular point in time, in my search for insights into changes and continuities in the discourses over time. This reflective stage also consisted of several rounds of discussions among our research group. We discussed how to constitute from the texts discourses that express our interpretations of the topic during the chosen time period. During the process of analysis, any interpretations that were suggested remained open to revision, but in the end, they were combined into one interpretation (Jäger & Maier, 2009, 56). After this reflective stage, two competing discourses were defined, one of which remains unchanged while the other changes over the years. The discourses are called '*Working fathers – no time for caring*' and '*Fatherhood in flux*'.

In Willig's (2015) model, the third stage of analysis involves an examination of the action orientation in the text, meaning what is achieved by these constructions. My question was what could be gained by constructing men's work-family relationships in this particular way in this particular discourse (Willig, 2015, 158). In the fourth stage, the researcher should take a closer look at the subject positions the discourses offer (Willig, 2015, 159), so I then identified the subject positions that were available in the discourses. The fifth stage is concerned with the relationship between discourse and practice (Willig, 2015, 160). As Willig (2015, 160) notes, by constructing particular ways of understanding the world, discourses limit what can be said and done. This means that in this stage I was identifying the opportunities and constraints for action produced by these discourses. The final stage includes examining the relationship between discourse and subjectivity (Willig, 2015, 160), i.e., the kinds of experiences, thoughts and feelings identified by those in the subject positions (Burr, 2015, 192). Here, I was considering what could be felt or experienced from the father's position in the discourses. In the end, the analysis process is not separate from the writing of the article (Willig, 2015, 161). While writing the report of my analysis, I identified some new insights that make me think about some parts of the analysis differently, in hitherto unexplored ways. As a result of this kind of reflective approach, the process of analysis is a deconstruction followed by a reconstruction of the discourse (Willig, 2015, 162).

3.4 Trustworthiness of the study

The concepts of validity and reliability are usually associated with the positivist research tradition, whereas in constructivist research, trustworthiness is the criterion of good research (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008).

I shall therefore discuss the trustworthiness of this study. I mostly draw on Lincoln and Guba's (1985) seminal framework (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008) to evaluate the quality of this research. It was Lincoln and Guba (1985, in Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008) who replaced the concepts of reliability and validity with the parallel concept of 'trustworthiness', which contains four aspects on which to evaluate qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Credibility is concerned with whether the researcher has made strong, logical links between observations and the categories of their own interpretation. It is also related to the question of whether researchers are familiar enough with the topic and whether the data are sufficient to merit the claims the researcher makes. Credibility also looks at whether any other researcher has made comparable or similar interpretations or if they agree with the claims that have been presented (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). In this doctoral study, these questions of credibility are taken into consideration throughout the research process. Firstly, before any research material was collected, I familiarised myself with the phenomenon under investigation. Secondly, the research material collected in this doctoral study is different for each individual study, and its variety allowed me to analyse the phenomena in a range of different ways. Thirdly, I have described my analysis process in detail in this introductory essay, so the analysis is described as transparently as possible. However, as Lincoln, Lynham and Guba (2011, 104) state, "we are shaped by our lived experiences, and these will always come out in the knowledge we generate as researchers and in the data generated by our subjects". Hence, inevitably, my own experiences, interests and aims influence the knowledge generated and the interpretations made in this study. I cannot know if another researcher would have made the same interpretations if they had followed the same analysis process.

The active role of the researcher in the construction of knowledge should be acknowledged. This active role means that the results of this type of discourse analysis are not generalisable or universal. In order to try to reduce the personal bias that can slip in from the work of a single researcher – and in this case the concern is with my influence on the interpretations – I as one of the co-authors of these articles frequently discussed the findings with the other authors. Our discussions were reflexive all through the research process: we reflected on our understandings of the phenomenon, the analysis, and the conclusions of our analysis. I myself have maintained a reflexive approach during every step of this doctoral study. Reflexivity means that the researcher acknowledges the theories, values, experiences and politics that guide their research and makes these clear in the research article (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). Hence, reflexivity is the process of critically reflecting on the self as a researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Lincoln et al. 2011). When choosing my research problem, I identified my own interests in studying this specific phenomenon; one important reason for studying fatherhood in working life is to advance gender equality. This is not a hidden agenda in my research articles but, rather, an openly declared objective.

Reflexivity, for me, is that as a researcher I ask myself time after time why I am doing this research, for what purpose, and with what kinds of assumptions.

Transferability is concerned with the researcher's responsibility to show the degree of similarity between their research, or parts of it, and other research, in order to establish some sort of connection between the research now being presented and previous results (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). In each research article, I have made an extensive literature review, in which I have then positioned my own research. In addition, in this introductory essay I have presented the broader field of study within which this doctoral study is situated. However, earlier studies that can be linked to this doctoral study are not limited to one definite research field; rather, this study can be connected to different research fields. As Crespi and Ruspini (2016, 3) found, there has been no research on the complex intersection between 'old' and 'new' forms of masculinity and between fatherhood, work-life balance and gender relations. This doctoral study aims to link all these areas, as well as leadership studies. Consequently, there are not many studies that combine all the same research elements as I have brought together here.

Dependability is concerned with the researcher's responsibility to offer the reader enough information to make the process of research logical, traceable and clearly documented (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). The process of analysis that I used for each article has been explained in detail and made explicit and open in this introductory essay. The dependability of this study is also increased by the fact that all three research articles were produced in collaboration with other researchers. Overall, my understanding of the importance of documenting the analysis process has increased during the writing of this doctoral thesis. Giving clear information about how the analysis proceeded has helped me answer questions from both co-writers and reviewers. However, when doing discourse analysis, especially macro-constructionist discourse analysis, the process is rarely linear, and this makes it less easy for others to follow.

Conformability means linking findings and interpretations to the material in ways that can be easily understood by others (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). In each research article I used some well-known and recognised methods of discourse analysis, which made it possible to consider the specific research questions in each research article. These methods guided me to link the interpretations with the material so that others can also follow the analysis. I have also tried to be as precise as possible in describing the analysis process. Finally, readers can judge the accuracy of the analysis from the quotes from the interviews and/or media texts that I have included in each article.

4 OVERVIEW OF THE ORIGINAL STUDIES

This doctoral study includes three published articles, all of which focus on fatherhood in working life from the perspective of leadership and management. Each of the three articles is an independent empirical study, meaning that each article has its own research materials and process, as well as its own key aim. This chapter summarises the main results of the articles. The main findings of the three studies are presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3 Summary of the main findings of the studies

Article	**Focus of the study**	**Main Findings**
Study 1: Kangas, Emilia, Lämsä Anna-Maija & Heikkinen Suvi (2017). Father Managers (Un)Doing Traditional Masculinity. In Anna Pilinska (ed.) *Fatherhood in Contemporary Discourse – Focus on Fathers*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, UK: 17–30.	Male managers' discourses of fatherhood	Four discourses: *Breadwinner fatherhood, Uncommitted fatherhood, Best bits of fatherhood, and Hands-on fatherhood.* Father managers construct their fatherhood mainly by drawing on the traditional masculine ideology, but some reconfiguration towards more involved fatherhood is also in progress.
Study 2: Kangas, Emilia & Lämsä, Anna-Maija (2020). Leadership practices in relation to men's work-family balance in Finnish organizations. *Community, Work & Family*,	Discourses of working men about leadership practices relating to work-family balance (from a gender-specific organisational perspective)	Six discourses: *Mutual flexibility* and *Encouragement to take paternity leave* in the male-dominated organisational context; *Flexibility for some employees* and *Top managers do not care, but supervisors do* in the female-dominated organisational context; *In the hands of the leader* and *Good to be seen* in the gender-balanced organisational context. The gender composition of an organisation affects its leadership practices with regard to men's work-family balance.

Article	Focus of the study	Main Findings
Study 3: Kangas, Emilia, Lämsä, Anna-Maija & Jyrkinen, Marjut (2019). Is Fatherhood Allowed? Media Discourses of Fatherhood in Organizational Life. *Gender, Work and Organization* 26(10), 1433-1450.	Media discourses around professional and managerial men's fatherhood (historical perspective)	Two competing discourses: one of stasis (*Working fathers – no time for caring*), the other of change (*Fatherhood in flux*). On the one hand, the media discourse on fatherhood in the organisational context is moving towards greater gender equality, but at the same time a strong counter-discourse puts a brake on such development, especially as it concerns management.

4.1 Study 1

Kangas, Emilia, Lämsä Anna-Maija & Heikkinen Suvi. 2017. Father Managers (Un)Doing Traditional Masculinity. In Anna Pilinska (ed.) *Fatherhood in Contemporary Discourse – Focus on Fathers*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, UK: 17–30.

The aim of this first study was to explore what meaning male managers attribute to fatherhood. More precisely, the aim was to examine how the interviewees' knowledge and belief systems about fatherhood and leadership are intertwined with their identity and social gender. In this research we therefore combined the topic of masculine leadership and fatherhood with a discussion of gender roles. The research material consisted of 29 interviews with Finnish male managers. A critical discourse approach was used to analyse the research material. We interpreted four discourses of fatherhood, each of which produces a different representation of Finnish male managers and fatherhood: breadwinner fatherhood, uncommitted fatherhood, best bits of fatherhood, and hands-on fatherhood. The dominant discourse in this study was that of breadwinner fatherhood. However, the discourses of hands-on fatherhood and best bits of fatherhood suggest that the construction of fatherhood among male managers may be undergoing some transformation towards more involved fatherhood. In this research, 29 male leaders both reconstruct the domination of traditional masculinity and construct new, non-traditional representations of masculinity in fatherhood and in leadership. The results of the first study therefore attest the existence of a masculine world in Finnish male leaders' discursive practices, and challenge it.

This first study contributes to the literature on gender in management by both confirming the dominance of traditional masculinity in management and leadership and at the same time by challenging that understanding. The study also contributes to work-family research by giving a more multidimensional understanding of the relationship between fatherhood and leadership work than

previous studies have offered; the findings reject the oversimplified understanding of the relationship between fatherhood and leadership as an either/or dichotomy.

4.2 Study 2

Kangas, Emilia & Lämsä, Anna-Maija (2020). Leadership practices in relation to men's work-family balance in Finnish organizations. *Community, Work & Family*, 1-19.

In the second article, the aim was to contribute to a better understanding of how leadership practices in organisations affect men's work-family balance. The leadership-as-practice approach, which was adopted in this research, seeks to understand leadership activity wherever and however it arises. In this study, the focus was on on the leadership practices that the men experienced and talked about as affecting their work-family balance The empirical material consisted of 30 in-depth interviews with men who were either managers or employees in organisations in three different service sectors, one of which was male-dominated, another female-dominated, and the third gender-balanced. Through discourse analysis, we identified different leadership discourses in the organisations, depending on their different gender composition. Overall, the discourses of leadership practice and men's work-family balance were quite different in male-dominated, female-dominated and gender-balanced organisational contexts in the service sector. These results strengthen the understanding that leadership is contextual. For this reason, this second study contributes to the leadership-as-practice literature.

This study also contributes to the field of work-family studies by arguing that fatherhood is not as invisible in organisations as has been claimed in previous studies, at least in the Finnish context. The results also show that especially in male-dominated organisations, the support of management for fathers' work-family balance can be more complex and multifaceted than has been presented in previous studies. However, the findings show too that traditional gender roles are still strongly supported in this context. In female-dominated organisations, on the other hand, the work-family balance did not seem to be as much a question of gender inequality as a question of inequality between people in different positions in the hierarchy. Finally, in gender-balanced organisations we identified the most traditional masculine leadership practice, which prioritises work over family by encouraging fathers to be at work as much as possible. However, we also found that leaders in these organisations try to guide employees towards a better work-family balance. This second study therefore also contributes to discussions of changing masculinities in leadership and management.

In the end, two things can be concluded from the second study. Firstly, the gender composition of an organisation can affect what kinds of leadership

practices concerning men's work-family balance are considered meaningful. Secondly, some change in leadership attitudes to men's work-family balance is emerging, but fatherhood is still handled differently from motherhood in organisational life, especially in leadership practices.

4.3 Study 3

Kangas, Emilia, Lämsä, Anna-Maija & Jyrkinen, Marjut (2019). Is Fatherhood Allowed? Media Discourses of Fatherhood in Organizational Life. *Gender, Work and Organization* 26(10), 1433-1450.

In the third study, I was interested in the discourse of fatherhood in the workplace from a societal perspective. I focused on male professionals and managers and studied the discourse used by the media to describe and represent fatherhood. The aim was to contribute to a better understanding of professional and managerial men's work-family relationships. In this study, we explore how public discourses of fatherhood in Finland developed during the years 1990-2015. The empirical material consists of media texts concerning fatherhood in working life. The data were produced systematically from three influential media sources in Finland between 1990 and 2015. From these sources, 67 selected articles were analysed. From that material, we interpreted two competing discourses: one unchanging and the other changing. The former we named Working fathers – no time for caring. In this discourse, organisations and working life are repeatedly constructed as not holding family to be very important: working life appears to be hectic, with no time for work-family relationships. This discourse maintains the traditional way of doing gender in the work-family interface: parenthood is the mother's responsibility, and the role of the father is to be the distant breadwinner. The other discourse was named Fatherhood in flux. This constructs fatherhood as a concept that is gradually developing in organisational life from the traditional breadwinning fatherhood to participative and active fatherhood. In other words, during the study period, fatherhood was represented as gradually changing, so that the original dominant idea of the traditional breadwinner fatherhood became less visible over time, and by the end of the period involved fatherhood has become taken for granted. This discourse, then, aims to undo the traditional way of doing gender in the work-family interface.

This third study makes various contributions to the field of work-family research and to studies of changing masculinity in organisational life. Firstly, the study opens up the viewpoint of particularly professional and managerial men on the work-family relationship by unmasking societal discourses of fatherhood in the context of organisations. This angle has hitherto been largely missing from the field. In addition, the longitudinal study approach applied here reveals the changes that have taken place in discourses of fatherhood in Finland during recent decades. Secondly, the study contributes to the discussion of changing

masculinities by showing that although the traditional masculine way of acting in organisations is still the dominant discourse around management and leadership, it is now being challenged. We argue that there are possibilities of redoing gender and fulfilling multiple patterns of masculinity in the area of the work-family relationship. All in all, the results of the third study show that a change towards involved fatherhood is slow but ongoing, especially at the societal level, although the dominance of traditional masculinity still limits ways of doing gender and fatherhood in organisations.

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Discussion of the results

In this doctoral study I have explored men's work-family relationships by focusing on constructions of fatherhood in working life. Above all, I have emphasised the role played by leadership and management in this context. In this chapter, I will reflect on the empirical findings and their contributions to the field.

Previous studies have mainly focused on women's work-family relationships (e.g., Ezzedeen & Ritchey, 2009; Heikkinen, Lämsä, & Hiillos, 2014; Lämsä & Piilola, 2015; Özbilgin, Beauregard, Tatli, & Bell, 2011). Although interest in men's work-family relationships has increased in recent years (e.g., Holter, 2007; Halrynjo, 2009; Allard, Haas, & Hwang, 2011; Eräranta & Moisander, 2011; Ranson, 2012; Burnett, Gatrell, Cooper, & Sparrow, 2013; Ladge, Humberd, Baskerville Watkins, & Harrington, 2015; Gatrell & Cooper, 2016), there has been a lack of attention to the complex intersection between changing masculinities, fatherhood, work-family relationships and leadership. Previous studies have not sufficiently examined changing masculinities and changing fatherhood from the organisational perspective, let alone from the perspective of leadership. The majority of studies on the work-family balance as it concerns men have claimed either that fathers are invisible in organisations (e.g., Tracy & Rivera, 2010; Burnett et al., 2013) or that management does not support work-family balance for men (e.g., Allard et al. 2011). The findings of this study strengthen the idea that this kind of understanding has led to an oversimplification of men's work-family relationships. This doctoral study contributes to the field of work-family research by producing multidimensional research about men's work-family relationships. By using the discourse analytical approach in this study, I have produced a multifaceted picture of the intersections between men's work and their family life as a complex bundle, whether in terms of social policies, the

conditions of working life, organisational practices, or gender. This study contributes to the discussion by highlighting two points in particular.

Firstly, the results of the study show that many men still construct their fatherhood by drawing on traditional masculine ideology. Especially father managers do fatherhood very traditionally. Among them, breadwinner fatherhood still seems to be constructed as the dominant way of behaviour. By enacting breadwinner fatherhood, men reproduce traditional gender roles in both parenting and working life. The findings of the study also show that management usually sees fathers as secondary parents; primary responsibility is still attributed to mothers. Overall, the results of the study strengthen the view that traditional masculinity appears to be hegemonic in organisations, thus limiting men's possibilities for other kinds of masculinities or fatherhood. In other words, the dominant discourse around masculinity in Finnish organisations still seems to be a very traditional one, and the most valued way of being a man is to behave as if unencumbered by any other responsibilities; the good organisation man has no worries or obligations outside work (Acker, 2011). This study thus supports previous research which has found that organisations are still dominated by traditional masculine values in relation to men's work-family integration (Halrynjo, 2009; Hearn, 2014). This means that organisational life is harmfully masculinist, and the possibilities of involving and caring fatherhood in the context of working life are very limited. This supports the view that the fact of being a father tends to be invisible in organisations, or at least that caring and involved fatherhood is not an established practice there.

