Author(s): Heikkinen, Suvi; Lämsä, Anna-Maija

Title: Narratives of spousal support for the careers of men in managerial posts

Year: 2017

Version:

Narratives of spousal support for the careers of men in managerial posts

Suvi Heikkinen & Anna-Maija Lämsä

Abstract

The study analyzes the narratives of men managers to see how they perceive their wives' support in relation to their careers. Our aim is to focus on different forms of spousal support and explore how the support can evolve in the course of the men's careers. We are also interested in what kind of gender relations men produce when narrating their experiences of spousal support for their career. The research material comprises interviews with 29 managers who are fathers. In contrast to many previous studies, the results here suggest that spousal support is not a fixed or uncomplicated phenomenon but is constructed as various and flexible by men: *negotiated, enriching and declining*. The narrative analysis, in which we detected three different storylines, romance, 'happily-ever-after' and tragedy, shows that the most positive narratives in terms of life satisfaction and career success were those in which spousal support was constructed as negotiated and men were willing to be flexible and adaptable in their gender relations with their spouse. More attention to a father's work and family integration in the field of management and organizations is needed.

Key words: manager, men, father, career, spousal support, doing gender, narratives

Introduction

Recently, it has been pointed out that men and fathers are often overlooked in work-family issues in organization and management studies (Gatrell, Burnett, Cooper and Sparrow, 2014; Burnett, Gatrell, Cooper and Sparrow, 2013, Hearn, 2014; Özbilgin, Beauregard, Tatli and Bell, 2011). The wide body of research on work-family integration, which is often positivist in character, has mainly focused on women, presenting the issue as merely concerning a mother with young children, specifically a woman's problem (e.g. Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux and Brinley, 2005; Korabik, McElwain and Chappell, 2008; Guillaume and Pochic, 2009; Mäkelä, 2012). We suggest that the work-family literature suffers from theoretical and practical limitations due to this one-sided view (see Gatrell, Burnett, Cooper and Sparrow, 2013).

In particular, previous studies have failed to capture a broad-scale understanding of what work-family integration may mean from a male perspective at different points in his career in management posts and in family life. A career in management is still often described and measured purely in organizational terms: first the organization and work, and (if it is taken into consideration at all) after that, the family – in this unyielding order (Baruch, 2006; Hall and Las Heras, 2010; Khapova and Arthur, 2011; Okhuysen, Lepak, Ashcraft, Labianca, Smith and Steensma, 2015). This type of "pure" career concept is rooted in the idea of deep boundaries between work and family and has traditional and gendered perceptions about roles in organizational settings and households (Gatrell et al., 2014; Baruch, Szűcs and Gunz, 2015). Furthermore, this type of career is often evaluated in masculine terms with a focus on specific organizational objectives rather than more elusive and subjective criteria of success that include both the public and private spheres (Arthur, 2008; Khapova and Arthur, 2011; Guillaume and Pochic, 2009; Baruch et al., 2015). The reality, at least in many western societies, is that we are witnessing a growing diversity of individual career realities for men in management positions in different life situations with different family backgrounds, well outside the traditional career frame.

Historically, men managers have been expected to leave their private relationships behind when they close their front door and go to work in the morning, while their wives remain on the other side of that door (Kanter, 1977; Whyte, 1956). The spouse of a man manager has been conceptualized as the 'organization wife', someone who is a major source of support to the husband, or even an integral part of his managerial career, always giving way to the needs and wishes of the organization (ibid.). This kind of conceptualization and the unquestioned assumption of this one dominant family model with its gender-specific roles have largely resulted in the dynamics between

career and family typically being invisible or ignored when the focus is on men in management positions. Today the idea in either research or organizational practices that a manager could be severed from his personal ties when entering an organization would seem far-fetched. Recent research has suggested that managers have become closer to their family, and has emphasized that men's experiences in their managerial careers both are affected by and affect their family life (Wajcman, 1996; Wilson and Davies, 1999; Holter, 2007; Ford and Collinson, 2011). For example, Wilson and Davies (1999) suggest that changes in career patterns have affected managers' behavior, so that there is now more connection between their domestic circumstances and their employment decisions. In other words, domestic circumstances have a great influence on the decisions and actions that men take with regard to their career paths. However, to our knowledge, the call by Wajcman (1996) for empirical evidence and conceptualization of the domestic basis of a managerial career for men has not received much follow-up since then.

In this qualitative study we have two aims. First, we will analyze the narratives of men managers to examine how they perceive their wives' support in relation to their careers. We focus on different forms of spousal support and explore how the support may evolve in the course of the men's careers. Second, we are interested in what kind of gender relations these managers produce when narrating their experiences of spousal support for their career. In this research the concept of gender order is used to analyze the social arrangements that define the complex and changing patterns of gender relations (Connell, 1987) in their narrations, particularly between the manager and his wife. Our empirical research material consists of 29 narratives of managers who are fathers, in managerial positions, and living in heterosexual (mostly marital) relationships. It is interesting to see how the gender order is maintained or challenged in and through the narratives of the managers. Our focus in this study is on men who can be regarded as a group (while acknowledging that the group is not uniform) (Collinson and Hearn, 1996), in which, it is argued, traditional norms governing work and family and the superiority of the managerial career prevail and are not often questioned or challenged (Connell, 1995; Collison and Hearn, 1996).