However, the results of the study also challenge this understanding, because I found that fatherhood is not always hidden, but new ideals such as involved fatherhood are already emerging in working life. Some men are redoing fatherhood also in working life by fathering in a way that is inconsistent with traditional breadwinner fatherhood or traditional masculinity. In other words, the results of this study also challenge the hegemony of traditional masculinity in organisations and endorse the view that masculinity is rather dynamic, adaptable, changing and always reconstructing (Collinson & Hearn, 2005; Fenstermaker & West, 2002; Poggio, 2006). Some of the discourses of fatherhood identified in this study show that men can do fatherhood differently in working life and perform their masculinity against the tide of gendered expectations. This kind of discourse of redoing both fatherhood and masculinities in working life shows that ideas of fatherhood have indeed developed.

Unlike Bergmann and Schiffbänker's (2016) study, the findings of this study show that in the male-dominated sector, men constructed themselves as having quite good opportunities to establish a satisfactory balance between work and family. The results indicate that some male-dominated organisations may have even more flexible work-family practices than gender-balanced or female-dominated organisations. This may be due to the flexibility of these organisations, or to their being better positioned to take on substitutes for men absent from work. However, according to Närvi and Salmi (2019), fathers working in small and male-dominated workplaces were less likely to take the father's month-long

leave. Närvi and Salmi argue that organisations that employ mainly men could have less experience of employees taking leave and thus less practice in organising it. In addition, they suggest that these organisations might also lack a person who is specifically responsible for human resources and who is well informed about entitlement to fathers' leave. In my study, in contrast, fathers were encouraged to take paternal leave especially in the male-dominated organisations. I therefore argue that male-domination is not a direct sign of poor work-family practices.

This study provides new insights into men's masculinities in working life. The findings show that there is a possibility for multiple masculinities in men's work-family relationships. This shows that the caring masculinity that is realised through involved fatherhood is undermining the hegemony of traditional masculinity in organisational life. Some of the discourses identified in this study construct fatherhood as compatible with working life. Such discourses question the understanding that fatherhood is something that must be banished from the sphere of work. At the same time, they make fatherhood more visible in organisations and give room for more fluid forms of fatherhood and masculinities in working life. This study shows, then, that the work-family relationships of Finnish men are currently diverse and full of contradictions. In the Finnish social context, a change in the discourses of fatherhood has reached the workplace but has not totally broken the dominance of traditional masculinity, which still limits alternative ways of doing gender and fatherhood in everyday working life. Overall, I agree with Elliot (2016) that caring masculinities can provide more nourishing and satisfying models of masculinity for men than hegemonic masculinity.

Besides contributing to the discussion on fathers' work-family relationships, this doctoral study contributes to the discussion on changing masculinities in leadership. In other words, it takes part in the debate about whether assumptions of good leadership are still traditionally masculine (e.g., Klenke, 2011; Katila & Eriksson, 2013; Hearn, 2014; Powell, 2014) or if they are moving in a 'non-masculine' direction (e.g., Fletcher, 2004; Billing & Alvesson, 2014). This study highlights that the maintenance of traditional masculine leadership and a shift towards non-traditional masculine leadership now co-exist. As in a large number of earlier studies (e.g., Collinson & Hearn, 2001; Klenke, 2011; Katila & Eriksson, 2013; Hearn, 2014; Powell, 2014; Whitehead, 2014; Knights & Tullberg, 2014), this study also confirms that traditional masculinity still has a strong position in people's understanding of leadership and management. Our findings indicate that traditional leadership is constructed as still being dominant in organisational life. The practice of encouraging men to work as much as possible in order to be seen as an ideal worker (see Acker, 2011; Sallee, 2012) and an ideal manager is one example of traditional masculinity in leadership. This study also identified discourses that construct managerial and professional work as incompatible with caring and involved fatherhood. These findings confirm the arguments from earlier studies (see Aaltio-Marjosola & Lehtinen, 1998; Hearn & Niemistö, 2012) that, usually male managers do not see leadership as viable in conjunction with

fatherhood. In other words, according to the results of our study, in the talk of most male managers no link is constructed between identification as a father and working in a position of leadership. This strengthens the view that traditional masculine ideology is still strong around management and leadership. I argue that this strong position of traditional masculinity in leadership is one of the biggest restraining factors on the spread of involved fatherhood in working life. Managers are in a position of considerable influence in organisations and can significantly affect their practices, both formal and informal (Weaver et al., 2005; Ladge et al., 2015). Managers are influential, and this allows them to encourage—or limit—the discourse of involved fatherhood in their organisation. At the same time, managers either create possibilities for shared parenting and equality between fathers and mothers or sustain the inequality between fathers and mothers in working life.

On the other hand, this study also shows that, in some organisations, men are getting support from management for their work-family relationships, even if to only a limited extent. For example, in the male-dominated organisational context, discourses of leadership practice were identified that encouraged men to take paternity leave and supported flexibility in work-family integration. In the gender-balanced organisational context there were also discourses of leadership practice in which a balance between work and family was constructed as the ideal situation, and an important objective that leadership should support. In this discourse, a leader is positioned as a controller and advisor who encourages and guides men to a better balance between work and family. In this respect, the findings of this study are not in line with Allards et al. (2011), who argued that fathers do not receive work-family support from management. Generally speaking, the findings of this study do not resonate very well with earlier studies (see Gatrell, 2007; Holter, 2007; Lewis et al., 2009) that argue that fathers who try to reduce their working hours in order to be more involved in family life are often met with a poor response from leadership. Not all the leadership practices discussed in this study were constructed as masculine; rather, they followed the ideas of shared leadership or feminine leadership. This indicates that the construction of leadership in the context studied here seems to be being reconfigured and becoming more open to non-traditional concepts of masculinity.

The discourse of involving and caring fatherhood was also identified among male managers in this study. Some male managers were understood to do fatherhood differently from what was traditionally expected from men in their position. These managers are redoing fatherhood in working life. But by acting contrary to tradition they are also redoing leadership, for example, by leaving work early or adjusting their work practices to fit in with the demands of the family. Some managers in the study took this a step further; we identified discourses in which male managers constructed involved fatherhood as an identity that improves their leadership. These discourses created a positive relationship between active fatherhood and leadership at work. This kind of relationship between fatherhood and leadership challenges the traditional

masculine understanding that an ideal employee is a man without obligations outside the workplace. As a result of this finding, I argue that combining involved fatherhood and leadership at work is already part of everyday life for some men. However, these men are a minority. Nevertheless, they are a significant group of men with the possibility of advancing more fluid models of fatherhood and masculinities in leadership, and generally in working life. When concepts of fatherhood are being reconsidered and revised by the leadership of an organisation, masculinities will be included in the process of change process. New models of fatherhood and fathering practices among managers could lead to multiple masculinities in organisations, and so to more diverse ideals of leadership.

5.2 Practical implications

In addition to considering the academic contribution of this doctoral study, I also want to make some practical suggestions for organisations and society, showing how my findings could be used to promote involved fatherhood and gender equality in working life. Here, I offer two practical suggestions as to how organisations and their management could support good work-family relationships for men. I also make a recommendation for the government to consider in its current work on drawing up new legislation on parental leave.

Firstly, the findings of this study highlight the fact that men's work-family relationships are still ignored in many ways. Fatherhood, unlike motherhood, appears to be a subject that has no impact on organisational practices. Although the changes in modern fatherhood are just about recognised in organisations and are even partly supported, it does not appear to be an issue that anyone feels needs to be acknowledged in organisational practices, let alone in management. In other words, my point is that fatherhood is no longer invisible in organisations, but it is still a subject that does not have much influence over organisational life. Fathers are still very much seen as secondary parents, whose parenting does not disturb their everyday working life. Thus I agree with Burnett et al. (2013), that organisational practices still largely support men's breadwinning role. Men's work-family relationships do not appear to be an issue that needs to be considered in management because it does not affect their work. It seems to me that involved fatherhood or shared parenting might be a prominent discourse in Finnish society, but it has not been fully adopted in our working lives. If organisations would like to truly advance gender equality around the work-family interface, they should pay attention to the fact that the work-family relationship is still different for men and women in many ways. Therefore, as a practical application of this study, I warmly recommend that organisations should examine how they support employees' work-family relationships and then consider the gendered nature of their practices and how biased they are in relation to the genders. Both informal and formal practices should be considered. According to Greenhaus and Powell (2017), support for parents' work-family

relationships has two aspects: on the one hand it involves formal, family-supportive organisational programmes, and on the other, informal family-related support. In other words, organisations should have formal guidelines on how to support employees' work-family relationships as well as a culture that supports both mothers and fathers. As long as organisations fail to consider men's work-family relationships to be as important as women's, there is no firm foundation for involved fatherhood in working life. Organisational practices (both informal and formal) need to be established that give equal support to men and women.

Secondly, this study points to the fact that a significant factor that curbs the move towards involved fatherhood in working life is the dominant position of traditional masculinity in management and leadership (see Acker, 1992; Heilman, 1997; Powell et al., 2002; Post, DiTomaso, Lowe, Farris & Cordero, 2009; Carli & Eagly, 2011; Grint, 2011; Hearn, 2011; Klenke, 2011). Our findings show that the traditionally masculine management culture limits men's opportunities and willingness to fulfil involved fatherhood. These findings are consistent with Halrynjo's (2009) results, that men might prefer to work less but they feel it is impossible. I agree with Sallee (2012) that fathers who are inclined towards the new ideology of fatherhood might find it difficult to combine this ideology with the persistent, traditional male-worker ideology that is promoted by the masculine management and leadership culture and practices. This puts me in agreement with Lund, Meriläinen and Tienari (2019), who claim that for men to combine caring masculinity with hegemonic masculinity is neither uncomplicated nor easy. However, the present study also shows that some fathers who hold managerial and professional positions are already practising involved fatherhood in their everyday lives. In fact, some male managers described their work-family relationships in very positive terms. These men construct fatherhood and leadership as complementary sectors of their life.

This study also identified leadership practices that support men's work-family balance. The study makes it clear that some men can combine managerial work and involved fatherhood and that there are already leadership practices that support men's work-family balance. I therefore suggest, as my second practical application, that organisational management should reflect more critically on the kind of management culture they are supporting and practising in reality, and what its outcomes are. Do the existing management culture and practices foster contented, balanced employees, or not? Greenhaus and Kossek (2014) found that nowadays employees increasingly seek work and career opportunities in which they are able to combine work with other parts of their lives. This means that a leadership culture that supports good work-family relationships for everyone might have a competitive advantage in the future. As the second practical application of this study, then, I suggest that organisations develop management and leadership practices with respect to work-family balance and make them more gender-sensitive. The masculine management ideal which, for example, involves the capacity to set aside personal matters and dedicate oneself totally to work, is unlikely to inspire many working parents,

mothers or fathers. Hence, interventions that promote opportunities to balance work and family are necessary at the organisational level. Interventions that encourage men to be involved in being both fathers and active in working life are are of particular importance. Efforts on the part of male managers could be particularly useful, because through their own example management can enable or constrain formal and informal practices that support family-friendliness (Weaver et al., 2005).

Finally, the results of this study suggest that there is a strong need to restructure family leave so that men's participation in childcare can be increased. One way to advance this objective is through legislation. Therefore, thirdly, I warmly recommend that the results of this study, as well as earlier proposals put forward by researchers, non-governmental organisations and labour unions, be taken as the basis for revised parental leave legislation, and new policies and practices in the future. The current parental leave system, which is often described as 'giving families freedom of choice', does not theoretically place mothers and fathers in unequal positions, but in practice the result is that year after year it is mothers who use most of the leave. Statistics and studies from Finland and other Nordic countries show that 'free choice' with regard to parental leave leads to situations in which only mothers have the choice, to take it or not (Lammi-Taskula & Salmi, 2013). So if we want to advance equality in working life and equal parenthood, the system needs to be revised so that it supports men's care much more than it does now. To conclude, the shift towards involved fatherhood and gender equality in working life is slow, and more role models in leaders and organisations, as well as legislation and policy development, are needed.

5.3 Limitations of the study and further research

The main aim of this doctoral study has been to deepen our understanding of fatherhood in working life, particularly in the context of management and leadership. I have explored men's work-family relationships in leadership and management as an emergent research area from just one possible angle: doing qualitative research based on social constructionism and employing discourse analysis as my approach. This study gives only one way of seeing this phenomenon; other types of research could produce different findings. In this section, I will highlight the limitations of my research and suggest areas that would be promising for future research.

Firstly, I focused on studying discourses of fatherhood in the context of organisations and leadership in Finland, and found that some change towards involving fatherhood is emerging in this context. However, it is difficult to say on the basis of this study how many Finnish men are realising involved fatherhood in practice. In comparisons with other Nordic countries, Finnish men have still been found to take the lowest amount of parental leave (Cederström, 2019). More research is therefore called for that combines this statistical data on

men's parental leave with qualitative material on organisational practices in relation to men's work-family relationship.

Secondly, although the qualitative research approach used here has made it possible to go deeply into the reconstructions of social situations at work and at home provided by the interviewees, it also has its drawbacks. In this study, I used only men's interviews and media articles as data sources. Future studies that used various data sets (e.g., observation or documentary data in addition to interviews) to uncover organisational and leadership cultures could give us valuable insights. For example, ethnographic research might be a good way to examine at a more general level how men present, relate and represent their fatherhood in organisations on a day-to-day basis. Studying what men do in actual practice in organisations could offer some interesting new perspectives. The way an ethnographer actively participates in the group in order to gain an insider's perspective of the group and to have experiences similar to those of the group's members would deepen understanding of the phenomenon (Allen, 2017). I think that by using ethnographic research I could have gained an even more holistic understanding of fatherhood in organisational settings. However, such avenues will probably be more useful to me in future studies, once I have gained more experience.

Thirdly, in this study, I have concentrated on the traditional family structure. In the future, attention should be given to other types of families (e.g., with single fathers or homosexual fathers), because already now one third of Finnish families have other than a traditional family structure, and their proportion is growing (Monimuotoiset perheet verkosto, 2016). In addition, it would be worth comparing the different genders' perceptions and constructions of the topic. I am aware that the categories of "woman" and "man" have limitations, and that there are also other genders.

The last issue that I would like to point out concerns my methodological approach and the use of discourse analysis. Although I see my approach to discourse analysis as a strength, I recognise that it is open to criticism. The researcher using discourse analysis is always an active subject throughout the research process. The researcher makes choices, such as what is worth studying or who to listen to. It is important to understand that when doing discourse analytic research, the interpretations and findings cannot be constructed without an active researcher. Other researchers might emphasise different issues in their interpretations; this is the strength and richness of discourse analyses. I also recognise that discourses are linguistic expressions that compel us to believe in them, even when they are not absolutely true in real life. This is dangerous, especially as far as the analysis of media discourses is concerned, as in my third study. It has been argued that discourses provide a powerful 'societal vision' of how things should be, whereas individuals' everyday experiences reveal how they really are (Johansson & Klinth, 2007; Bjonberg, 2004). Therefore, in the future, I suggest more research on the level of the organisation. Studies that dig deeper into organisational culture and /or practices might provide valuable knowledge about the everyday situations and challenges that fathers face in organisations.

Overall, additional research approaches would be useful to further verify my key findings and explore fatherhood in working life in different ways, especially in relation to management and leadership.

5.4 Conclusion

This doctoral study has focused on deepening our understanding of fatherhood in working life, especially in the context of leadership and management. To gain an all-round understanding of this phenomenon I carried out three studies that embodied three different perspectives: the individual, organisational and societal. In other words, this doctoral study was implemented on the micro-, meso- and macro-levels.

The results of the study from the individual perspective indicate that especially father managers continue to construct their fatherhood mainly by drawing on traditional masculine ideology. However, the study also found that some father managers do gender differently from what is traditionally expected. Some father managers construct fatherhood as similar to motherhood. From this we can conclude that from the individual perspective, the construction of fatherhood among male managers may be making some slight advance towards involved fatherhood.