Numerous considerations call for study of the intersection between a man's career in a position of management and his family. First of all, there is a suggested convergence of women's and men's experiences in the work and family context (Wajcman and Martin, 2002). Men are said to have shifted towards the family and they are more and more uniting family life with different objectives and responsibilities in their work and career (Gregory and Milner, 2011; Eräranta and Moisander, 2011; Holter, 2007; Ranson, 2012). This study makes a contribution to a discussion of this possible shift in the case of managers who are also fathers. While the relationship between work and the

family has traditionally been a context of highly gender-specific roles, the consideration of gender order and its beliefs from the perspective of managers as fathers makes an interesting new contribution (McElwain, Korabik and Rosin, 2005; Halrynjo, 2009; Ranson, 2012). Through this approach, we see our discussion making visible the challenge of a wider dynamics of gender order that traditionally has sustained discriminating divisions in organizational life. Thus, it addresses, though indirectly, social inequalities in the work-family context when the work is in management positions.

Secondly, due to their position of power, managers have a crucial role as models and examples, even as agents of change as far as attitudes in organizations towards the work and family relationship are concerned, such as a willingness to adopt new work-family initiatives (Bardoel, 2003; Thompson, Beauvais and Lyness, 1999; Burke, 2010; Allard, Haas and Whang, 2011). It is important to make visible the kind of gender order that these men produce, since their ideas and beliefs are likely to have an effect on the attitude of other organization members towards work and family issues. This argument is reinforced by the social learning theory by Bandura (1971), who suggests that those who have high status and power are more effective in evoking matching attitudes and behavior in observers than those who have lower status.

Thirdly, the way spousal support can contribute to the career of the manager is not fixed and unchanging. On the positive side it can, for instance, provide human capital and encouragement, give help or enable work-life integration (Grossbard-Shechtman and Izraeli, 1994); on the other hand, the role of the spouse can also be harmful (Heikkinen, Lämsä and Hiillos, 2014). Indeed, studies of men in positions of management are still shaped by a 'Parsonian' gendered division of labor (Gatrell et al., 2013; Gatrell 2007) which emphasizes the categorization of woman-family and man-career. This perpetuates the expectation that the woman will take primary responsibility for domestic matters and support the man in his career so that he can devote himself to breadwinning. It is interesting to study how spousal support fluctuates during the man's career. By adopting this perspective, we follow a life-course approach (e.g. Savickas, Nota, Rossier, Dauwalder, Duarte, Guichard, Oresi, Van Esbroeck and Van Vianen, 2009; Ryba, Ronkainen and Selänne, 2015), an approach which has been called for in order to understand dynamically and temporally the complexity of men's lives and careers (Savickas et al., 2009; Lee, Kossek, Hall and Litrico, 2011).

This article proceeds as follows. First, using previous studies, we will review the link between career and family for men in managerial positions. Second, we introduce the chosen narrative approach to gender relations, as well as our empirical material and its analysis. Then we present our

empirical results: the forms of spousal support and its evolving aspects. Lastly, we comment on our results and outline our conclusion and suggested themes for future research.

Linking career and family in managerial positions for men

In general, it is claimed that men have seen a devaluation of their work, a loss of secure employment, more temporary positions, and more career shifts, and that they are experiencing an increasing ambivalence about the role of work in their lives (Fondas, 1996). However, from the organizational perspective, men in management positions appears to be privileged: for instance, male executives less often report a lack of culture fit, being excluded from informal networks, and difficulty getting developmental assignments or opportunities for geographic mobility than their female counterparts (Lyness and Thompson, 2000). A study by Kirchmeyer (2002) contends that men are more likely to be optimistic about advancing in their career and having a higher salary than women. It is argued that fathers, like mothers, are increasingly combining family life with different aspirations and responsibilities with regard to paid employment (Ranson, 2012; Kasper, Meyer and Schmidt, 2005; Holter, 2007; Gregory & Milner, 2011; Allard et al., 2011; Burnett et al., 2013; Gatrell et al., 2014). However, these accounts do not offer any analysis of being a father, a husband, and simultaneously a man in a management position. Previous studies offer quite different research agendas for fathers and mothers in management posts and remains to be differentiated how the family is analyzed and depicted in relation to their careers.

The management arena is gendered not only in that there are large numbers of men holding management positions, but also in terms of the masculinist cultures and sub-cultures that prevail in organizational settings (Collinson and Hearn, 1996; Whitehead, 1996; 1999). It has been suggested that a man manager becomes a man and develops his identity most often in the public sphere and in work settings, outside of the family context (Whitehead, 1999). It has similarly been claimed that a successful career through clear vertical progression through the organizational hierarchy is frequently the means through which men secure a stable masculine identity (Wajcman and Martin, 2001). However, in the setting of work-family integration this is a problem for men managers as they are gendered subjects in management discourse and masculine identity both at work and at home (ibid). Thus, the predicament of men in a management post with a career and family calls for an analysis of the paradoxical and multiple identities and character of the man, father, spouse and manager (Whitehead, 1999; Collinson and Hearn, 1996).

In the light of previous studies, the relationship between work and family appears to be more diversified for men than for women. Some inconsistent results about the work-life conflict and its effects have been reported in the literature: some studies have reported only a few or no differences between women and men (e.g. Pleck, Staines and Lang, 1980; Eagle, Miles and Icenogle, 1997; Kinnunen and Mauno, 1998), others have found that men experience lower tension between their work and their family than women do (e.g. Duxbury, Higgins and Lee, 1994). Others, carried out in Sweden, Norway, the UK, and France, have found high levels of conflict for men in workplaces (Halrynjo, 2009; Allard et al., 2011; Gregory and Milner, 2011). Allard et al. (2011) concluded that still in a highly family-supportive country like Sweden, men experience work-family conflicts despite the organizational or work group support. Even though previous results are quite contradictory, the main message from these studies is that men are not associated first and foremost with the family and family responsibilities, and taking care of children is understood to be mainly the woman's arena (Simon, 1995; Milkie and Peltola, 1999; Gatrell, 2007; Halrynjo, 2009; Tracy and Rivera, 2010).

More importantly, it is not often problematized but instead implicitly assumed that there is always a woman in the picture (wife, mother or sister) who can or will take care of domestic responsibilities. Therefore, there has been a strong prerequisite for men in management posts to have support in their homes, whether as 'a marital bonus' (e.g. Pfeffer and Ross, 1982; Schneer and Reitman, 1993; 2002; Grossbard-Shechtman and Izraeli, 1994) or with a *corporate wife* (Kanter, 1977). Kanter proposed that a wife could be seen as a high-class assistant bound by marriage to give various kinds of support (e.g. taking care of the household, providing emotional support, consultancy); as the man advances up the organizational hierarchy she becomes more visible but is also constrained by the organization.

It is still the case that men in management positions are rarely seen as fathers and husbands, and the general area of management and organization research does not acknowledge their life roles outside the organization (Kugelberg, 2006; Burnett et al., 2013; Murgia and Poggio, 2013; Gatrell et al., 2013). Kugelberg (2006) concludes that usually in organizations, images of parenthood follow a company-based discourse which presents a picture of motherhood and fatherhood that is formed from from generalizations and stereotypes. This means, for example, that women with young children are exclusively characterized as mothers, and not as competent and loyal professionals, whereas men with young children are, in contrast, seen as professionals without caring responsibilities. In organizations, parenthood still only means mothering, and mothering means problems for organizations usually in terms of less committed workers who do not devote enough

time to the organization. However, when the question is fatherhood, it is assumed that this does not have any effect on the work of individual men – and therefore is not a relevant issue for organizations (ibid.).

The diversification of family life that has been seen in societal developments such as men's greater involvement in the family sphere and women's higher share in the labor market has not become organizational reality for men in management positions (Kugelberg, 2006; Gregory and Milner, 2011, Eräranta and Moisander, 2011; Allard et al., 2011; Burnett et al., 2013). Long working hours and round-the-clock accessibility are still expected from men in managerial positions (e.g. Brett and Stroh, 2003; Wajcman and Martin, 2002). The successful managerial career for men is still also seen as continuous, while for women managers, career breaks are seen as more understandable, due to the demands on her of family life (Kirchmeyer, 1998; 2002; Schneer and Reitman, 2002; Guillaume and Pochic, 2009; Cahusac and Kanji, 2014).

Studying gender relations through narratives

In this study we contend that an important part of the debate about the career and family of managers is gender order. Gender order, according to Connell (1987, p.27), is "based on people's expectations of what is appropriate for women and men" and can be institutionalized in all levels of society. Even if the gender order is typically viewed as unacknowledged and unquestioned, we see that it is not a given, but it can be formed through spoken practices such as narratives (Gherardi and Poggio, 2001; Katila and Eriksson, 2013; Murgia and Poggio, 2013; Pizzorno, Benozzo and Carey, 2015). Language and narratives are powerful transmitters of meaning about who one is as an individual and what is seen as appropriate behavior, for example for a manager and his spouse, (Wodak, 1997) and they help to identify what kind of gender is produced and whether the nature of language is gendered (e.g. Runté and Mills, 2004; Kugelberg, 2006; Gatrell, 2007). Narratives and the social interactions within which people construct and convey them are seen to have a key role in the gendering process of organizations (Ely and Meyerson, 2000; Gherardi and Poggio, 2001; Murgia and Poggio, 2013). Gender order is a concept that must be explored in the meanings which people bring to it. We follow the social constructionist view (Berger and Luckmann, 1966), seeing that the process of defining the self in relation to others evokes cultural beliefs about gender and that gender is something that does not exist objectively but emerges through socially constructed processes. Viewing gender as socially constructed is to consider it as something that is 'done' and enacted rather than as the traits, styles or any other simple characteristics of women and men.

Doing gender is nowadays a widely used concept in organization and management research (Nentwich and Kelan, 2014), and we are following those scholars by applying here West and Zimmerman's (1987) theory of 'doing gender', seeing that gender relations are created and "done" both as an outcome of and a rationale for various social arrangements and as a means of legitimizing fundamental divisions in society. By applying the 'doing gender' theory in academic research, the focus shifts away from treating men and women as two clearly separate and self-evident categories towards seeing gender as a social practice (Nentwich and Kelan, 2014). Central to the idea of doing gender is to show gender as created in the situation rather than existing a priori (West and Zimmerman, 1987). Furthermore, we see that 'doing gender' can place both women and men in contexts of asymmetrical power relations (Bruni, Gherardi and Poggio, 2004). Gender beliefs are always implicitly available to shape individuals' evaluation and behavior. However, even if we are aware of those beliefs and implicitly recognize them, if we do not fully endorse them it is difficult to resist the constraints created by strict expectations about appropriate gender-specific behavior (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004). We see that when the men managers in this study make meaning and narrate the support they receive from their spouses for their careers, they are constantly doing gender by making choices as to how they represent the phenomenon, and at the same time they are discursively maintaining or challenging gender order. This can then be seen to have implications for the manager's career and family life, despite the fact that links between language use and other social practices are not direct but usefully seen as indirect and mediated (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Alvesson, 2004).