From the organisational perspective, fatherhood in working life, especially in management and leadership, appears to be a very complex and multifaceted issue. On the one hand, this study shows that some leadership practices relating to men's work-family balance are supportive and encouraging. Some leadership practices were even described as following ideas of feminine leadership (Billing & Alvesson, 2014), caring fatherhood (Johansson & Klinth, 2007) and caring masculinity (Johansson & Andreasson, 2017; Elliott, 2016; Jyrkinen et al. 2019). These findings imply that the door to more involved and caring fatherhood is being opened in organisational life. However, in this study the dominant discourse of fatherhood in an organisational context was based on traditional gender roles: fatherhood is still constructed as secondary parenting, while the primary responsibility for childcare lies with the mother. According to this study, fathers do not have the same position as mothers in the organisational world. Consequently, the work-family relationship is not likely to appear the same to men and women (Gatrell & Cooper, 2016), and its advancement for men is not getting as much consideration and encouragement as for women.

On the societal level, it can be concluded that fatherhood in Finnish working life is showing signs of being in transition. Although traditional fatherhood is still strongly positioned around men's work-family relationships, the findings of this study indicate that involved fatherhood is increasingly present in societal-level discourse, especially, in this study, in the media. Societal-level discourses about fatherhood in working life offer men both the possibility of redoing gender (Billing, 2011; Kelan, 2010; West & Zimmerman, 2009) and the possibility for multiple patterns of masculinity (Connell, 2002; Hearn, 2014), such as caring

masculinity. This suggests that there is increasing social pressure for a change towards more equal parenting.

All in all, the results of this doctoral study indicate that leadership and management, as well as organisational contexts in general, still tend to value traditional masculine ways of working, This puts pressure on fathers to seek to conform to this masculine ideal and limits their opportunities to participate in family life and have a good work-family relationship. However, the study also gives new insights into men's masculinities, fatherhood and leadership in working life. Caring masculinity realised through involved fathering can be one way of shattering the hegemonic position of traditional masculinity in organisational life and leadership.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

FATHER MANAGERS (UN)DOING TRADITIONAL MASCULINITY

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FATHER MANAGERS (UN)DOING TRADITIONAL MASCULINITY

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Introduction

Although there has been some advancement in the general atmosphere in society towards more committed and participatory fatherhood, many organizations still tend to operate under the traditional masculine assumption where the norm is that men's fatherhood should not intervene with their work (Bleijenbergh et al. 2013). In this article we argue that it is particularly important for men who are managers to understand the meaning of fatherhood. This is because managers–the majority of whom are men (The Global Gender Gap Report 2015)–are in a position to create new organizational cultures (Schein 1985) that also take family responsibilities into account. It could help to enable men (and also women) to integrate their work and family spheres successfully and advance their wellbeing and quality of life (Hobson 2011). In order to accomplish gender equality in their public and private roles, men should have the opportunity to bring changes into their work, allowing them to devote themselves more to family life (Kaufman and Bernhardt 2015).

The purpose of our study is to conceptualize how male managers construct their fatherhood. We are especially interested in whether they follow the expectations of the traditional masculine ideology of fatherhood, or whether they have adopted more recent ideas of participatory fatherhood. Using a discourse analytic approach we conduct an empirical study to answer the main research question: What kind of discourses do father managers construct of their fatherhood? Our more specific questions are: What kind of gender order do father managers produce in the discourses? How do they construct the relationship between fatherhood and leadership work? Hence, our research combines the discussions of masculine leadership and fatherhood with the discussion of men's changing gender roles.

Generally, the questions of the family–work relationship have been associated almost exclusively with women in employment (Özbilgin et al. 2011). Male managers, in contrast, are mainly viewed as beneficial

financial actors in organizational life, whereas their fatherhood tends to remain invisible in organizations (Tracy and Rivera 2010). Burnett et al. (2013) even used the term "ghost" to describe the invisibility of the father in the context of the organization. Such a tradition and practice not only reduces women's equal opportunities to advance in their careers, but prevents men from understanding their own rights as equal parents also in the work sphere. Still, devoting more time to their domestic responsibilities is not unproblematic for male managers who have children; instead, it may be a source of contradiction due to the competing demands of work and home (Hearn and Niemistö 2012). Fathers who are inclined towards the new fatherhood ideology have to struggle to resolve the tension between this new ideology and the expectation to conform to the traditional male manager model (Sallee 2012).

The context of this empirical study is Finland, a country with relatively high gender equality in its societal standards and norms (The Global Gender Gap Report 2015). However, from the perspective of the work–family relationship, the statistics tell another story: although there is an extensive system of public childcare to encourage full-time work for both spouses, Finnish women still carry the main responsibility for domestic work and taking care of the children (Heikkinen et al. 2014). Despite the legal opportunities for parental leaves, they are used almost exclusively by mothers; in fact, Finnish men rank low among their Nordic counterparts in their interest to use parental leaves (Pietiläinen 2013).

Theoretical background

This article draws upon the theory of "doing gender". According to the theory, gender is done through social practices (West and Zimmerman 1987), such as discourses, which both shape social orders and are shaped by them (Connell 2000; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). The ideas of masculinity (and femininity) are constructed in a process which produces gender order: formal and informal arrangements that define the complex and changing patterns of gender relations in a particular context (Connell 2000). The male breadwinner model follows the traditional gender order where the man is the primary breadwinner while the woman has main responsibility for the family. Thus, the notion of involved fathering clashes with the dominant cultural ideals of traditional masculinity (Wall and Arnold 2007). Doing gender means that gender is performed in interactions wherein people express their social identities and gender roles–identities and roles that are more or less learned and for the most part unconsciously (West and Zimmerman 1987). Similarly, organizations and their practices allow or constrain certain roles and identities for their members. Fatherhood needs to be understood as a historically constructed institution that is maintained, and perhaps challenged, by prevailing social and cultural practices and expectations and by state law (Hearn and Niemistö 2012).

One way of scrutinizing the masculine world is to view it through the concept of hegemonic masculinity. The concept embodies the most valued way of being a man and demands that all other men position themselves in relation to it (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). So, there is a hierarchy between masculinities: some are more valued than others, some are marginalized. For example, men in a leadership job are typically assumed to position themselves according to the traditional breadwinner model of masculinity. Even though hegemonic masculinities can be constructed without real correspondence to the lives of any actual men, such masculinities do reflect widespread ideals and desires in specific social and cultural contexts (Connell and Messerschmidt

2005). Despite the fact that fathers are by no means a homogeneous group, it may be hard for them to escape the dominant discourses and their normative cultural meanings concerning fatherhood (Miller 2011).

In the traditional gender order, men are predominantly viewed as the primary breadwinners and women as the primary caregivers. However, recent research suggests that a new kind of more caring and active fatherhood is emerging in Western societies, at least in the general discourses of contemporary fatherhood (Miller 2011). Eräranta and Moisander (2011) note that fatherhood nowadays tends to be organized around two competing parenting styles: "manly fathering" and "involved fathering". Manly fathering refers to the father who stands his ground as a moral authority and master of the household. This type of fatherhood is based on a clear dichotomy between gender roles: the male as breadwinner and the female as homemaker. Involved fathering, on the other hand, constructs a more flexible form of fatherhood, highlighting shared parenthood and a dual-earner family structure.

Johansson and Klinth (2008) claimed that the hegemony of traditional masculinity is in transition and a new kind of fatherhood is developing. Whereas men were earlier encouraged to help their spouses in parenting, they are now increasingly expected to take part in parenting even-handedly. Although fathers are likely to assume more childcare responsibilities, they may tend to engage only in the more pleasant tasks of parenting, such as playing sports with the children and participating in their outdoor activities (Craig 2006). Meanwhile, women continue to take care of the remaining responsibilities at home (Johansson and Klinth 2008). Men's opportunity to choose the more convenient role in parenting can be regarded as a significant form of power. Hence, fatherhood can be elective, but motherhood is a social duty (Vuori 2009).

Holter (2007) sees two models of change in fatherhood: the "new man" and "new circumstances". The former is an ideological change model, where the new man stands firmly for equality between the sexes. The new circumstances model, in turn, is a practical change model which does not assume any true change in men's attitudes. Rather, the change results from a change in circumstances–for instance, from women's urge to establish a more equal relationship. Holter argues that the new circumstances model is predominant, and the melting away of the father's breadwinner role is a product of women's changed demands, expectations and wants. According to Holter, the main obstacle to the development of equality and more flexible gender roles is a failure to recognize the often implicit gender present in organizational structures and practices. This organizational gender may draw its values from the traditional gender order model, even though the ideological environment around work life is changing.

Kugelberg (2006) and Holter (2007) argue that being marked as a caring father poses a risk in the organizational context, because it can lead to being cast into the same "basket of trouble" as mothers in organizations. Even if individuals may be loosening their stereotypical attitudes, it seems that organizational values, structures and practices continue to maintain the traditional stereotypes of gender roles and relations. Consequently, many male managers in organizations are likely to try to meet the traditional expectations. According to Hearn and Niemistö (2012), for example, father managers make a very clear distinction between their private and their public lives.

Methodology

In this study we apply a critical discourse analysis approach, where discourse is understood as a relatively integrated system of meanings constructed in language use (Fairclough 1997). We are interested in how the fatherhood of father managers is brought discursively into being (Parker 1992). Discourses are not permanent, however, but dependent on time and place. So, even if the male manager is constructed discursively around the notions of the traditional gender order as free from home responsibilities, it does not mean that this view is not undergoing a process of reorganization.

Discourse analysis is a methodological approach aimed at uncovering how social reality is produced (Hardy et al. 2004). Fairclough (1995) describes critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a method which examines how discourses contribute to the construction of macro structures, such as gender order. He argues that social arrangements involve embedded ideological discursive formations, one of which often dominates–like the discourse of traditional masculinity in the managerial world. The dominant discourse has the capacity to "naturalize" ideologies so that they come to be accepted as self-evident common sense. The main objective of CDA is to open or denaturalize such natural ideologies (Fairclough 1992).

For this study we interviewed 29 Finnish father managers aged between 37 and 67 years. Their total work experience ranged from 11 to 41 years. All of them were or had been in a leadership position for relatively long periods of time. The interviewed managers had one to six children (mean 2.4), and most of them lived with their children or had lived with them when they were small. The men were all in heterosexual relationships, but some were now divorced from the mother of their children.

Results

Based on our analysis of the interviews, we distinguished four fatherhood discourses. These were interpreted as the discourses of "breadwinner fatherhood", "uncommitted fatherhood", "best bits of fatherhood" and "hands-on fatherhood". The discourses are presented below.

Breadwinner fatherhood

This fatherhood discourse sees the man's role as the breadwinner of the family. It is the most dominant discourse in our data. Fatherhood is constructed following the traditional gender order, where the husband has the primary breadwinner role in the family and the wife is primarily in charge of the children and the household. This distinction between the spouses' gender roles is a significant feature of the breadwinner discourse. Its aim is to strengthen and maintain the traditional masculine ideology.

The issue that respondents raise as the most important is their demanding leadership work, but they scarcely talk of their responsibilities at home. The idea of caring and active fatherhood is not present in the discourse; instead, fatherhood is represented as distant and patriarchal. The man's work and his leadership career are the cornerstone which determines his life, and the family is expected to adapt to the father's work demands. Respondents make a point of stressing their wives' unwillingness to pursue a career of their own. Thus, the wife is constructed as a woman who voluntarily adjusts her life to her husband's career. Nothing is said about the children's adjustment to their father's work demands; this is regarded as so self-evident not to be a topic of

discussion at all. In general, respondents underline the satisfaction and meaning they derive from their leadership work and admit being work-centred; some even described themselves as “workaholics”.

According to this discourse, it is the man’s duty to ensure a good living standard for his family. One manager highlights this as follows:

> And the kids also gain advantage out of this… sometimes when they want to go somewhere I’ll buy the tickets for them. So that’s how they benefit from all this.

Fatherhood is constructed in the breadwinner discourse mainly in a holiday setting and in connection with recreational activities with the children. Holidays have an important meaning as compensation to the children for the father’s constant absence from family life. Respondents acknowledge their insufficiency as fathers and make up for it with the help of special fun events that differ from everyday tasks and routines.

In this discourse there is no intimacy between father and child, only between mother and child. Even though respondents claim that having children is important for them, they talk about watching the children grow up, not about living and spending time with them. A more active father’s role is considered possible once the children are older and able to have discussions with their father. However, respondents also express regrets about not participating more in their children’s life while they were small. They feel it will no longer be easy to build a closer relationship after the children have grown up.

Although these breadwinner fathers underline that their leadership work requires a lot and admit that their presence at home with the family is scarce, they also express their appreciation of the family as a social institution. A central theme is the husband’s high regard for the wife’s significant role in the family. She is valued as the one who alone bears the main responsibility for the children and the family. In fact, domestic work is almost completely outsourced from the man in this discourse, but the possibility of a minor role for him as a helper with household chores is nevertheless acknowledged.

Finally, no bridge is built between the man’s fatherhood and his leadership work in this discourse. Fatherhood does not affect his leadership duties, and vice versa. It can be said that the breadwinner fatherhood discourse produces a very traditional idea of leadership which draws a clear line between the father manager’s domestic and professional spheres.

Uncommitted fatherhood

In this fatherhood discourse, the man’s relationship with his children is distant and uncommitted. A key theme is his scarce presence at home and his detachment from his children. Contrary to breadwinner fatherhood, here respondents voice no regrets about not being present in their children’s life. Instead, the man’s absence from and uncommitment to his family are seen as the normal practice.

As in breadwinner fatherhood, the centrality of the man’s work and his leadership career are at the core of the uncommitted fatherhood discourse. The discourse constructs a reality where the man’s real life consists of his working career. It upholds the traditional gender order by arguing that a man’s priority in life lies in making a career, not in taking care of the children or the household. One respondent describes this in the following way:

> You have these fathers who roadie their kids to the ice hockey rink or somewhere five or six days a week. Well, that's something I never did.

Despite some similarities between the discourses of uncommitted fatherhood and breadwinner fatherhood, there is one major difference. The uncommitted fatherhood discourse presents the wife as equally career-oriented as her husband, in sharp contrast to the breadwinner father's wife, who gives up her own career to support her husband's career. Indeed, the gender relations between spouses are produced as rather parallel in the career context: both partners have and should have an equal opportunity in work life. The discourse thereby challenges the traditional gender order in the context of work by regarding the dual-earner model as the ordinary way of life.

In this discourse, like in the previous one, fatherhood and leadership are represented as two distinctly separate spheres with no connection between them. The uncommitted fatherhood discourse contains no reference to the man's work–family balance or his responsibilities towards the children and the household. Despite questioning the traditional gender order to the extent that women can participate fully in work life and create a career for themselves, the discourse does not contest the traditional model in the domestic sphere. In fact, it assigns a double burden to the father manager's wife: she is positioned as responsible not only for her working career but also for the household. There is no notion of shared parenting present in the discourse. So, paradoxically, challenging the traditional gender order in one sphere of life does not result in equality between the spouses in other life spheres. The man obviously wins in terms of workload compared to the woman in the uncommitted fatherhood discourse.

Best bits of fatherhood

In this discourse, the father-manager's children occupy a significant place in his life. An important theme is the birth of a child and how it changes the man's life: becoming a father makes him settle down and be willing to find compromises in his career to better meet the requirements of family life. The discourse claims that the man's more involved fatherhood results from a new circumstance in his social environment. However, the meaning of fatherhood is not constructed merely as a practical change arising from the new family arrangements, but as an attitudinal change towards a close relationship with the child. This discourse represents the father manager as a man who genuinely cares for his children.

Even though the father's involvement is at the core of this discourse, the manner in which his fatherhood is produced is one-sided. Respondents speak about the positive effect of the children on their life, but fail to mention doing any concrete childcare tasks at home. For example, one father makes this joking remark about childcare:

> On one hand, sure, it's fine for the woman to stay home to care for the child, so why not for the man, too? Like I've been saying, now that my wife's childcare leave is coming to an end after she's been home for three years… well, I reckon I'll spend the next three years playing and singing with our boy Lauri.

In this discourse, the father appears to participate mainly in the more pleasant elements of parenting, whereas it is the mother who takes charge of the rest. Taking part in the children's hobbies and outdoor activities is

constructed as a key part of fatherhood. Yet, despite their involvement in the fun sides of parenting, respondents display a tendency to miss the more traditional gender order.

Consequently, although the spouses' more flexible gender roles in family life in this discourse challenge the traditional gender order to some extent, it is still the husband, not the wife, who is the elective parent. In other words, fatherhood is constructed as parenthood where the man has the option to choose the aspects that he finds most convenient. The idea of equal parenting, where all childcare and domestic tasks are shared by both parents, is absent from this discourse. The man is actually represented as more oriented to his children in his attitudes and practices rather than oriented to gender equality with his wife.

This discourse also produces an affiliation between fatherhood and leadership work, as the father manager, at least to some degree, seeks to combine his work and family spheres. The work–family relationship is typically constructed so that it is the man's fatherhood that affects his leadership. Fatherhood is seen as a beneficial resource for the manager's professional career, because he can learn things from fatherhood that can be put to use in his work. The value of fatherhood, thus, is mainly instrumental in the man's work context.

Hands-on fatherhood

This discourse refers to a new kind of fatherhood, which is more present and more committed. The discourse produces the father as an active and caring parent. His close, intimate relationship with his children is a central theme, which stresses his genuine desire to be present as fully as possible in his children's life.

The construction of fatherhood in this discourse resembles traditional motherhood, both in terms of the relationship with the children and with childcare practices. The relationship involves nurturing and caring and a deep emotional connection, all of which are considered as crucial for genuine fatherhood. In this discourse, the man is capable and willing to reflect on his fatherhood; consequently, his active role in caring for and raising the children is represented as an outcome of conscious reflection. The father takes part in everyday childcare and household chores and routines. The discourse presents him as a partner who shares the care and domestic tasks with his spouse as an active and responsible parent in the family.

Respondents underline the importance of integrating their work and family spheres. They describe various changes and decisions made in their careers for the sake of their family, as in the following example:

> But that's the reason I asked to leave my job at SOK, because there was too much… it involved more than a hundred days of travel per year, so almost every week I'd spend one or two nights away from home. That was… it didn't feel good when the kids were small, and so I switched to a job with less traveling.

The hands-on fatherhood discourse constructs the father as a man who can and does make career choices on account of his family. In this discourse, it is the man's career, not the family, which adapts. Children and family come first in the man's life; his work and his leadership career take second place. Respondents using this discourse generally feel they have succeeded in combining their work and family life. They tell about confronting the same demands of everyday life as their spouses, but express no feelings of guilt or pressure in balancing their public and private spheres. Hence, there is no work–family conflict present in this discourse. Both spouses have the opportunity for a working career, which demonstrates their flexibility in sharing their parenting responsibilities.

Respondents highlight the connection between their fatherhood and leadership work, pointing out many similar elements in them—fairness and caring for others, for example. Moreover, they claim that fatherhood has increased their sensitivity towards employees who are parents. In sum, the hands-on discourse questions and reorganizes the traditional gender order by constructing fluid and flexible gender roles and relations both at home and at work. It presents a shared parenthood where the spouses are equally involved in and committed to parenthood in the work and the family context.

Discussion and conclusion

Male managers are in a position to exert a significant influence on organizational culture, such as its values and norms concerning work–family policy and practices. However, their perspectives on such issues have rarely been reported in prior research, as pointed out by several scholars (e.g. Tracy and Rivera 2010; Özbilgin et al. 2011; Burnett et al. 2013). Our results from the studied Finnish context indicate that father managers continue to construct their fatherhood mainly by drawing on the traditional masculine ideology. Indeed, the dominant discourse in this study was that of breadwinner fatherhood, where the man is the primary breadwinner in the family, and his work and family are more or less separate areas in his life. Maintaining a distance to childcare and household work seems to be a way of "doing fatherhood" which helps the man to identify—albeit often unconsciously—with the highly valued group of males in leading positions in organizations.

However, the hands-on and best bits of fatherhood discourses in our study suggest that the construction of fatherhood among male managers may be undergoing some reorganization towards more participatory fatherhood. We can say, in line with Miller (2011), that these father managers do gender differently that would be traditionally expected. Men who are able to free themselves from the bounds of traditional ideology and practices are potential creators of new organizational cultures, where the private and public lives of both men and women are integrated. Organizational cultures merit more research from this viewpoint in the future.

Our results are in partial agreement with Eräranta and Moisander's (2011) model of two competing fatherhoods: manly fathering and involved fathering. But, contrary to their results, our findings imply that conceptualization of only two fatherhoods may be oversimplified. Instead of understanding the relationship between fatherhood and leadership work as an either/or dichotomy, we suggest that more than two meaningful realities are possible. While Eräranta and Moisander's model captures the breadwinner and hands-on fatherhood discourses of our study, we were able to conceptualize two other discourses: the best bits of fatherhood discourse and the uncommitted fatherhood discourse. These can be positioned between the two other discourses in terms of how gender is done in the family and the work context.

Hearn and Niemistö (2012) argue that father managers tend to make a clear division between their private and public lives. Our results lend some support for their argument. Such a tendency was observed in the breadwinner and uncommitted fatherhood discourses, whereas the other two discourses show little evidence in its favour. The best bits and hands-on fatherhood discourses build a clear relationship between fatherhood and leadership work, but the nature of the relationship is different. In the former, fatherhood tends follow the father's own preferences, whereas the hands-on discourse constructs fatherhood on the same regulatory realities of everyday life as motherhood. Hence, it challenges the traditional gender roles and proposes an alternative gender order, potentially contributing to men being seen as equal parents in the context of work life.

Finally, our results differ from the findings of Kugelberg (2006) and Holter (2007) concerning the risk involved in being marked as a caring father in the organizational context. We detected no such tendency; rather, the caring father respondents in our study described their work–family relationship in positive terms. One noteworthy reason for their favourable view can be that, as managers with a powerful position in organizational life, they have a better chance to define a flexible work–family relationship for themselves than male employees with less influence. Yet, the positive tone of the best bits and hands-on fathers can imply that the door for more participatory fatherhood is opening in organizational life.

A limitation of this study is that we focus only on heterosexual white men in leadership positions, who can be considered to represent a dominant group of men. Future research should, therefore, address the fatherhood of other groups of men in organizations. Nonetheless, we believe our study sheds some light on the fairly new research topic of male managers' fatherhood. We conclude that the ideology of hegemonic masculinity, which draws upon traditional gender roles, may be undergoing a process of some, though perhaps slow, transformation among Finnish male managers.

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II

LEADERSHIP PRACTICES IN RELATION TO MEN'S WORK-FAMILY BALANCE IN FINNISH ORGANIZATIONS

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Leadership practices in relation to men's work-family balance in Finnish organizations

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Leadership practices in relation to men's work-family balance in Finnish organizations

Leadership practices in organizations play an important role in shaping the conditions for employees' work-family balance. Previous research on the topic has mainly focused on women; fathers are said to receive little support from leadership for combining work and family. In this study, the focus is on men working in six Finnish organizations representing male-dominated, female-dominated and gender-balanced organizations. Although Finland is considered a frontrunner in gender equality globally, Finnish women still carry the main responsibility for housework and child-care. Through a discursive approach, we seek to answer the following research question: What kind of discourses do working men construct of leadership practices that affect their work-family balance? This study offers insights into the variety of understandings of how men's work-family balance is constrained and/or supported through leadership practices. Our conclusion is that the gender composition and degree of hierarchy of an organization affect leadership practices regarding men's work-family balance. A good relationship between leader and employee supports balance. Fatherhood seems to be handled differently from motherhood in leadership practices. The information produced in this study is not only important with respect to the quality of life of men and their families, but also necessary to advance gender equality in organizational life and society in general.

Keywords: fatherhood, discourse analysis, leadership practices, men, organization, work-family balance

Introduction

Previous research has mainly focused on how women balance work and family (Özbilgin, Beauregard, Tatli, & Bell, 2011; Lämsä & Piilola, 2015). Even though interest in studying especially men's work-family relationship has increased (e.g. Holter, 2007; Allard, Haas, & Hwang, 2011; Hearn & Niemistö, 2012; Burnett, Gatrell, Cooper, & Sparrow, 2013; Gatrell & Cooper, 2016; Kangas, Lämsä & Heikkinen, 2017;

Kangas, Lämsä & Jyrkinen, 2019), few empirical studies have been made of men's work-family balance in the organizational context (Halrynjo, 2009; Allard, Haas & Hwang, 2011), which is the focus in this study. It is not certain that women and men experience the work-family relationship in the same way (Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brinley, 2005). In addition, there has been a relative absence of studies considering men's work-family balance as a leadership issue. However, managers and leaders both set examples to organization members with their own parenting practices, and they are also in a position to influence their organisation's work-family practices. This means that managers themselves are the best role models for employees in feeling comfortable (or uncomfortable) taking advantage of work–family benefits (Ladge, Humberd, Baskerville Watkins, & Harrington, 2015).

Leadership research has traditionally been leader-centred, i.e. focused on the individual leader, typically, the leader's traits and behaviour. The approach here emphasizes leadership as practice, which seeks to understand leadership activity wherever and however it arises (Raelin, 2016). Compared to more traditional approaches, this approach offers insights into the variety of understandings of how a work-family balance is constrained and/or supported through leadership practices. In line with Carroll et al. (2008), we think that the leadership-as-practice approach adopted here may enable men to put into words their experience of their work and family lives so that researchers and practitioners can engage with the everyday actions of leadership to support men's work-family balance. The kind of information we can access in this way is not only important for the quality of life of the men and their families but also necessary to advance gender equality in organizational life and society in general.

The opportunities and challenges men encounter in organizational life when trying to combine work and family can be considered a gendered context for the

construction of leadership practices. In the traditional view of masculinity, men are typically viewed as beneficial financial actors; their fatherhood tends to remain invisible in organizational life (Tracy & Rivera, 2010). The ideal employee in organizations is still a man without worries and obligations outside of work (Acker, 2011). This ideal employee is compatible with traditional masculinity and breadwinner fatherhood, which reinforces the idea that nurturing is mainly the responsibility of the mother, not the father (Marsiglio & Roy, 2012). Burnett et al. (2013) argued that organizations and their leadership tend to close their eyes and ears when the question of parenthood concerns fathers. In other words, it seems that in the organizational context the responsibilities of fatherhood are not getting the same attention as the responsibilities of motherhood.

In this study, using a discursive approach, we seek to answer the following research question: What kind of discourses do working men construct of the leadership practices concerning their work-family balance? Our idea is that leadership practices in organizations play an important role in shaping the conditions affecting men's work-family balance (Den Dulk, Peper, Kanjuo Mrčela, & Ignjatović, 2016), and that different kinds of gender-specific organizational contexts may vary in this respect. To make this visible, organizations that represent male-dominated, female-dominated and gender-balanced organizations have been chosen for this study. Our idea is to uncover the day-to-day gendered habits and conventions of leadership practices that are often taken for granted in the organization (Carroll, Levy, & Richmond, 2008), but which can significantly affect men's opportunities to balance their work and family lives (Kossek, 2016).

This research has been conducted in Finland, which is considered a front-runner in gender equality globally (The Global Gender Gap Report, 2020). In Finland, fathers are entitled to take paternity leave for a maximum of 54 working days (maternity leave

is 105 working days), and either the mother or the father can take parental leave, which is 158 weekdays long. Finland has a long history of trying to encourage fathers to take greater responsibility for childcare, but women still bear primary responsibility for housework and child-care (Kela, 2017). Parental leave is used in Finland almost exclusively by mothers; one fifth of fathers do not use any at all of the available family leave (Kela, 2017). In a Nordic comparison, Finnish men are found to be at the bottom of the list for using parental leave (Cederström, 2019). According to Eerola et al. (2019), the most common barriers to fathers' taking parental leave in Finland are related to the family's economic situation and the father's job. About one third of the fathers whom they studied reported that the reason for not taking parental leave was being too busy at work (Eerola et al., 2019). According to Närvi (2018), one reason for fathers' unwillingness to use longer parental leave is the poor organizational practices of the workplace. Usually, companies do not take substitutes for the time fathers spend on parental leave. Such a practice hardly encourages men to take very long parental leave.

Theoretical background

We draw on the view that leadership is a process of social construction (Uhl-Bien, 2006). According to this viewpoint, leadership is done in various social practices in the organization (Denis, Langley & Rouleu, 2010). In general, leadership practice refers to a cooperative action among participants who choose through their own conventions to reach a specific outcome (Raelin, 2010). From this point of view we can say that leadership in relation to work-family balance happens through various practices that emerge, unfold and become reality to organization members through their day-to-day experiences (Denis et al., 2010; Raelin, 2016).

According to Raelin (2003), conventional leadership can be replaced with the four C's of "leaderful practice": concurrent, collective, collaborative and compassionate

practices. Concurrency in leadership means that any community can have more than one leader at the same time; there is no need for only one person to act and operate as leader. When the leadership is collective, on the other hand, it is not dependent on any one member or any one person's position, but rather everyone participates in practicing leadership. Collaborative leadership refers to the idea that all members of the community can be in control of and may speak for the entire community. In other words, collaborative leadership understands that everyone matters, and every opinion and contribution is important. Finally, compassion refers to the extent to which the parties are committed to taking into consideration and respecting the dignity of all members of the organization, regardless of status, background, gender or other diversity viewpoints. Overall, Raelin's idea of leaderful practice stresses the importance of the democratic aspect of leadership. The core of modern leadership is collaboration and mutuality (Raelin, 2003).

An alternative framework is suggested by Crevani et al. (2010), who claim that leadership practices can be viewed through the conceptualizations of direction, co-orientation and action space. Direction in this case refers to the interaction between participants that sets the objectives for the activity, and it is related to the organization's strategies. For present purposes, this could be illustrated with the organization's work-family strategy, and the overall direction that is set for the application of this strategy throughout the organization. The notion of co-orientation refers to diverging arguments and ideas among the parties in leadership relations, and the parties' opportunity to express disagreement: how far different views on the work-family relationship and related practices can be expressed and are taken into consideration and negotiated. Action space defines the limits to people's decision-making and action in the relationship, and their possibilities of bringing about change, for example in issues such

as work-family balance. The action space can be seen to be related to power relations between the parties as well as to the power structure and hierarchy in the organization. In this framework, an organization's work-family practices should be seen against the background of the organization's overall direction and strategies, how far the organization tolerates disagreement and discussion, and how open it is to individual initiative and change.

According to Greenhaus and Powell (2017), work-family balance is an overall feeling that results from being effective and satisfied in two highly valued roles. Perceiving a balance between work and family leads to the feeling that one is effective and fulfilled in these two different parts of life, both of which are experienced as important, and this gives a person a sense of completeness, wholeness, and harmony. The balance between the two spheres can be supported by reducing work-family conflict, and by increasing work-family enrichment (Greenhaus & Powell, 2017).

Although much of the research on the relationship between work and family has focused on the perspective of women, some studies have looked at the topic from men's point of view. For example, a study by Mills and Grotto (2017) among senior executives found that these men increasingly experience work-to-home conflict, despite bearing fewer care responsibilities at home than their spouses. It has also been shown that fathers who try to reduce their working hours to be more involved in family life often encounter a poor response in the organization and from the leadership (Gatrell, 2007; Holter, 2007; Lewis et al., 2009). This implies that organizations tend not to see men as caregivers at home. Allard et al. (2011) found that men felt that they receive little support from upper management in combining work and family, and that men's parenting responsibilities are not taken into account in organizational life. A study carried out by Kangas et al. (2017) concluded that despite some increase in male

managers' orientation to family life, men still continue to construct their fatherhood mainly by drawing on traditional masculine ideology and holding on to their breadwinning role. At the same time, there are studies that challenge the idea of the traditional masculinity around working-class men (see Simpson & Richardson, 2019). In recent decades, and especially in the Nordic context, the model of the male breadwinner has not been so dominant (Bonke & Esping-Andersen, 2011). However, Whitehead (2014) claims that leadership and organizational cultures remain located in an arena that particularly privileges men's ways of working that are harmfully masculine and do not pay attention to other life spheres such as the family.

According to Acker (1990), organizational practices, for example leadership practices, are one field where a gendered substructure is negotiated and often contested in everyday life and where gendering processes may become visible. Studying leadership practices regarding the work-family balance of working men uncovers the gendering process of parenthood in the organizational world, especially because leadership is often intertwined with the traditional masculine gender stereotype. Despite the growing research interest in gender and leadership, and in general in equal opportunities, it seems that masculine logic is still alive in management and leadership (see Hearn, 2014; Powell, 2014). Therefore it seems that the existing traditional masculine leadership discourse and the caring fatherhood discourse are a long way apart, and men's work-family balance may not appear an important question in leadership at all. However, modern ideals of leadership include non-masculine tags like post-heroic, shared, and distributed leadership (Fletcher 2004) that are also described as feminine characteristics of leadership (Billing & Alvesson, 2014; Lämsä & Piilola, 2015). On the other hand, the idea of feminine leadership can be criticized for also

tending to maintain traditional gender stereotypes, such as seeing women as more caring and empowering leaders than men (Billing & Alvesson, 2000).

Although the feminization of leadership might not be a solution to gender equality in the work-family relationship, we think that any discussion that questions and makes visible the traditional masculine ways of doing leadership is one way of bringing about change. Billing and Alvesson (2014) call for cultural changes in leadership and the de-masculinization of leadership ideals. Both masculine and non-masculine leadership practices with regard to work-family issues affect understandings and discourses of men's work-family relationship and of fatherhood in general.

Methodology

Six organizations were studied. All the organizations are in the service sector, but the line of service varies. The service sector was chosen because it is the most important employer in the Finnish labor market (Statistics Finland 2016). Prior research shows that gender distribution in the organization can affect the leadership as well as employees' work and family relationship (Lämsä & Piilola, 2015). In two of the organizations studied here (logistics and security) men dominate in terms of number of employees; two others are women-dominated (health care and the social sector); and in the last two organizations (a legal consultancy and IT) the proportion of men and women employees is more or less equal.