Even if a higher work-life balance for managers with more equal roles in the family has been depicted positively for career advancement (Lyness and Judiesch, 2008) and life satisfaction (Bartley, Judge and Judge, 2007), in previous research men have still been seen in a very traditional masculine way in relation to their managerial career and their family. This means that the existing literature sees the men managers as spouses, fathers and managers, in the discourse of traditional male breadwinning (see Eräranta and Moisander, 2011). The male-breadwinner discourse is in line with the expectations of the traditional family model: a good father provides for his family, and it is justified in making sacrifices in other domains of participative life such as in the marital relationship and in caring responsibilities. A men manager who pursues a career while at the same time participating in family life as an involved father and husband, deviates from traditional masculine standards and complicates the currently accepted gender order. This conceptualization also challenges the asymmetrical power relations in the traditional family model, in which care of the family is 'women's work' and is subordinated to the 'men's public work' (Connell, 1987; Oakley, 1972; Gatrell et al., 2014).

8

As our literature review shows, some previous studies have shed some light on men's career and family life, but these have mostly been concerned with work groups other than managers. Moreover, previous studies have represented men managers and their wives by a very narrow set of gender specific roles and with an asymmetrical division in these roles and tasks, giving very little latitude. Scholars have failed to consider the beliefs, actual arrangements, activities, meanings and experiences tied to the traditional family model at different stages in a manager's life who is a father. Therefore, this study extends to the studies of spousal support which have been quantitative, lacked any refined, context-sensitive knowledge and ignored particularities.

Socio-cultural context of this research

The empirical material of the study was produced in Finland. Hearn and Pringle (2006) remind us that when studying men managers it is important to keep in mind the cultural and historical context in which they live. Finland is at the top of lists of gender equality (e.g. the Global Gender Gap Index, or the European Gender Equality Index), but it is often forgotten that gender equality has been achieved nowhere, and in practice there are many gender gaps still to be overcome in Finland, too.

In Finland, gender equality is understood as a means to use the expertise of both women and men to benefit the whole society (Gender Equality in Finland, 2006). In practice, many plans for gender equality and, for instance, work-life practices, have been designed to lower the barriers to women's possibilities of working (Daly, Ashbourne and Hawkins, 2008). In Finland many public policies are based on the double-earner family model, and there are extensive public childcare facilities (Jallinoja, 2000; Haataja, 2009), enabling high numbers of both women and men to be in the workforce. The employment rate is only 1.7% higher for men than it is for women (Statistic Finland, 2011). The Finnish historical heritage as an agrarian society and late industrialism resulted in women and men in Finland having long been used to working side by side. Nevertheless, it is not atypical that in everyday life women carry the main responsibility for the household and children while men act as the primary breadwinners (Crompton and Lyonette, 2006; Piekkola and Ruuskanen, 2006). For instance, if we look the statistics, only a few percent of men take long career breaks to look after the children (Haataja, 2009). In Finland, parental leave days as men taking them is a share of all leave days accounted less than 2% (paternity leave days excluded). This number is the smallest share in the Nordic countries (ibid.).

Eräranta and Moisander (2011) show there are certain gender specific expectations in the work-family context for Finnish men: the former discourse of traditional masculinity, *manly fathering,* and the newer discourse of *involved fathering*. The former discourse emphasizes the man's role as breadwinner, in the public sphere, and the woman's role as primary care provider and homemaker, in the private sphere; the man is depicted as the moral authority and there is a clear division of gender roles. The newer discourse draws upon a father whose masculinity is invested in the shifting regimes of gender and family life, in which private and public relationships overlap for both women and men. Ordinarily and traditionally, Finnish men have been characterized as constructing life as an extensive project through their identity in work and hobbies, and as not often talking about their family or their own actions related to the family (Kortteinen, 1992; Ollila, 1998). Thus, it seems that for men who are both managers and fathers in Finland it is legitimate to face challenges in the workplace and in organizations, but not in relation to their families and their family responsibilities (Eräranta and Moisander, 2011).

Research material and analysis procedure

Our chosen methodological approach here is narrativity, because it makes possible the study of processes rather than the factors that influence career paths and transitions over time; it opens up the complexity of career behavior and the meaning of a career embedded in the dynamics of its construction (Cochran, 1990; Bujold, 2004; Bosley, Arnold and Cohen, 2009; LaPointe, 2010, 2013). More importantly, it helps focus attention on the multiple life strands that are involved in a career, going further than a cross-sectional approach (Santos, 2015; Lee et al., 2011). As Cohen (2006) explains, a narrative approach makes it possible to highlight the ambiguities and uncertainties of careers and topics related to them that are not obvious using other, more conventional methods. Analyzing narratives when careers and families are concerned, it helps us to understand the actual situation for the person involved and his or her background, and offers the advantage of keeping experiences and personal life in the picture (e.g. Pizzorno et al., 2015; Duberley, Carmichael and Szmigin, 2014; Santos, 2015). Therefore, the advantage of the chosen narrative approach here also that it takes into account the time and place in which the research participant is involved in (Ricoeur, 1983).

As the managerial career can be seen nowadays as a complex matter of negotiation in multiple life domains and relationships, we agree with the many recent authors who have emphasized the value of using narratives to study the topic (e.g. Bujold, 2004; Cohen, Duberley and Mallon, 2004; Cohen, 2006; Savickas et al., 2009; Bosley et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2011, Pizzorno et al., 2015;

Duberley et al., 2014). Here, we see a narrative as an account of events occurring over time, thus emphasizing the chronological dimension of the narrative (Søderberg, 2003), and as a person's life story constructed by that person him- or herself (Renza, 1977). In this study this approach will be used to explore the experiences, perspectives and ideas through which men managers narrate and account for their careers in the larger context of their life (see Heikkinen et al., 2014).