Discourse analysis (DA) was adopted in this study (Wetherell, 1998; Edley, 2001; Budds, Locke & Burr, 2014). By discourse we refer to a rather coherent system of meanings which bring an object into being (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). According to DA, discourse is both constitutive and constructive: it both shapes, enables and constrains possibilities, ideas, assumptions and understandings of specific topics, such as for example leadership practices in men's work-family balance (cf. Phillips & Hardy, 2002;

Budds et al., 2014). One advantage of DA is that it makes it possible to reveal ideas and assumptions that are taken for granted in a specific context and might be difficult to reveal by other methods (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Additionally, DA makes it possible to show the complexity of the phenomenon under study, and how this complexity is made sense of in Finnish organizational life (Fairclough, 1995).

Our research data was produced by means of open-ended interviews, which were conducted face-to-face and digitally recorded. The interviews were carried out during 2016. In the interviews, the aim was to avoid yes/no and short replies and to encourage discussion between respondent and interviewer (Roulston, 2012). The interviews included questions about the men's own experiences of their work-family balance and about the work-family practices of the organization. The research material includes 30 interviews with men, with three to six interviews from each organization. We applied to each target organization for permission to carry out the study with them and, permission having been granted, we found the interviewees with the help of the human resources management in each organization.

The respondents were selected following purposeful sampling (Patton, 2002). We selected men with children (mostly the children were the men's biological children, but in some cases the man was a stepfather). All of the men had or had had a spouse at the time when they were bringing up the children. From the family perspective, we targeted men with the most typical family structure, that is, in Finnish society, the dual-earner model, i.e., with both parents working full-time (Eräranta & Moisander, 2011). The men we interviewed ranged in age from 29 to 61 years old. From the organizational perspective, we looked for variation among the interviewees, so they represent various tasks and various hierarchical levels, from shop-floor to management.

Because we promised the interviewees full anonymity, later in this article we use code OrgXManY, X standing for the organization, 1-6, and Y the number of the man interviewed in this organization (for example, Org1Man2 = organization one, the second interviewee from this organization).

In the analysis, we drew on Edley's (2001, p. 189) model of DA. First, the interviews were transcribed word for word. After reading the material through thoroughly, we made notes about the various ways the respondents described their work-family balance. Then we identified what kind of leadership practices were expressed in the texts about the men's work-family relationship. Next, we took a closer look at the subject positions that were made available to the participants mentioned in the texts (cf. Budds et al., 2014). A subject position refers to the identity constructions of actors and their relations to one another in discourse, or, as expressed by Edley (2001, p. 210), it is an identity 'location' that is made relevant to actors, such as leader and employee, within discourse. After this, we looked for dilemmas in the interpreted discourses, that is, those parts of the discourse where contrasting beliefs and values could occur (ibid, p. 203). Contrasting or opposing beliefs may develop, creating situations in which there can be more than one option as to what needs to be done and the participant must choose between them. Lastly, we focused on what kind of constraints and opportunities the discourses could create for men balancing between work and family (ibid; Willig, 2013; Budds et al., 2014).

Results

As a result, six discourses of working men's constructions of leadership practices concerning their work-family balance became defined. These discourses are summarized in Table 1.

TABLE 1 HERE

Our discussion now turns to each of these discourses in turn.

Male-dominated organizational context

Discourse of 'Mutual flexibility'

In this discourse, a balance between work and family is very much appreciated, so the discourse opens up the possibility of men improving their work-family balance. One key to achieving balance is said to be flexibility on the part of both employee and leader. The leader's task is constructed as taking responsibility for creating the conditions for flexibility. Key leadership practices that promote flexibility are said to be, for example, not only a supportive and relaxed attitude and the behaviour of the leader, but also professional and fair planning of the work rota. The interviewees emphasized that it was assumed in the organization that when an employee showed flexibility in his attitude and behaviour, the leader too would be flexible in her/his practices and would take into consideration the employee's needs in the intersection of work and family. The respondents reported that they could, if necessary, go and do some shopping and speak to their family members on their mobile phone during the working day. They also mentioned that if they needed, for example, to arrange days off for family reasons, it was easy: all that was required was some negotiation with the supervisor. One respondent said this about it:

> It's like this now, to that extent that with your own supervisor there's always been talk that if you've got some errands to do, so just go, he doesn't intend to check up on you, you yourself make sure that you get your work done. (Org1Man1)

The interviewees said that sometimes their shifts were quite suddenly lengthened if

someone could not come to work, or that every now and then they needed to do some extra work at home after the working day was over. The men mentioned that it was quite common to stay longer at work or to take work phone calls when they were at home and not officially working. However, this was mentioned as being a pleasant practice. Flexibility in the relationship was said to arise from trust and open discussion between leader and employee.

In this discourse, the leader is constructed as a trusting, easy-going partner who does not closely monitor employees but rather allows them to work independently as long as the work is done. In relation to the leader, the employee is positioned as a collaborator who does what he has to do at work in the way expected of him. Leadership practices in this discourse resemble those of shared leadership, and are in contrast to ideas of traditional masculine leadership. Work and family are considered to be intertwined and mutually reconcilable when leader and employee have a good, easy relationship.

In sum, this discourse stresses that employees have flexibility in their work-family arrangements but, conversely, the leader expects them to be flexible towards the organization's needs. Trust, easiness, openness and mutuality are core values called for to achieve collaboration in the leader-employee relationship in this discourse. However, it is problematic that although men are constructed as being relatively free to balance their family life with their work, ultimately the possibility of flexibility is related to the quality of the relationship between leader and employee: if the quality of this relationship is poor, collaboration and the employee's chances of achieving work-family balance can suffer. This is particularly the case because the organizations are said not to have any strategy for handling work-family balance, and this leaves it at the mercy of

the quality of the relationship between the individual leader and each member of his team.

Discourse of 'Encouragement to take paternity leave'

In this discourse, the focus is on encouragement to take paternity leave. The leader's encouragement is considered a crucial leadership practice. The discourse is positive about family leave and the organization's support for men to take it. Paternity leave is constructed very positively, and as a good opportunity for fathers to get to know their new-born child. One leader reported how he encouraged fathers to take paternity leave:

> I've told everyone for goodness sake now colleagues, take it, take the time off, because you won't get too many opportunities to do that in your life. (Org2Man3)

In this discourse, leadership is constructed as supportive and encouraging towards taking paternity leave. Especially older male leaders are described as motivators and as having an important role in relation to younger men in this respect. For example, one manager commented:

> I have been saying to these our younger men that you should take time to stay home when you are having baby. (Org2Man5)

The leader's identity, then, is constructed as that of a wise elderly man who advises a young male employee to think about his family life. This means that the power to show direction in this matter is positioned in the leader, who has a lot of work experience as well as higher status in the organization's hierarchy. In the discourse, the emphasis is on the leader's paternalistic care of his employees. The employee is positioned in relation to the leader as a somewhat insecure younger man who may not realize how good it will be for him to give his family sufficient attention. The respondents brought out that they should take paternity leave not only to show caring fatherhood but also because their

working hours were very demanding and it was good to take a break – called paternal leave – when the possibility arose. However, the men talked about using only paternal leave, not the longer parental leave that is available to both the mother and the father. *"I took all the leave that is for fathers"* (Org2Man1), one respondent said.

Although, in this discourse, the elderly male manager supports the employee's work-family balance and creates room for the employee to focus on his family, the discourse constructs the male employee as a participative modern father but at the same time sticks to traditional gender roles – positioning the mother as the primary parent who will of course take long parental leave. Consequently, the respondents do not construct the man as an equal parent but rather as the mother's helper. Although it is argued that the leadership in the organization is supportive, it does in fact uphold and maintain this view.

Female-dominated organizational context

Discourse of 'Flexibility for some employees'

This discourse underlines the importance of balance between work and family. According to the respondents, the balance may be supported in order to allow flexibility in work arrangements. Practices such as the leader showing support and direction are said to be crucial. However, what is significant in this discourse and different from the previous discourses is that flexible arrangements in the organization are described here as being decidedly selective: the leader allows some employees to be flexible, but not all of them.

According to the interviewees, both the opportunities open to them and the leader's willingness to show flexibility varied from unit to unit and from one hierarchical position to another in the organization. Some units and their leaders were

said to be very flexible and to take into account family situations in relation to work arrangements, while others were said to be stuck in old, rigid habits which only favoured particular groups of employees. Especially staff in higher positions, such as doctors in the health care organization, were said to have a good chance of flexibility. The respondents said that leaders treated the doctors quite differently and gave them many more opportunities to achieve work-family balance compared to those available to nurses and other groups. The result was inequality between different employee groups, as the following quote from a doctor's interview makes clear:

> We've got flexible working hours, it makes no difference at all when you come to work or when you leave, that is within certain limits. With the nurses it's calculated down to the minute, so if you arrive five minutes earlier, a few minutes are always lost, and it's somehow sick, but maybe it'll be corrected sometime. (Org3Man3)

In this discourse, leadership practices in principle recognize the possibility of supporting work-family balance by means of flexible work arrangements. But despite these good intentions, the discourse constructs workers' identities as contrasting – they are either the victims of unfair treatment or privileged 'winners of the game' – depending on their status and the unit in which they work. The unfairness in the application of flexibility in work-family issues is constructed as being at least partially a consequence of the incompetence of those in positions of leadership, but it is also due to the hierarchical organizational structure and culture in the health care and social service sectors. Consequently, in this discourse, the leader's identity becomes constructed as not only an incompetent, but also an uncritical follower of the existing organizational culture and hierarchy.

There is a contradiction here. On the one hand, flexibility in the work-family relationship is constructed as being important if one hopes to advance in leadership

because it leads to a good end, that is, the well-being of organization members, and is considered a sign of caring and moral leadership. But at the same time the leader is constructed as immoral because s/he chooses to follow the organization's established habits and does not try to challenge them. In sum, in this discourse, leadership practices have the good intention of supporting a balance between work and family. However, the prevailing leader-centred organizational culture and hierarchical structure cause problems and result in leaders being uncritical, so that employees feel that they are treated unfairly with regard to their possibilities of achieving work-family balance. In other words, targeted compassion is not achieved very well in this discourse.

Discourse of 'Top managers do not care but supervisors do'

This discourse underlines the importance of leadership practices in promoting work-family balance. The interviewees said that, in practice, the role of supervisors was crucial in achieving this balance. In particular, they spoke of how supervisors set an example in this by establishing guidelines and giving employees direction. Consequently, showing others what to do and supportive behaviour through role-modelling are understood to be key leadership practices in this discourse. For example, one respondent spoke about this in the following way:

> Those supervisors that I've had in different units have certainly encouraged me and have shown me that it's, that it is part of life that one has a life outside the workplace too, and you can talk about that and they themselves talk about it. (Org4Man4)

In this discourse, supervisors are constructed as good role models who emphasize the significance of the family in the employee's life. The discourse emphasizes that when supervisors themselves have their own experiences of reconciling work and family, they know how difficult it is for other people to handle the work-family relationship and they

understand the problems. At the same time, top managers are constructed as invisible and impassive in their leadership practices in relation to work-family issues. As one HR director says:

> I think the top management is the weak link here, they are quite invisible for employees in general and for these questions (work-family) there is no input from there. (Org3Man2)

The discourse opens up opportunities for men to balance their work and family, albeit in a restricted way. Overall, supervisors are constructed as empathetic and caring role models who take into consideration employees' work-family issues. According to the interviewees, it is easy to raise the subject of family in the daily interaction between supervisor and employee, and this highlights the importance of collaboration and strengthens both parties' action space to promote this balance.

In this discourse, the employee is positioned as the satisfied object of his supervisor's caring and empathetic leadership practices – key characteristics of traditional feminine leadership. Similarly, in this discourse, top managers are constructed as indifferent people who pay no attention to work-family issues. This means that top managers are positioned as distant in relation to employees – a sign of the traditional masculine hierarchical order of the organization. The conflict here is that supervisors are described as being able to create an open, caring environment that supports employees' work-family balance while at the same time top managers are sending employees contradictory messages. As a result, supervisors are said to have been left to deal with this on their own.

Gender-balanced organizational context

Discourse of 'In the hands of the leader'

In this discourse, achieving a balance between work and family is emphasized; it is constructed as an ideal situation and an important aim that the leadership should support. However, the interviewees described themselves as having a tendency to work long hours and as being ready to be available 24/7. For example, one interviewee spoke of his commitment to work during his paternal leave:

> And in fact I had all the equipment and everything at home, and I could certainly do work at home, and among other things those times when for example the baby was asleep during the day or whenever, then I certainly did some work. Really it was like, I was at home, but I did do some work when I could, so even in those circumstances I couldn't really cut myself off entirely from working life. (Org5Man6)

The men we interviewed attributed greatest responsibility for advancing the balance between work and family to leadership practices. In other words, they said that responsibility for achieving the balance and showing the way were in the hands of the leader. One reason for considering work-family balance to be a key leadership principle was that it could make the organization more attractive to potential employees and therefore support recruitment. Another reason was that balance supported the commitment of current employees. The interviewees thus justified the need for the leader to take responsibility for work-family balance pragmatically.

In this discourse, in their relationship to the leader, the respondents constructed their identity as highly work-driven professionals who were incapable of achieving work-family balance on their own. As the quotation above exemplifies, the interviewees positioned themselves primarily as employees even during their paternity leave, following the traditional gender role expectation of men's work orientation. The

respondents emphasized two leadership practices that were crucial in helping them to advance their work-family balance: direction and control, and encouragement. Directing and controlling employees' working hours, for example, using an electronic system, was said to be an important leadership practice that prevented the employee working too many hours. Thus, the leader was positioned as the controller, in charge of the employee, who otherwise would not be able to take care of his work-family balance.

According to the respondents, in contrast to directing and controlling, leadership practices also need to involve encouragement and advice to men to promote the balance. The leader is thereby positioned not only as a boss or controller who prevents men from working too much but also as a respected advisor who encourages men to achieve balance between work and family and makes it possible for them to do so. Particularly the leader's encouragement to use facilities or services that were sponsored and recommended by the organization, such as childcare services for a sick child and a house-cleaning service, were said to be crucial. Moreover, when paternity leave was discussed, the interviewees stressed the role of a leader who was able to give credible advice about how and when to take the leave. For example, here one leader reports what he advised his subordinate:

> One is soon going to have baby, so I just said to him that he should take the father's month in summer time, not when the baby arrives. In my experience it's better this way, you benefit more. (Org6Man3)

By combining the traditional masculine and feminine ways of leadership, this discourse creates opportunities for men to pay attention not only to work but also to the family sphere in their lives with the help, care, supervision and control of the leader. However, achieving a balance creates a dilemma. On the one hand, it is mentioned that giving advice and ideas and encouraging employees to achieve better work-family balance is a

crucial leadership practice, but at the same time the leader is required to control the employee in how he organizes his work-family balance. In sum, in this discourse, to promote the balance the leader should actively pursue two quite contrasting alternative, namely controlling and encouraging.

Discourse of 'Good to be seen'

In this discourse the interviewees emphasized that it was important to be present in the office and work long hours. According to them, this was considered a merit in the organization. Therefore working from home was not constructed as a recommended habit, although one could do it every now and then. The interviewees reported that in practice they had all that was required to work from home and to ease the work-family balance in this way, but they stressed that it was better to be as visible as possible in the workplace, to be seen to be a good employee and to have career potential. For example, one respondent said:

> So that in a way it is expected that people will be here, present, although in fact one could do the work anywhere and anytime, but in a way as far as time is concerned, despite that, yes I feel rather strongly that there's in a sense this unwritten and unspoken rule that one's at work when the office is open. (Org5Man6)

Especially positions of leadership in one field or another were constructed as positions where presence at the office and long working hours were important. Leaders were expected to stay there a long time and 'not show an empty office'. According to the interviewees, in their practices leaders set an example and showed employees that what was expected of them was a strong work-orientation and the habit of not being the first to leave the office in the evening.

> If we demand a lot from the younger people then we should ourselves be the role-models and not be people who leave work early or at least not switch off the

> computer, particularly now when you can see who is online and who isn't. (Org6Man5)

In this way the discourse creates a leader's identity as someone who acts as a role model with regard to attendance at the workplace and who devotes himself to work life as fully as possible. In his relationship with the leader, the employee's identity is constructed as a follower, someone who follows the leader's role-modelling, and this strengthens the organizational culture of presenteeism.

This discourse produces constraints on the men with regard to integrating their work and family in a balanced way. The dilemma is that the work-centred role-modelling is accepted in the organization, but this has a downside, that is, a negative impact on the men working there. A strong work-orientation and undervaluation of the man's family life can cause problems in both family life (e.g. neglect of the children, an unequal relationship between the partners in family obligations, problems in the marriage) and work life (e.g. stress, burnout, inefficiency due to excessively long working hours). In sum, the discourse highlights the belief that it is good for an employee's career if he is visible in the workplace as much as possible. The leader's willingness to be the role model in this leads to a vicious circle which encourages men's work orientation, reduces their opportunities to invest in family life and can also lead to negative results for the organization.

Discussion

Tracy and Rivera (2010) and Burnett et al. (2013) have claimed that fatherhood is likely to be invisible in organizational life. However, to the research participants in this study, the topic was not unknown, invisible or difficult to talk about. One explanation for the different result is that in the Finnish environment studied here, work-family balance has been a very topical issue in recent years, especially in public discussions (e.g. the

media, politics) (Kangas et al., 2019). This may have increased the respondents' awareness of the topic and their willingness to talk about it.

The results showed that leadership practices were constructed as supportive and encouraging towards the advancement of fathers' work-family balance, especially in the male-dominated organizational context studied here: giving guidance, creating the conditions for flexibility and supporting cooperation and trust between leader and employee were regarded as key leadership practices. In this context, leadership practices were described as following the ideas of shared leadership and a caring orientation – typically considered signs of feminine leadership (Billing & Alvesson, 2014; Lämsä & Piilola, 2015), caring fatherhood (Johnsson & Klinth, 2007) and caring masculinity (Johansson & Andreasson, 2017). This is an interesting finding because we studied mostly blue-collar service workers. One explanation for the supportiveness in this context may be that the work duties of these men can easily be assigned to others.

Although the ideas of supportive leadership make the topic visible and open the door to the advancement of work-family balance, ultimately the leadership practices described in the male-dominated context were constructed as being based on traditional gender roles (Tracy & Rivera, 2010). The leader giving positive encouragement and showing direction (Crevani et al., 2010) can be understood on the one hand as enabling but on the other hand also as limiting the men's action space in their attempts to combine work and family. This is because in the discourses of the participants in the male-dominated organizational context, fathers were encouraged to take only short paternity leave, self-evidently reflecting the idea that fatherhood is only secondary parenting: primary responsibility for childcare is constructed as lying with the mother, and fathers are positioned as the mothers' helpers (see Hearn & Niemistö, 2012).

In the male-dominated context our findings are in contrast to those of various other studies. Allard et al. (2011), for example, argued that male employees experienced receiving little support from leaders when they tried to combine work and family. One explanation for the different result may be that the organizational cultures in the organizations studied here are quite relaxed and employee-orientated, and this has a positive effect on leadership practices that advance work-family balance. Our findings also do not resonate very well with the studies of Gatrell (2007), Holter (2007) and Lewis et al. (2009). They claimed that fathers who try to reduce their working hours in order to be more involved in family life often meet a poor response from the organization's leadership. Our results show that especially in the male-dominated organizational context, the support of management for male employees' work-family balance can be more complex and multifaceted than has been assumed in previous studies.

In this study, men were getting support for work-family balance, although only within limits. It seems that in the male-dominated organizational context, men are increasingly getting support for more involving fatherhood as long as they remain in the role of secondary parent: gender roles in parenting do not seem to have really been challenged in this context. One practical implication of this is that the development of a better work-family balance for men in a male-dominated organizational context needs to include leadership practices that challenge more radically the traditional gender roles, to open up more action space than is currently available for male employees' fatherhood. Top leaders could make a start and show the way with their own example, by themselves taking long parental leave.

In the female-dominated organizational context, leadership practices that emphasize a caring orientation were described as prevailing, especially among

supervisors. What was crucial in this context was that a person's place in the hierarchy played an important role in one's opportunities to have work-family balance. The hierarchical organization and leadership are quite understandable in the health and social sector that was studied here (especially from the point of view of patient safety) but existing practices do tend to have a downside (Dennis et al., 2010). One disadvantage seems to be that an atmosphere of inequality creeps into the organization. As a result, especially supervisors in this context tend to face a moral paradox: they were described as showing care to their employees by fostering work-family balance but at the same time as upholding the hierarchical structure, which resulted in feelings of unfairness and limited the possibilities of achieving work-family balance. We think that the role of top management should be more active here: their position gives them the power to affect this situation. It seems that in the female-dominated organizational context, work-family balance is not so much a question of gender inequality as a question of inequality between different professions and their hierarchical positioning and valuation. Practical ways of developing work-family balance in this kind of context would be more discussion, and initiatives to reduce the unnecessary hierarchy. Additionally, leadership training could be particularly useful (Kossek, 2016): it has been confirmed that management training that focuses on family-friendliness is a good way of reducing work-family conflict (Hammer et al., 2011).

Interestingly, the discourse which stressed the most traditional masculine way of acting was found in the gender-balanced organizational context. In the 'Good to be seen' discourse, it was emphasized that leadership practices prioritize work over family. This discourse is in line with Whitehead's (2014, p. 455) argument that leadership as well as the general organizational context remain located in a discursive arena that privileges ways of working that are harmfully masculinist. The harm here is for the

family, because they encourage fathers to be at work as much as possible. However, the other discourse that we found here, 'In the hands of the leader', in this context stressed supportive leadership practices with regard to men's work-family balance. The two discourses are clearly contradictory: one strives for a good balance between work and family while the other does not. This may be an indication of what Greenhaus and Powell (2017, p. 11) suggest: that many organizations claim to support work-family balance but their actual expectations of people in positions of leadership send the opposite message. It is possible that male employees are already well aware that involving fatherhood is nowadays socially accepted, but organizations and their leadership are still unwilling to support the idea in practice. We agree with the claim that masculine logic is still alive in leadership (see Hearn, 2014; Powell, 2014), but at the same time we would argue that ideals of fatherhood are now taking more fluid forms. On a practical level we therefore propose that in a gender-balanced organizational context prevailing masculine leadership practices need to be abandoned, for example by ending the culture of presenteeism.

Although there seems to be increasing recognition nowadays in organizations and among organizational leaders of the need for men's work-family balance (e.g. Holter, 2007; Halrynjo, 2009; Allard et al., 2011; Hearn & Niemistö, 2012; Burnett et al., 2013; Kangas et al., 2019), it must be remembered that fathers do not have the same position as mothers in the organizational world. As shown here, there is still a tendency for fathers to be positioned as secondary parents, after mothers. Consequently, the achievement of work-family balance is not likely to appear the same to men and to women (Gatrell & Cooper, 2016), and the advancement of men's work-family balance may not get as much consideration as that of women. This may be useful for those men who are more inclined to work than to participate in parenting. However, those who

would like to participate equally with their spouses in parenting run the risk of being treated unfairly by leaders in the workplace. This can lead to the situation that the father who wants involving fatherhood is left on his own.

Overall, this study shows that leadership practices in organizational life in relation to men's work-family balance are diverse and full of contradictions. Previous studies have argued, on the one hand, that traditional masculine leadership is still strong in organizational life (e.g. Katila & Eriksson, 2013; Powell, 2014) but, on the other hand, that leadership is moving towards a more participatory, non-hierarchical, flexible and group-oriented style (e.g. Fletcher, 2004; Billing & Alvesson, 2014, p. 214). This study confirms that both tendencies – the maintenance of traditional masculine leadership and a transformation towards new modes of masculinities – are likely to co-exist in leadership practices in relation to working men's work-family balance.

Limitations and further research

The present research has its limitations. In the first place, in this research, we focused on leadership practices in relation to men's work-family balance in six organizations in Finland that differed in their gender composition. This made the analysis compact, but the study has a limited sample. This study presents the Finnish societal context, but the Finnish welfare system is very dissimilar to many others in Europe, let alone to those in countries outside Europe. For the future, we call for more research in different kinds of organizations and other societies. Secondly, in this study, we used only men's interviews as the data source. Future studies that uncovered particularly organizational and leadership cultures using various data sets (e.g. observation, and documentary data in addition to interviews) could offer valuable insights into the topic. Additionally, it is important to compare the different perceptions and constructions of the topic by different genders. For the future, a longitudinal research setting could usefully explore

the effect of changes in leadership on the advancement of men's work-family balance.

Conclusion

We conclude that the gender composition of an organization affects its leadership practices with regard to men's work-family balance. Additionally, the degree of hierarchy in the organization can be a factor. In organizations with rather informal leadership practices, employees are likely to have more flexibility about arranging their work-family relationship, although a good relationship between leader and employee seems to be a necessary condition for success.

Both the de-masculinization of leadership practices and the existence of traditional masculine leadership practices were identified in the interpreted discourses. This implies that some change in leadership in relation to men's work-family balance is emerging. Finally, the findings illustrate that fatherhood is still handled differently from motherhood in leadership, and indeed in organizational life generally. To advance gender equality in organizations, this should be changed and steps should be taken to ensure that fathers' possibilities of balancing work and family are similar to those of mothers. Finally, we argue that promoting modern, participative fatherhood is one way of advancing gender equality in organizations and in society in general.

Conflict of Interest statement

No conflicts of interest to disclose.

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III

IS FATHERHOOD ALLOWED? MEDIA DISCOURSES OF FATHERHOOD IN ORGANIZATIONAL LIFE

by

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Title

Is Fatherhood Allowed? Media Discourses of Fatherhood in Organizational Life

A short running title

Discourses of Fatherhood in Organizational Life

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Abstract

It has been claimed that in the context of organizations and management, fathers are invisible. One source of tension for fathers who work and who want to participate in family life is that even though involved fatherhood is emerging in many Western societies, a family-oriented male identity is likely to be problematic for men in organizations. This article aims to contribute to a better understanding of a professional and managerial men's work–family relationship using discourse analysis on data from three different media sources in Finland, published during 1990−2015. We identified two competing discourses: one of stasis, the other of change. The stasis discourse is constructed around traditionally masculine management and fatherhood roles, while the changing discourse embodies more diverse masculinities and fatherhood. We conclude that although the discourse on fatherhood in the organizational context is moving towards gender equality, at the same time a strong discourse is putting a brake on such development, especially regarding management.

Keywords

gender, fatherhood, masculinity, leadership, organization, work–family relationship

Introduction

Fathers can be seen as ghosts – invisible bodies in the context of organizations. Although new forms of more participative fatherhood are emerging and are argued to be gradually gaining legitimacy in many Western societies (Dermott, 2008; Miller, 2011; Marsiglio and Roy, 2012; Kangas et al., 2017), organizations often tend to close their eyes and ears when the question of parenthood from the perspective of fathers is brought up (Burnett et al., 2013). A family-oriented male identity and behaviour are still understood as problematic, causing tensions for men in organizations (Hearn and Niemistö, 2012). Acker (2011) argues that although the ideal employee is typically presented in gender-neutral terms, the implicit assumptions and requirements of many jobs are that the employee is a man without worries and obligations outside of work. This unencumbered man is expected to focus only on work, be available for long working hours and to be unfettered by other responsibilities such as caring for children or sharing housework (ibid.). This ideal employee is compatible with traditional gender ideology, which reinforces the assumption that nurturing is the responsibility of the mother and not the father (Margsiglio, 2012). Although this understanding of the employee seems to be a good fit with the traditional idea of breadwinning fatherhood (Holter 2007; Gatrell 2007), its compatibility with more participative fatherhood has not yet really been established either in research or in practice. As Ranson (2012) claims, 'working fathers' have not yet been fully conceptualized. She argues that, even though the 'new father' involved with his children and engaged in hands-on care-giving already exists in the public discussion, it has not yet entirely replaced the concept of the man as the breadwinner.

Previous research has typically focused on how women can combine work and family (Ezzedeen and Ritchey, 2009; Özbilgin et al., 2011; Lämsä and Piilola, 2015; Heikkinen et al., 2014). In this study, we add to the literature by making the men's viewpoint visible. We

argue that one crucial way to support both women's and men's opportunities to balance work and family life is for working men to participate in care at home more than they do now, with a more involved fatherhood (Liff and Cameron, 1997; Smithson and Stokoe, 2005). Involved fatherhood is a rather ambiguous concept, but usually it refers to a father who has a close and caring relationship with his children (Wall and Arnold, 2007). Risman (2009, p. 84) has insightfully stated that 'a just world would be one where sex category matters not at all beyond reproduction; economic and familial roles would be equally available to persons of any gender'.

In this article, we focus on the societal context of Finland and explore the discursive ways used by mass media to describe and represent the work–family relationship of men who are fathers as well as managers and professionals in organizational life. The mass media is a powerful and important force in the construction of social reality. The media build up and maintain meanings as well as influence people's thinking (Fairclough, 1998; McCullagh, 2002) about men's work–family relationship. This representation can have different implications for how men (as well as women and other genders) lead their lives.

In this study, the focus is on media discourses on managers and professionals as fathers, who are often role models in organizations (Weaver et al., 2005). We examine how the press portrays fatherhood in the organizational world, and how fathers as managers and professionals are described as behaving and are positioned by organizational discourses, cultures and policies. The voices in our analysis are those of journalists and the experts and practitioners they consult in order to find what is constructed to be happening in working life organizations. Managers especially men managers, are an important group to study, because assumptions and ideas in organizational life and management are still often masculine (Grint, 2011; Klenke 2011; Katila and Eriksson 2013; Powell, 2014). On the other hand, managers are

in an influential position, which allows them to advance – or obstruct – new family-friendly organizational cultures.

Our study contributes to the discussion on changing masculinities in organizations (e.g. Collinson and Hearn, 2005; Holter, 2005; 2007; Burnett et al. 2013; Ladge et al. 2015). The contribution of this study is, firstly, in identifying how the general change towards involved fatherhood appeared in organizational life in Finland during 1990–2015, especially among men in professional and managerial positions. The second contribution lies in identifying possible managerial practices and masculine/ist ideals that obstruct this change. At the core of this research is, then, the collision between changes in fatherhood, the ideal of the unencumbered employee and masculine leadership.

The structure of our analysis is twofold. Firstly, we identified changes over recent decades in media texts on professional and managerial men's work–family relationship. Secondly, we considered whether the changes that we noted in the detected fatherhood discourses have the potential to challenge the ideal worker and/or masculine leadership ethos during this research period, or whether the discourses maintain the traditional ideas.

We explore the paradox in the Finnish societal context: Finland has relatively advanced gender policies, but fathers' readiness to use parental leave is lower than in other Nordic countries (Kela, 2017). Gender equality is seen as an important societal goal in Finland, which will make it possible to fully harness the expertise of both women and men for the general benefit of society (Katila and Eriksson, 2013). However, in practice, men still continue to have greater access to positions with power, social prestige, higher rewards and greater resources (The Global Gender Gap Report, 2017). Although women's participation in working life is high in Finland and most women work full-time (Statistics Finland, 2016), women still carry the main responsibility for housework and child care and have problems in career advancement.

Currently, parental leave is used almost exclusively by mothers in Finland; typically, men take only a few weeks of the statutory paternity leave. One-fifth of fathers do not use any of the available family leave (Kela, 2017). Furthermore, Närvi's (2018) study on men's parental leave in Finland reveals that it is very rare for organizations to arrange substitutes for men who take parental leave. Men's work tasks must therefore either be done by the men themselves before taking the leave or after they return to work, or then uncompleted tasks have to be distributed amongst colleagues, who might already be overburdened. Such practices hardly encourage men to take a very long parental leave. This builds up a difference between motherhood and fatherhood in organizational life: it is much rarer for organizations not to be prepared for maternity leave when a baby is born.

Theoretical background

Doing gender – doing fatherhood – or redoing it

We draw on the idea that gender is socially and historically constructed; it is not something people are, but rather, something people do, for example, through discursive practices at work, in families and in the wider society (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Billing, 2011). While doing gender, people reconstruct their gender roles, which are more or less learned. Thus, fatherhood is not just a biologically determined attribute but also the product of social actions located in a specific historical and social context (Marsiglio and Pleck, 2005, p. 259). Understanding gender as a dynamic, historically and actively constituted construction (Fenstermaker and West, 2002; West and Zimmerman, 2009; Martin, 2006) means that there is no one femininity or masculinity, but multiple patterns of masculinities and femininities co-exist (Connell, 2002). Consequently, various forms of fatherhood can exist and are constantly produced in various

social processes (Poggio, 2006). According to the theory of doing gender, gender is done through social practices (West and Zimmerman 1987).

Although gender can be done in various ways, some discourses on gender tend to be more dominant than others. The dominant discourse can limit alternative ways to do gender, because to do gender is to engage in action in which the individual is accountable for 'liv[ing] up to normative conceptions of femininity and masculinity' (Butler, 2004, p. 15). Fatherhood can be done in different ways, but some forms of fatherhood are more acceptable in particular social and historical contexts. However, undoing gender or redoing it is also possible (Billing, 2011). According to Butler, the gender binary can be destabilized and thereby undone (Butler, 1990, 2004), which affects the understanding and practices of parenthood. Although individuals can and do cross traditional gender lines, generally accepted and valued gender expectations, practices and norms restrict people's ability to do gender in a different way. Individuals are seldom truly undoing gender, but redoing it or doing it differently (see Kelan 2010; West and Zimmerman, 2009). Doing gender, as well as redoing it, takes place through discourses.