Interviews with 29 managers were conducted with Finnish men in mid or late career during the year 2009. The criteria were designed to keep the potential sampling framework broad in order to reflect the diverse perspectives and experiences of men managers. The age of the participants was between 37 and 61 (mean age 49.8) and all of them had had experience of managerial work and extensive work experience in various branches of economic life (e.g. services, banking, industry, the public sector). Some of them owned a company. The men were all white, middle or upper-middle class, and living in heterosexual family relationships. All had one or more spouses in the course of their careers, and all the men were fathers. Their educational background ranged from secondary level to postgraduate degrees. Table 1 presents more detailed information about the interviewees.

The interviews were semi-structured and they were all carried out face to face by the first author in offices or rooms specially reserved for the study. Since specifically in narrative methods the researcher becomes a co-narrator in the data creation and a tool of the research, it is important to acknowledge that our background as women has had an influence on the research process: as women researchers we may have a relationship to information about men and to men's experience which is different from that of men (cf. Riessman, 1987). In general, it has been claimed that those concerning gender issues women-to-men interviewing is much rare than women interviewing women, and men can use power to control the interview situation (Lee, 1997). Despite this previous finding (ibid.), as women researchers we did not perceive this kind of control: we felt that the interview situations were comfortable and relaxed for both parties. If we did not directly understand each other immediately, we discussed and negotiated until we both shared the meaning. In our view this was made easier by the fact that the interviewer and interviewee shared the same cultural background, so there were no unfamiliar cultural themes or barriers to understanding in the narration itself (Riessman, 1991).

In the interview situations the participants were encouraged to share their experiences of career and family life in the successive phases of the man's career and family life up to the present. Each interview lasted between 45 minutes and 2 hours. To ensure research credibility and confirmability the interviews were recorded and transcribed word-for-word in Finnish. The quotes in this paper are translations. The research participants were guaranteed anonymity and therefore each man, here, is

assigned a code number from 1 to 29, which is used later in the text. The analysis was done in two phases: first we applied content analysis (Krippendorff, 2013) to examine the different forms of spousal support that the men received, and second we applied a narrative procedure concerning story lines from Gergen and Gergen (1988). This procedure helps us to study narratives by analyzing the evaluative shifts in the perceived spousal support in the course of the men's careers (cf. Heikkinen et al., 2014). In the first phase we identified four forms of spousal (non-)support: running the household, psychosocial support, career assistance and negative expectations. In the second phase, we chose to follow Gergen and Gergen (1988), who bring out the principle that in the men's narratives we can view various events as moving through evaluative space. Using this procedure enabled us to analyze an over-arching narrative of a man's life. According to Gergen and Gergen's narrative framework, when a man manager expresses in his narrative a valued outcome, the story line becomes more positive, as it refers to happiness and satisfaction in his life and career, while the story line becomes more negative when disappointment and failure are recounted. As a whole, the story line in the narrative can fluctuate in relation to time.

All plots of narratives, according to Gergen and Gergen, may be converted into a stable, progressive or regressive linear form with respect to their evaluative shifts over time, creating narrative forms such as tragedy, comedy, 'happily-ever-after' and romance (or other more complex variations). Tragedy in this sense contains a regressive story line, and would tell a story of downfall. Comedy and 'happily-ever-after' are the reverse of tragedy, and both are dominated by a progressive story line. The comedy narrative consists of some challenges or problems prior to a happy denouement, and in the 'happily-ever-after' narrative the progressive form is followed by a blissful stable end. The narrative of romance consists of many progressive-regressive phases. By using this framework our analysis resulted in three groups of narratives (negotiated spousal support, enriching spousal support and declining spousal support) with three different storylines (romance, 'happily-ever-after' and tragedy). To make visible the essence of each storyline, the authors constructed an outline of each type of narrative of spousal support. The authors used the analyzed evaluative spaces and the main ideas from the narratives to produce these outlines. Each outline was built to make visible the whole typical narrative structure in the type of narrative being analyzed. Though we acknowledge the limitations of the outlines that we present and realize that they cannot capture all the details, we constructed them because it is not possible to include all the narratives in the article. The data analysis was supported by the use of NVivo computer software.

Findings

As the results of our study we first introduce the forms of spousal support which were identified in our research material and we then go on to our application of Gergen and Gergen's framework, showing the analysis of the narratives of spousal support in the course of the men managers' careers.

The forms of (non-)spousal support

Psychosocial support

Psychosocial support behaviors can be explicit or tacit in nature, and they are constructed by the men as behaviors such as discussing, listening and sharing challenges and goals, providing encouragement, understanding and supporting decision-making, and advising the acceptance of new career opportunities. Psychosocial support is constructed as contributing to a career indirectly by providing the men with personal resources that are valuable in the work context. The focus is therefore on the men individually.

Explicit psychosocial support is narrated by the men with reference to the wife discussing, listening and giving her opinion. The wife is depicted as inspiring and encouraging the man to adopt a new orientation towards his career and accept, for instance, more managerial responsibility. In this form of support, the wife is said to understand the logic of business leadership and she broadens his view of the business world. Furthermore, the wife is presented as a person with whom the husband can share the dilemmas and challenges of business life. The men managers say that the wife provides feedback honestly and dares to question and challenge their views. Many of the managers said that no other person in the organization would have the courage to give such direct feedback.

In the tacit psychosocial support mode, the support behavior is constructed as non-visible, but still as a significant form of support. She is constructed as a trusted partner, who keeps her husband from overworking and helps to release stress. Moreover, she is valued for keeping his feet on the ground, and enriching life in general. For example, many of the managers recount that they have hobbies they share with their wife, and this is described as an excellent way to relax and take one's mind off one's work. Many of the men recount that they would not have got so far in their career as a single man.

Running the household

Running the household is a form of support which is constructed by the men as the wife taking full care of domestic matters and children. This means that the wife takes care of the practical domestic

chores and is associated with the personal and private sphere of life: the home and the children. It can also be regarded as indirect support for the man's career. The men say that the wife is the main person responsible for the home and the children, creating a space in which they (the men) can concentrate on their career without any domestic demands on their time.

Many of the managers, who are, as we remember, also fathers, said that they do participate to some extent in household chores, but they stated quite clearly that the wife has primary responsibility for these matters. Running the household is narrated as cleaning the house, doing the shopping, cooking, laundry, ironing and even doing some renovation work if the husband is not at home. Taking care of the children is referred to in the narratives by behaviors such as playing with the children, feeding them, nurturing them when they are ill, and attending school events such as parents' evenings. As regards the domestic tasks that the men managers were most likely to do, they tended to be preparing meals for the family and doing the grocery shopping or driving the children to their hobby groups rather than, say, doing the laundry or cleaning the house.

Interestingly, running the household is closely narrated by the men managers in terms of enabling their career advancement and not, for example, in terms of enabling more time to be a father and available for their children. The narration in relation to domestic duties is contested: many of the managers narrated that their wife was responsible for their home and children, but at the same time they might say that they do or did a lot of housework when the children were little. A dominant feature in the narratives is, though, that the activity and initiative that the man enjoys in his working life does not extend to his family life, and the wife is responsible for the domestic sphere. This finding is consistent with many previous studies (e.g. Schneer and Reitman, 2002; Simon, 1995; Kanter, 1977, Gatrell, 2007; Halrynjo, 2009; Gregory and Milner, 2011).

Career assistance

Career assistance is support which is constructed as directly targeted at the man's career, and thus it can be distinguished from the first two types of support. Firstly, this form of support is narrated as referring to a spouse's practical career support, such as being present at work-related social events. Thus, the spouse is constructed as valuable in networking and building social relationships. Career assistance also refers to the wife as someone who can read and comment on speeches and texts written by the man or help with some area of expertise (e.g. communication, or leadership issues) related to the man's work. If the managers narrated that their wife worked with them in the

company, a common situation described in the narratives was that the spouse did the administrative duties (e.g. paper work and invoicing) or assisted with the bureaucracy.

Negative expectations

Beside these three forms of positive spousal support, the men also narrated negative feelings about their spouse's support for their career, though there was in fact only very little narration of this kind. The men managers did not say explicitly that they have not received support which would have been helpful for their career or have not had the opportunity to develop in working life, but narrated for instance that the wife was expecting economic success from their career and they therefore felt under pressure. This kind of negative expectation was constructed in relation to getting more money for decorating or renovating the house, for example, or for having more luxurious holidays. The men also constructed some negative expectations regarding their fatherhood, particularly in terms of sharing in the housework and taking care of the children, and highlighted that since their wife was at home with their children it was to be expected that she would do all the housework. It was constructed as a conflict because the wife was expecting more involvement from them. One of the managers also mentioned that he had just retired and had been feeling under pressure in relation to their economic situation. He said that it had not been easy for him to accept his wife's higher income in the dual-earner model and his wife's place as number one in terms of family income. Table 2 summarizes the forms of (non-)spousal support.

[Table 2 about here]

Spousal support in the course of men managers' careers

Negotiated spousal support

An outline of this narrative group:

> I went to university and met my future wife during those years. After graduating, when I was looking for my first real job, we wanted to think about our possibilities in relation to my wife's job opportunities and where we wanted to live our life. I had a few positions in different places before we found more permanent circumstances for our life together. Usually, my wife was looking for work longer than I was. During that time we started to dream about a family and after my wife got pregnant, she stayed at home on maternity leave and took care of the child(ren). I and my wife were both (and still are) involved in family life and I really enjoy being a father. In general, though I feel that even if I am doing a lot of housework as well, I feel that she is in charge of family life.
>
> Definitely, we have discussed together the possibility of going abroad, and we even spent some years (usually) in other European countries when the children were little and my wife was at home. We came back to Finland for the sake of our whole family and so that my wife could have the chance to work.

I can say that during my career my wife has been active in working life herself, and we have been flexible in our solutions, using day care, or nannies and grandparents. It has been one of our priorities and aims throughout our lives that we can both have a fulfilling job and family life and in that sense be equals. I have been lucky enough to have a wife who has been my sparring partner and I might say that I have been to some extent hers, we have discussed both my managerial work and career aspirations, and also our children and their happiness. She can even help me with speeches and things like that, if I am preparing for an important business meeting. It is an asset that she dares to question me and my decisions. In sum, I really have made my career in the larger context of life and feel happy about it.

A common feature in this narrative group is that all forms of support from the wife are narrated as being available at different turns and phases in the man's career and in their family life. According to these narratives, altogether 17 (Nos.2,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,16,17,20,21,22,26,29), the spouses' support behavior is a link between the managerial career and home: juggling with supporting the manager in his career through psychosocial support and career assistance while also taking care of the children and making sure that even the man is having a managerial positions, he is also a father who is participating actively in family life, all as a result of mutual understanding and adjustment between the manager and his wife. Thus, this spousal support can be described as *negotiated*. The outline does not include the fact that four of the managers had divorced quite early on in their career, and one of them just lately; it is omitted because the managers do not link their divorce directly to their managerial work or the demands of their career.

A special feature in these narratives is that the men manager and his spouse are narrated as juggling the managerial career, a satisfactory family life and shared opportunities to pursue their own career. The managerial career, family life and the wife's work are constructed as a compatible whole, one that requires adjustments from all parties in different life and career situations. The narration in this group is mainly positive, but the narration intertwines having a demanding career, family, and a spouse who also wants to have a meaningful job outside the home. Thus, the narration is quite fragmented and is colored with references to complexity and to situations where both partners have adapted to the career situation at a given time. In particular, some of the managers brought out that their geographical mobility was restricted for family reasons. For example, some of the men narrated that they did not take work assignments abroad but decided to stay in Finland for the sake of the family. In this type of narration, family and managerial career are constructed as intertwined and both spouses as a team that works together to have fairly equal roles for both of them in work and family life.