Holter (2005) argues that while inequalities work in complex and contradictory ways – sometimes also against men, individually and collectively – the overriding pattern of inequality works in favour of men and against women. Nevertheless, the effects of inequality are diverse and shifting. Often fathers' involvement in care takes place part time, as a secondary parent whose relationship with the children remains less important than that of the mother (Wall and Arnold, 2007). Previous studies of media representations of fatherhood indicate that men are typically represented as non-active subjects in the field of family care. Indeed, their voice concerning fatherhood is not often heard in the media; their doings are described by mothers or reporters, rather than fathers themselves (Sunderland, 2006).

Masculinity in organizational life

Traditionally, organizations have been built by and for men. The modern form of capitalism was a part of a historical process that created the masculinized public realm (Connell, 2002, p. 97-98). This traditional masculinity or 'masculine ethic' (Kanter, 1977, p. 43) consists of traits that are assumed to belong to men: 'a tough-minded approach to problems; analytical abilities to abstract and plan; a capacity to set aside personal, emotional consideration in the interests of task accomplishment; and a cognitive superiority in problem-solving and decision-making'. As Acker (2011, p. 67) puts it, even though an ideal employee is typically represented in gender-neutral terms in organizations, the assumptions and requirements of many jobs are that the worker is an unencumbered man without worries and obligations outside work.

Strong connections between management and masculinity are recognized in many critical management studies (Collinson and Hearn 2001). Masculinist discourses and practices are so dominant in business that anyone who pursues a managerial career must adopt them regardless of sex (Kerfoot and Knights 1998). According to Broadbridge and Hearn (2008), management is gendered in many ways. For example, managerial work is valued over work in the private domain. Furthermore, the assumptions and ideas of good leadership in organizational life are still masculine (Katila and Eriksson, 2013; Klenke, 2011; Powell, 2014). Despite this growing research interest in masculinities and leadership and the general equal opportunities rhetoric, it seems that masculine logic is still alive in management and leadership. Hearn argues (2014, p. 417) that organizations are still places of men's power and masculinities, although masculinity in organizational life and its management is no one single thing (ibid., p. 425). Masculinities do change, and there are various types and expressions of masculinity (Whitehead 2014). According to Whitehead (2014, 455), organizations remain located in a discursive arena which privileges men and/or ways of working which are harmfully

masculinist, meaning that they demand of their subjects a commitment to practices that are neither collegial in approach nor individually empowering.

One way of viewing the privileged masculine world is to consider it through the concept of hegemonic masculinity. In previous studies, hegemonic masculinity has been conceptualized as well as criticized in many ways. In this research we follow Hearn and Morrell's (2012) definition of hegemonic masculinity as an ideal, a set of values that functions to include and exclude, and to organize society and organizations in gender unequal ways. Hegemonic masculinity embodies the most valued way of being a man, and it demands that all other men position themselves in relation to it (Connell and Messershmidt 2005). Connell and Messershmidt (2005) argue that even though hegemonic masculinity or masculinities may be constructed in ways that do not correspond to the lives of any actual men, hegemonic masculinities express widespread ideals, values and desires. However, such masculinities can be challenged. According to Hearn et al. (2012), critical analysis provides opportunities for new insights into men's practices and hegemonic masculinity/masculinities and offers possibilities for contesting inequality.

Fatherhood in working life

Collinson and Hearn (2005) have used the term 'distancing' to describe men's ways of freeing themselves from children and family responsibilities. Marsiglio and Roy (2012) note that men's involvement in work is seen to be the main cause of fathers' distance from their families. There are examples in earlier research (for example Hochschild, 1997) of the generally negative workplace responses to men's attempts to use parental leave or flexible work schedules. Various authors (Gatrell, 2007; Holter, 2007; Lewis et al., 2009) have found that fathers who try to reduce their working hours to be more involved with their children and families often

face a poor response at work. According to Burnett et al. (2013), in organizational life family-oriented fathers are often marginalized, encountering gender disparity and negative peer relations. Allard et al. (2011) studied 377 father respondents in the private sector in Sweden and concluded that men feel that they receive little support, particularly from upper management, for combining work and family life. Holter (2007) claims that there is a deep gap between organizational practices and common attitudes to equality. Previous studies have presented notions such as involved fathering (Eräranta and Moisander, 2011; Wall and Arnold, 2007), new father(hood) (Barcley and Lupton, 1999), caring fathers (Johansson and Klinth, 2007) and intimate fatherhood (Dermott, 2008).

Halrynjo (2009) identified a typology of four different positions for fathers' adaptation to care and work responsibilities: the 'career' position, the 'care' position, the 'care and career' position and the 'patchwork career' position. Men who are positioned as 'career' men work long hours and have few childcare responsibilities, while those who are positioned as 'care' men have a lot of childcare responsibilities and reduced working hours. Men who are oriented towards 'care and career' work full-time, but also share parenthood responsibilities with their partners. The fourth group, men in the 'patchwork career' position, work in atypical employment, for example as freelancers, and they have very few or no childcare responsibilities. Halrynjo's study highlights the idea that 'career' men work in traditionally male-dominated sectors, such as technical and financial organizations with good or average career opportunities, where they are often in leading positions. These men say that they would like to work less but feel that it is impossible. The study alleged that the 'care and career' men, who are in the privileged position of both sharing parenting responsibilities and having a prosperous career, have difficulty in reconciling and meeting the demands of both spheres (ibid.).

Overall, it seems that appreciation of a more involved fatherhood is increasing in public discussions, and – albeit to some extent – in organizational practices in many Western societies (Dermott, 2008; Miller, 2011). However, the demands of the labour market do not fit well with the ideologies of caring fatherhood (Knijn and Selten 2002, p. 171). Fathers who incline towards a more involved fatherhood struggle to resolve the tension with colliding expectations from the traditional ideology of the ideal male worker (Brandth and Kvande, 2016; Halrynjo, 2009 Sallee, 2012). Ladge et al. (2015) found that despite the desire to be a more involved parent, the men in their study tended towards traditional views of fathering when they discussed their fatherhood in relation to their careers.

According to Marsiglio and Roy (2012, p. 3), both workplace culture and public policy have failed to support men in the new situation in which fathers are expected to have the role of both traditional breadwinner and involved father. Ladge et al. (2015) found that men expressed some ambiguity in their sense of fatherhood because of the conflicting views of traditional and involved fathering. Despite their claim that the 'organization man' is a concept of the past, reflecting outdated gender norms, this does not mean the end of the idea of masculine organizational practices, which still favour men who at least represent themselves as unencumbered and masculine professionals and managers.

Methodology and analysis

In this article, discourse is defined as a coherent system of meanings which is constructed in language use that brings the relevant topic into being (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). In our discourse analysis approach we apply the discursive theory of Jäger and Maier (2009), which is based on the idea that discourses are not only constructions of the social world but also serve particular ends; they exercise power in society and working life by institutionalizing, regulating

and also enabling ways of talking, thinking and acting. Discourse also creates subject positions and defines subjectivities. A subject position is constructed when discourse is used to define and negotiate positions for the actors themselves and for others (Davies and Harre, 1990; Scheuer and Mills, 2016).

According to Hardy (2001), an essential part of the theory of discourse is the ongoing battle between the dominant discourse and one or many competing discourses. The dominant discourse has to reproduce and reformulate itself in interaction situations, day by day, to maintain its dominance (Hardy, 2001). Similarly, concepts such as father or manager exist in time and place. Currently, for example, a manager is constructed as a man who is strong, competitive and free from home responsibilities, but this representation can be challenged by competing discourses. Change is possible through marginalized discourses that become more visible and lead to alternative identities (Burr, 2015, p. 141).

Research material, method and analysis process

The discursive ways in which the media represent fatherhood can have an effect on the ideas and actions concerning men's work–family relationship that are valued in organizational life and society in general. Media representations not only reflect people's values and understandings, but also have a part in shaping and challenging these values and understandings. We examined the leading business magazines and the most widely read newspaper in Finland, all of which can be considered influential forces in reflecting and producing social reality, for example, how the work–family relationship is understood in the context of organizational life. The following media sources were analysed: 1) Helsingin Sanomat (HS), which is the biggest mainstream newspaper in Finland, 2) the business

newspaper Kauppalehti (KL) and 3) the weekly financial and business magazine Talouselämä (TE).

These three sources reach a wide general audience and professional and business people throughout the country. HS regularly publishes articles on work and family issues. KL and TE are leading business publications, read mainly by professional people in business and other organizations. Data were collected systematically from issues of these three different media sources published during 1990−2015. This period was chosen because changes in the Finnish parental leave system, particularly more opportunities for fathers to participate in family life, were implemented then: in 1991, fathers were given the possibility of six days' paternity leave; in 2003, one month's paternity leave was introduced, which still today is the only non-transferable leave for fathers; and early in 2013, paternity leave and the father's quota were amalgamated, giving fathers the right to nine weeks' paternity leave.

The sample for this study was gathered through the publications' electronic databases (the HS archive, Talentum [which publishes TE] and the KL archive), using the keywords FATHER, FATHERHOOD, FAMILY, WORKLIFE and MANAGER. The search yielded 531 articles. All the articles were read through, and 67 articles were selected (see Table 1) where fatherhood was discussed from the viewpoint of male professionals and managers in the context of working life and organizations.

'TABLE 1 HERE'

In the data analysis, Willig's (2013) discourse analysis method was applied. First, we made notes about the various ways in which managerial and professional men's work–family relationship was discussed in the articles (ibid., p. 131). We then located the various constructions of the topic within wider contexts (ibid, p. 132), such as organizational and societal contexts. We also paid attention to any potential topics that were not addressed. For

example, we noted the absence from the texts in the 1990s of any discussion of the role of organizations in supporting fathers' work–family balance. At this stage we held several rounds of discussion in our research group. We noticed that the selected texts contained two recurring ways of talking about and constructing men's work–family relationship: one around demands of work that were not reconcilable with involving fatherhood, and the other where involved fatherhood was constructed as a modern ideal that should be followed. The first discourse seemed to be thematically more coherent than the second, which had a wider variety of themes. We also noticed that the number of speakers in the texts expanded over time (see Table 2).

'TABLE 2 HERE'

During the period 1990–2009, the ratio of researchers and other experts, such as members of the Committee on Fatherhood (multisectoral high-level working group set up by the Ministry of Social Affair and Health), to other speakers was greater than in the later years, 2010–2015. In the later period, the proportion of male speakers increased, and the proportion of male managers' voices increased substantially.

As a result, two competing discourses became defined: one that sees no change and is stagnant, and the other that recognizes change taking place over time. The discourses were named '*Working fathers – no time for caring'* and *'Fatherhood in flux'*. Next, we examined more closely the action orientation in the texts. We asked what could possibly be achieved by constructing men's work–family relationship in this particular way in this particular discourse (Willig 2013, p. 132). We then took a closer look at the subject positions that the discourses offered by analysing how the man was positioned to other actors in the discourse. After this, we focused on the relationship between discourse and practice by considering the opportunities or constraints for action that the discourses could produce. In the

final stage we concentrated on the subjectivities that the discourses created, focusing on the question of what could be felt or experienced from the man's position in the discourse (ibid. p.133). Overall, our analysis process was iterative, and the different phases overlapped each other. The results are summarized in Table 3.

'TABLE 3 here'

From stasis to change – two discourses

'Working fathers – no time for caring' discourse

The first discourse was characterized by non-development, stagnation: it remained the same throughout the period of the study, from 1990 until 2015. In this discourse, organizations and working life in general are repeatedly constructed as places where the family is not highly valued. Working life appears to be hectic – there is no time for work–family issues. Managerial and professional work is constructed as incompatible with involved fatherhood. It is emphasized that the culture of work organizations forces professional and managerial men to give top priority to work obligations. The demands of work are described as leading to a situation where family obligations bend to the demands of work, not vice versa:

> *Most seriously, demanding work increasingly cuts middle-class men off from their families, Siltala claims. This includes middle managers, heads of department and specialists. Although people value their family above all else, the family has to give way to work. (TE 4.10.2002)*

Men's work is constructed in a way which distances fathers from their families; it constructs the subject position of the distant father in relation to his children. Men report that they are absent from home both physically and mentally, and that home and care responsibilities rest with their spouses. Men are constructed as having no choice: they must adapt to the demands of working life and have no way of altering the situation. The discourse creates a subject position for the father as a victim, operating under the pressures and demands of an organizational culture that stresses the importance of work in men's lives. Men who are managers and professionals are represented as being unable to establish a good balance between work and family even if personally they would like to do so. In this sense, the man's experience of work–family balance is linked to powerlessness.

Overwork is described as a dominant practice in managerial and professional work – the norm, not the exception. Particularly fathers of young children are mentioned as working extra hours:

> *What is most surprising is that the fathers of young children do more overtime than other men. The motive isn't necessarily extra pay, because people don't always get paid for doing extra work – far from it. (HS 5.4.2002)*

> *When a couple start a family, even couples who've shared domestic responsibilities equally before might fall back on traditional roles. The woman looks after the children and the home, and the man goes hunting for food. In the modern world, that means overtime. (HS 7.8.2012)*

Men's fear of speaking out, taking parental leave or undertaking caring duties is constructed as being similar in the 1990s and in the 2010s, as the following quotations show:

'Rarely does anyone dare to stay at home to look after a sick child, let alone take parental leave,' says Jyri Lehtinen, father of three. (HS1.7.1995)

'But I can fully understand young men who find it difficult to announce to the boss that they're going to take family leave. Men are under increasing pressure from their career and mothers from children,' says Kai Mykkänen from the Confederation of Finnish Industries. (KL 16.10.2014)

This discourse reinforces stereotypical ideas of the roles of mothers and fathers: it is assumed that women will look after the home and family and men will concentrate on work outside the home. Thus, in practice this discourse embodies traditional ideas about parenting and family responsibilities. Involved parenting is predominantly constructed as the mother's responsibility, while there is no mention at all of the idea of men's family obligations. Especially men who are managers are expected to appear not to have a family:

Successful managers are expected to behave as though they had no family at all. (HS 22.9.2013)

The discourse thus produces a representation of a male manager and professional who is entirely free of caring responsibilities. Altogether, this discourse institutionalizes traditional gender roles and strengthens the significance of traditional masculinity in organizational life, particularly in management.

'Fatherhood in flux' discourse

The 'fatherhood in flux' discourse constructs fatherhood as a gradually changing phenomenon, from distant fatherhood to involved fatherhood. During the study period, men's work–family relationship is represented as changing: the original dominant idea of 'breadwinner fatherhood' vanishes over the course of the years. By the end of the period, involved fatherhood has become a more possible alternative for professional and managerial men.

1990s

In the first decade only a slight shift towards a more involved fatherhood, specifically among young male managers, can be detected in the texts. Young men are defined as first signifiers for (the emerging of) a more active and participatory fatherhood, while older male managers are defined as traditionalists who maintain the distant fatherhood model and hold back the development. In this decade researchers and other experts in the field were given a voice in the texts as authorities who defined the direction of fatherhood in society and working life:

> *Fortunately there seems to be some kind of positive rethinking of fatherhood. It's increasingly common for young fathers to take an equal share with the mother in looking after their children and their children's upbringing. To them fatherhood is an opportunity that they want to invest in. The problem for these fathers isn't lack of motivation or ignorance but the prejudices of working life and of others round about them. Even experts talk about the dangers of being soft. Is it any wonder if a man quietly slips into the old model of fatherhood? (HS 8.11.1998)*

In the 1990s, paternity leave was not a major issue in the media, with one exception: the Prime Minister's paternity leave. This was constructed as an exceptional event, not only in the Finnish media but also in the international media – noticed enthusiastically in Finland. Even though

the Prime Minister was not the first man in Finland to take a few weeks' paternity leave, he was certainly the most influential person to do so, positioned as he was as a role model for other fathers. In the discourse, he is constructed as an exemplary father and leader. Extensive media discussion of the Prime Minister's paternity leave appears as a significant discursive practice for change. Overall, in the 1990s, discussion about fatherhood in the organizational context was constructed as unusual, but not non-existent. The voices of fathers themselves were rarely heard in this decade, nor was there any discussion of the role and responsibilities of organizations as regards men's work–family relationship.

2000s

The idea of involved fatherhood begins to emerge in the texts more in the 2000s. Political decision-makers, such as ministers, were mentioned as one group of actors promoting change. They are positioned as 'family men' in relation to other men in the media. These politicians openly introduce their family in the media articles and are presented as involved fathers:

> *'The family is most important to me.' If Wallin had more children, he would take the 18 days of paternity leave to which he's legally entitled, even after taking up his new ministerial appointment [for foreign affairs] in the New Year. Paavo Lipponen did that when he was Prime Minister – and the Spaniards gave him an equalities award for his progressiveness. (HS 18.6.2006)*

However, this positive presentation of the politician as family man does not pass without criticism. While some media texts proclaim the idea of the family-man politician, they also question its authenticity, suspecting it may be linked to political ambition. However, although discussion around the representation of political decision-makers as family men is partly contradictory, it is a prominent discursive practice in the 2000s, positioning politicians as role

models and supporting a more involved fatherhood for men. The men appear as actors who are continuing along the path shown by the Prime Minister in the previous decade. Young men from the professional and managerial world are also constructed as pioneers, emphasizing the importance of their work–family integration. One aspect of this discourse is men's talk about children's right to both parents: both men and women are represented as important parents, and equality between the spouses is underlined through the idea of shared parenting.

In the 2000s, a generational stance towards change is expressed more clearly than in the previous decade. The texts underline the difference between old-time, traditional men and today's young men. Nevertheless, the change in fatherhood is also represented as being not entirely in the hands of fathers themselves: women are positioned as more important actors than men and more active subjects in promoting this ongoing change. The texts produce the idea that the change depends largely on wives' demands concerning who is going to take care of the family. Women's expectations are presented as what legitimates working fathers' increasing involvement in the family:

> *'Women's expectations of men have changed. The tired father who lounges on the sofa after work isn't looked on with much favour. You've got to have the washing-up brush in your hand or the baby under your arm,' jokes the 38-year-old marketing director of Kärkimedia, Jukka Kohonen. (TE 4.10.2002)*

The demands for more involved fatherhood are presented as putting pressure on organizations to develop their practices concerning men's work and family integration. However, the change in organizational life is described not as being in organizations' interest, but instead, young fathers and their spouses are positioned as agents pushing for change. In other words, in the first decade of the 2000s, parents are constructed as active subjects, while organizations are

positioned simply as adapting to changes going on in gender relations in families and society in general. Overall, the discussion has extended and become more polyphonic than in the previous decade. Voice in the texts is now given not only to researchers and experts in the field as well as politicians, but also, increasingly, to young fathers and their spouses.

2010s

In the 2010s, attitudes towards involved fatherhood are already more widely discussed among parents and researchers, and fatherhood is beginning to be seen as something that concerns organizations. Change is described as starting to take place in organizations too. In 2014 one of the business magazines examined in this study (KL) even devoted a front-page article to the issue of fatherhood and a career. In the article, three male business professionals discuss their long parental leave and other experiences associated with their possibilities and aspirations to combine work and family. As in the previous decade, young men in particular are presented as a group who can rather freely balance work and family in the workplace. The discourse now gives organizations a more active role in the achieving of this balance: it is argued that an attitudinal change is happening, at least for young male professionals and managers in progressive organizations:

> *But times are changing. Satu Huber, the 50-year-old managing director of LähiTapiola, sees a clear difference between the generations. Men managers of her age or older prefer to leave their family in the background, but men who are younger than her often do an equal share of the housework, and they talk about it. (HS 22.9.2013)*

In the 2010s the media gives much more room than before to 'ordinary' fathers. While previously it was prominent politicians who were positioned as real role models in the texts, now business managers and professionals, typically younger men, are also positioned as good role models for fathers in the way they combine work and family. The relative number of managers amongst the speakers increased especially rapidly during this period. The men who appear in the texts as involved fathers are often very successful in their profession:

> *The men who gather in the children's playground in the park have got good jobs. They haven't stayed at home because they're unemployed. ... These well-paid trend-setting fathers are optimistic despite the figures. Idealists, they believe that a change is happening. It has to begin somewhere. Hopefully, the change will spread from around these swings, say the fathers. (HS 8.11.2015)*

The successful professional and managerial men are constructed not only as more involved fathers but also as examples of a new ideal of management and leadership. As Hearn argues (2014), masculine leadership is not one thing – in this discourse successful professional and managerial men are described as creating new forms of masculine leadership by presenting possible connections between being involved in fatherhood and working in management. Additionally, organizations with family-friendly policies are just starting to emerge in the discourse. These organizations are constructed as forward-looking organizations that support a work–family balance for both genders. Many of their representatives describe how their organization emphasizes the development of an organizational culture that supports a better work–family relationship for employees. Supporting a work–family balance is mentioned as a factor for both employee well-being and productivity. These organizations are presented as sensitive pioneers in the new social trend of involved fatherhood. The work–family balance in

particular is constructed as a competitive advantage for organizations. In sum, the support for involved fatherhood gets a broader base in the 2010s. It is not only young men and their spouses who are positioned in the media as agents of the change towards more involved fatherhood, but some progressive organizations also emerge in the discourse.

Discussion

Theoretical implications

Taking the viewpoint of changing masculinities in organizational life (e.g. Collinson and Hearn, 2005; Holter, 2007; Burnett et al., 2013; Ladge et al., 2015), we participated in the discussion on the topic by investigating the work–family relationship of men who are managers and professionals and who are fathers, and conceptualized (cf. Ranson, 2012) the phenomenon in two ways. Firstly, it was shown that the *Working fathers – no time for caring* discourse privileges traditional masculinity (Holter 2007; Gatrell 2007; Whitehead 2014). Hence, in this discourse masculinity appears as hegemonic masculinity, which represents the most valued way of being a man (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) and simultaneously creates pressure on men to aspire to this ideal of masculinity. In line with several researchers (e.g. Lewis et al., 2009; Allard et al., 2011; Katila and Eriksson, 2013; Klenke, 2011; Burnett et al., 2013; Powell, 2014), we argue that this discourse reinforces and maintains the idea of traditional masculine ways of acting in organizations and limits men's opportunities to participate in family life and to have a good work–family balance in general.

Interestingly, men who are managers and professionals were constructed as victims in the *Working fathers – no time for caring* discourse. This is an exceptional way to build the identity of these men, because male managers in particular are usually represented as

powerful actors in organizational life. This identity was constituted as given, and not really a man's own choice. One result of this can be that the discourse influences men to keep their family responsibilities invisible in organizations. On the other hand, it is worth critically consider the 'victimization' explanation, as managerial positions often imply power and self-determination at work. One could ponder how much of the work load is 'man-made' – for instance, long hours and work trips might even offer an escape from the hectic phase of everyday life when children are small. According to the 2017 survey Gender Equality Barometer in Finland, the majority of respondents were of the view that to refuse to work overtime is fairly easy for both mothers and fathers (Hokka, 2018).

Secondly, although the *Working fathers – no time for caring* discourse was dominant during the whole study period in the media texts, it was challenged (Hardy, 2001) by the discourse of *Fatherhood in flux*. This discourse emphasizes the possibility of re-doing gender (Billig, 2011; Kelan, 2010; West and Zimmerman, 2009) and the possibility for multiple patterns of masculinities (Connell, 2002; Hearn, 2014) in the work–family relationship. Moreover, the discourse challenges the idea(l) of hegemonic masculinity and endorses the view that masculinity is not one thing but is dynamic, adaptable, changing and always under reconstruction (Fenstermaker and West, 2002; Collinson and Hearn, 2005; Poggio, 2006; Kangas et al., 2017). In terms of men's work–family relationship, this discourse offers the potential for a more involved fatherhood in organizations and their management. We argue that the *Fatherhood in flux* discourse provides new insights into professional and managerial men's masculinities, and simultaneously can support equality between mothers and fathers in work–family arrangements. When men are represented as involved fathers and equal parents, we are on the way towards more flexible gender roles. This second discourse indicates shifts in the normative constraints of masculinities and the potential for an emotionally adept man who can participate in care, as discussed by Cottingham (2017). Our results are compatible with Elliot's

(2016) 'caring masculinities', which builds on masculine identities that emphasize affective, interdependent and emotional care by men. Thus, caring masculinity materialized through the involved fathering of managerial and professional men can be one way of shattering the hegemonic position of traditional masculinity in organizational life and its management.

Practical implications

The traditional masculine way of doing gender in the *Working fathers – no time for caring* discourse reconstructs the double burden of working and care for women. Additionally, the unencumbered male (Acker, 2011) identity that is strong in this discourse distances men from children and family responsibilities (Collinson and Hearn, 2005). These also have a negative impact on women's participation in working life and career development – women are still in the minority in managerial positions in Finland (Katila and Eriksson, 2013; Global Gender Gap Report, 2017). This is reflected in the persistent gender pay gap in Finnish working life between women and men (17.4% according to the European Commission, 2016); career breaks because of care responsibilities impact the lower pay rates as well as the retirement incomes of women compared to men.

The results of this study imply a strong need for restructuring family leaves towards increasing men's participation in care at home. One way to advance this kind of change is through legislation. Yet the much debated amendment of the family leave system in Finland failed in the political process in 2018. Although this study showed some change in the media texts concerning organizations' support of men's work–family balance, this is not a dominant way of speaking in the data. Rather, our findings support previous research results that organizations are still reconstructed as arenas that are dominated by traditional masculine values in relation to men's work–family integration (Halrynjo, 2009; Hearn, 2014), and they

are not represented as being eager to advance men's opportunities to balance work and family (e.g. Gatrell, 2007; Holter, 2007; Lewis et al., 2009; Allard et al., 2011; Hearn and Niemistö, 2012; Burnett et al., 2013). Thus, it may take a long time before the detected discursive changes in the media texts become realized in organizational cultures, policies and practices, and finally do their part to increase gender equality in society. Therefore, as a practical implication of this study, we strongly suggest that during the next Finnish government period, current research results – as well as previous proposals by researchers, NGOs and labour unions – are taken as the basis for the preparation of the renewal of parental leave legislation, policies and practices. The contemporary parental leave system which emphasizes the responsibility of mothers for child care requires reconsideration to support men's care much more than now.

In addition to the renewal of legislation, similarly, interventions which promote men's opportunities to balance their work and family are necessary at the organizational level. Particularly needed are interventions by forward-looking organizations that encourage men to involve fatherhood in working life. It would be advantageous for good examples to be presented and discussed in public, i.e. the media. Especially in business contexts, where the economic aspects of organizational life are stressed, would it be crucial to show that a good work–family balance is advantageous to both employees and organizational outcomes; this could encourage the acceptance of involved fatherhood and a better work–family balance for men. Additionally, to advance organizations' role in promoting men's work–family relationship more intensively, change needs to be seen, particularly in the attitudes and practices of those in the most powerful positions in the organizations. Top management (often elderly men in Finland) can enable or restrain family-friendliness by formal and informal practices through their own example (Weaver, 2005). Older male managers are often the main gatekeepers for fathering or doing gender in organizations, and there might be also surprising change potential: many 'traditional' top managers have daughters, and the daughters'

experiences of the work–family relationship may be a trigger for the managers to reconsider and reflect on their own attitudes and behaviour.

All in all, our results indicate that the change towards involved fatherhood is slow and requires role models in leaders and organizations as well as legislation and policy development. This supports Kvande's insights (2005), in which she proposes that the increased focus on paternity leave in the Nordic countries that has taken place during the last decades can be seen as a process of gendering and embodying men as fathers. In this study, the *Fatherhood in flux* discourse participates in societal level discussions, whereas the *Working fathers – no time for caring* discourse is more strongly an organizational discourse, which takes place mainly in working life and managerial contexts. Even though gendering men as fathers in the media discussions concerning the societal level seems to have more or less materialized during the studied period, it has only been slightly evidenced in organizational contexts. Seen from the practical point of view, then, the question is how long this dominance of traditional masculinity can limit alternative ways of doing gender and fatherhood in organizations while the pressure for change from society grows.

Limitations and future research

A limitation of our study is that the data set emphasises the binary of genders as women and men, and does not allow for analysis of other genders or non-heterosexual family settings. Thus in future research there is a need to analyse how, for instance, other groups of men than in this study and, for example, same-sex couples encounter the work–life interface and what kind of policy challenges emerge both at organizational and national levels.

The use of parental leaves by men depends on the sector – this seems to be easier in the public sector compared to the private sector (Hokka, 2018). This is an area where more

research is needed, and for example, a qualitative analysis of specific features of different sectors, their leadership and organizational policies and cultures could reveal important aspects that affect men's and other groups' opportunities to integrate work and family and use parental leaves more than now.

The construction of the two discourses in this study is one way of interpreting the phenomenon under investigation in the studied context. It needs to be stated that using media articles as research material is limited as it does not make men's actual experiences and organizations' practices visible. However, this study indicates that some change has taken place in the public media discussion of the topic in Finland during 1990−2015, with increasing attention being given to involved fatherhood (Holter, 2007; Johansson and Klinth, 2007; Eräranta and Moisander, 2011; Wall and Arnold 2007). Because the mass media is a powerful force in constructing our social reality (Fairclough, 1998; McCullagh, 2002), this gradual change has the potential to open up better opportunities for men to combine work and family and can advance gender equality in working life and the home sphere. For the future, we call for more research on both the empirical and theoretical levels. Studies that uncover organizational cultures and practices can offer valuable insights into men's work–family relationship and the various challenges that fathers obviously experience in organizational life. In addition, more theorizing is needed on the relations between the masculinities of management and the masculinities of fatherhood.

Conclusion

The results of this study show that in addition to progressive legislation on family leaves, involved fatherhood and a better work–family balance for men in professional and managerial positions requires supportive organizational cultures, and public and personal support from

other men in managerial positions. Additionally, spousal support (Heikkinen and Lämsä, 2017) and shared experiences from progressive organizations are forces that can positively affect working life as well as the wider society. This emerging discourse that has opened the door to involved fatherhood in the media could continue to advance the reconstruction of social reality for equality in working life. Hopefully, more role models and examples of men who are not tied to traditional masculinity are given the floor in various discussions to enhance involved fatherhood.

To conclude, our answer to the question, 'Is fatherhood allowed in organizational life in the studied context?' is yes and no. Although traditional fatherhood was the dominant way of speaking of managerial and professional men's work–family relationship in the studied media texts, similarly, our findings support the idea that evidence of and ideas towards involved fatherhood were increasingly present in the texts during the 25-year study period. Thus, it seems possible that this tendency will continue in the future.

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Conflict of Interest statement

No conflicts of interest to disclose.

TABLE 1. Media articles used.

Years Media sources	1990−1999	2000−2009	2010−2015	Total
Kauppalehti (KL)	0	11	9	20
Talouselämä (TE)	0	12	5	17
Helsingin Sanomat (HS)	4	14	12	30
Total	4	37	26	67

TABLE 2. Identified speakers in articles.*

(*If an article included more than one speaker from the same category, they were counted only once. For example, if four fathers were quoted in the same article, it was calculated as one father speaker.)

Years/Speakers	1990–1999	2000–2009	2010–2015
Manager (male)		8	12
Father	1	23	21
Researcher/Expert	3	18	8
Spouse (female)		6	1
Politician (male)	1	3	2
Union representative		1	2
Manager (female)		1	
Politician (female)		1	

TABLE 3. Summary of the results.

Discourses over time	'Working fathers – no time for caring' 1990–2015	'Fatherhood in flux'		
		1990–1999	2000–2009	2010–2015
Action orientation: What is achieved from the discourse?	Maintains the idea that men's work is incompatible with fatherhood	Shows that working men can participate in involved fatherhood	Highlights the idea of sharing parenting Demands that organizations develop their work–family policies and practices to pay attention to men's viewpoint in the work–family balance	Argues for the advantages of involved fatherhood for fathers themselves and for forward-looking organizations
Subject positions: How is the man positioned in relation to other actors in the discourse?	The man is a victim of the organizational culture, which ignores the work–family balance. The man is a distant father to his children. The man is not responsible for the home – this is his spouse's (wife's) responsibility.	Young men are signifiers of involved fatherhood before older male managers in organizations take it up. A famous male politician (the Prime Minister) sets an example of involved fatherhood for other men in society.	Young men are trail-blazers in organizations in combining work and family. They do it sooner than other men in organizational life. Visible politicians are examples of family men more often than other men in society. Women are more active agents than men in promoting involved fatherhood.	Successful young working men are role models for combining work and family in practice sooner than other men in organizations. Forward-looking organizations promote men's work–family integration more than do other organizations. Young successful men share parental responsibilities with their spouses (wives).
Discourse and practice: What kind of opportunities or constraints for action does the discourse produce?	Produces traditional gender roles in organizational life that silence men's family concerns and responsibilities	Produces exceptions to traditional gender roles in society and opens a door to public discussion of men's work–family issues	Produces the idea of sharing parenting and increases the opportunity for men to have a work–family balance, but this is demanded by women	Produces acceptance of shared parenting in forward-looking organizations and strengthens men's aspirations to and possibilities for involved fatherhood
Subjectivities: What is felt and experienced from within the man's position?	Men feel a sense of powerlessness in work–family issues.	Involved fatherhood is an encouraging possibility for some men; involved fatherhood is resisted by older male managers.	Young men come to participate in shared parenting, pushed by women.	Young men feel that they are good fathers when they decide to be and are able to dedicate themselves to their children.

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