In this group the story line can be interpreted as similar to that of the romance by Gergen and Gergen (1988). A romance narration involves a series of events and issues in which the protagonist, the man manager in this case, experiences events and issues as challenges over which, through a series of struggles, he emerges victorious, with the enormous help of his spouse. Thus, the ending of these narratives is represented as satisfactory, even happy. The challenge for the manager in these narratives is constructed as having to find the right and proper solution at that particular juncture in his career and family life. This requires adjustment from both the manager and his wife. To overcome this challenge and to achieve the desired end point, i.e. involvement in the family and success in the career, the manager and his wife are constructed as making decisions and some kind of sacrifice for the welfare of the family. Thus, the man is narrated as having aspirations to be a genuine part of the family and an involved father, and as wishing to enable his spouse to have a career of her own. Many of the managers in this group drew attention to the fact that they had turned down some promising career opportunities and not accepted an international assignment; one had even described staying at home for over six months to let his wife go out to work, which he described as a shocking piece of news for his company. This was narrated as negative in the short term from the career perspective, but it was said to have really paid off when looked at from the broader perspective of life and the family and the career in the long term. This type of narration emphasizes the interrelated nature of family and career for fathers in management positions.

In this story line, in the early phase of his career the manager constructs the equal sharing of public and private roles as the norm: though the man's career is constructed as the determining factor, the family and the spouse are always taken into consideration in career decision-making. Thus, in the narratives the overall picture is that even if the wife had some career breaks for family reasons, she is also active in working life throughout the whole period of the man's career, and contrary to the traditional masculine standard and gender specific roles, they both operate in both the private and public spheres. The gender order in this group is constructed as having a tendency towards equality, though the men manager and his career are quite often prioritized. Here the traditional conceptualization of a successful managerial career blended with the family model can be noted: the traditional model is challenged to some extent when the man is willing to make career sacrifices for the sake of his family, for the sake of his wife's career, and in order to be more involved as a father (Nieva, 1985; Allard et al., 2011; Eräranta and Moisander, 2011; Gatrell et al., 2014).

Enriching spousal support
An outline of this narrative group:

I had already met my wife before graduating and we started our family quite early. I remember that I was looking for my first real job and we were quite short of money at that time and I felt responsible for providing for my family economically. The early years of my career were hard work and I focused intensively on working life while my wife stayed at home taking care of our children. The domestic side of things and taking care of the children were my wife's responsibilities, so that I could travel and work extra-long hours. I'm not sure whether that was worthwhile while the children were little. I was away a lot but that is the way our life went. My wife has had a paid job herself (or occasional periods at work), but mainly I see that she sacrificed her career for the sake of mine.

Over the years I have pursued my career and my family have adjusted to that. However, when I think about my wife, there has been a major shift in our lives since the children grew up. She started to work more actively and I can say that she really now has a chance to make progress in her career. We have become more equal in terms of working life, and nowadays we even have serious discussions about our jobs. She really has become more an emotional supporter now that she has more time because our kids have grown up. I am really happy the way things are now. Let's see what the future holds. I would still like to have some new career moves, even going abroad for a while before retiring.

The spousal support is narrated as *enriching* in these narratives, starting from running the home and ending up with psychosocial support over the course of the man's career. Altogether nine (Nos.3,13,14,18,23,24,25,27,28) men's narratives fit into this type of narration. In the narratives, the wife's support behavior running the family home is constructed as central, especially when the man is advancing in his career or has just started in a managerial position. The early phase of the career is described by the manager as especially time-consuming, demanding a lot of commuting and working abroad. Getting married and having children is narrated as happening at approximately the same time. A lot of attention and adjustment was required from the wife so that the manager could focus on his working life.

One of the managers (23) highlighted this issue by saying that his spouse's support in terms of running the household had been invaluable, particularly when the children were little and he himself had to work for a long time abroad. He narrated that he felt bad being away from home for several weeks while his wife was taking care of the home and raising two little children. He said that his wife was doing only night shifts at work at that time, which made it possible for her to look after the home and be in working life. Later on in his career and their family life, when the children grew up, the support behavior he received was constructed by him as evolving into psychosocial support. Though he narrated that the substance and content of his work was so demanding that they could not discuss that, support behavior had evolved from running the household to encouragement and understanding the demands of managerial work and his career moves.

The tone in these narratives is clearly positive. The shift in the narration is progressive and this can be interpreted as a story line of the 'happily-ever-after' type, in the terms used by Gergen and Gergen (1988). In this group of narratives, spousal support is seen as enabling positive career outcomes and a rather satisfactory family life for the manager, and it is placed in a particular ordered sequence, starting as running the household and shifting more to psychosocial support. In the narratives an important trigger for this change is the children's growing up, which means that the need for the wife to run the household is constructed as decreasing. This is constructed as deflecting the spouse's energy into psychosocial support so long as she accepts or feels comfortable with her husband's long working hours, business trips and extensive availability to the organization. From the man's point of view, thinking of his career, such a change in the quality of spousal support is articulated as making possible a happy outcome – pursuing a successful career and having a satisfactory family life. The marriage in this sense is not taken for granted, but the wife is constructed as actively understanding and adjusting to the demands of his career.

The experiences of the career path and spousal support are linked in such a way that both fields and their movements are described positively over time. The end point in these narratives is weighted by the man with value and satisfaction with his career and family life. In these narratives the manager's little or negligible participation in family life when the children were small, and the wife's taking care of the home had been questioned or considered to some extent, but it was usually narrated as the norm for a man's managerial career in Finland. The legitimatization of being absent from their children's lives and of not being an involved and committed father due to their career was usually constructed by the managers as their children having grown up to be fine and responsible teenagers or adults, and their wives having the credit for the children's upbringing.

In the 'happily-ever-after' story line the man does not challenge the traditional gender order at the beginning of the narrative: he constructs the gender order between spouses in such a way that the husband and wife are defined as operating in the traditional spheres for both genders – men in the public and women in the private sphere. Later on in the narratives the gender order becomes more equal, with both partners supporting each other. The reason for this is, however, more related to the children growing up than to the manager constructing himself as actively moving away from his traditional, breadwinning and distant fathering gender role (Eräranta and Moisander, 2011; Halrynjo, 2009). In this type of narration the woman never comes to be fully equal in terms of work or working life, and the managerial career is considered to be the first job in the family. The managerial position and the managerial career are not challenged by family life or the wife's work.

The chief difference between this group and the aforementioned negotiated spousal support group is that here the men clearly articulate the presence of the traditional division of gender roles in their family life. The spousal support is narrated as evolving from running the household to psychosocial support, not so much due to the men manager wanting it to be changed but due to the fact that as the role of the woman in the family changes and her energy is released for working life, her support can become psychosocial support. In the negotiated spousal support, the men's narrations go up and down with different positive and negative turns in their career and family life – and all this is negotiated with the wife, but in this group the storyline evolves only upwards.

Declining spousal support

An outline of this narrative group:

> As for the early stages of my career, I can say that I was studying and working at the same time, and I had my activities with my own company as well. As regards my wife, we have been together quite a long time but she has been pursuing a career of her own and just recently we decided to start a family. Up till now most of my career I have worked a lot and one could say that I really have focused solely on my career and company. My wife and I have even lived in separate towns for work reasons but a few years ago we decided to build a house together. You could say that we have somehow proceeded in the wrong order in our lives and both worked for a long time before having children. Now my wife is staying at home with our child. I really enjoy being a father and I like giving the child my time. However, there have been some issues to consider now that my wife is at home. Somehow life appears to be more challenging now. In general, I think that I am sharing in our domestic duties quite well. But I do feel that when she is at home, she should clearly do most of (or all) the housework. I think it's her job (or career) now. One other thing that has puzzled me is that she is now expecting more from me economically, I mean for example high-cost vacations.

> All in all, you could say that we have had separate careers, but she has helped me by listening and giving me support. But nowadays her priority is family life, and I have even been encouraging her to stay at home. But definitely the family and my wife have been puzzling me recently, but let's wait and will see what the future will bring to our lives and relationship.

In this narrative group the man manager does construct support from his wife, particularly psychosocial support and running the household, in that order. In these narratives, the story line is at first stable and positive in tone, while both husband and wife are having careers of their own and supporting each other, mainly psychosocially (the wife may be constructed as also giving some career assistance). In the narratives the manager describes his career and his wife's career as separate. However, the turning point in these narratives is having children, which is described as happening approximately when the manager is in his forties. After having children the wife is said

to be staying at home, which was the case at the time when the men were interviewed. After this change, according to the narratives, the managers have started to feel some expectations from their wives that they perceive as negative. These expectations were related to the man's role of being an active father and also being the family provider. Three of the narratives have such characteristics (Nos.1,15,19), where the spousal support can be described as *declining*.

For instance, one of the managers (15) related that early on in their careers he and his wife had been more or less two independent adults with rather separate careers and lives; the man particularly worked long days, having multiple jobs and studying at the same time, and even starting his own business. More recently, since their child was born, the wife has stayed at home and has even been encouraged to do so by the manager, but simultaneously he narrated that his wife has started to expect more from his career, and in particular greater financial returns. This was narrated as the wife no longer wanting to have low-budget holidays, but expecting more in financial terms. He also said that his wife wanted to spend some money decorating and renovating their home.

The tone of the narratives is generally quite neutral, but over time it becomes slightly disappointed and the man is not particularly satisfied. This story line resembles to some extent that of Gergen and Gergen's tragedy (1988), insofar as the main protagonist, the **man** manager, is unable to triumph in his pursuit of the desired end point which is a success in his career and having a satisfactory family life. Although the man's narration in relation to his career is progressive in its nature, the narration incorporates dissatisfaction with the negative expectations which he has started to feel recently, and this all makes him feel puzzled. Unlike the 'happily-ever-after' story line, where the wife's support is narrated as turning from running the household to psychosocial support, the support here is turning in the opposite direction, in a way that is evaluated by the man as problematic. The gender order in this group is constructed as the man looking for a way to turn from an equal to a more traditional pattern, and this, interestingly and surprisingly, is described as a baffling experience. The narratives in this group make visible changes in the gender order patterns, even if the change is considered to be becoming more conventional, and it does not seem to the men to be happening easily or self-evidently. This supports the idea that being a father in a management post means facing many contradictions and paradoxes, juggling with being an appropriate man, an involved father, a satisfactory spouse and a good manager, as also highlighted by Whitehead (1999) and Wajcman and Martin (2001). Table 3 has a summary of our analysis of evolving spousal support in the course of men managers' careers.

[Table 3 about here]

Discussion and conclusion

In this paper we have focused on the narratives of men managers in order to analyze how they perceive their wives' support in relation to their careers. We sought to understand the different forms that spousal support can take and how the support might evolve in the course of a manager's career. We were also interested in what kind of gender relations these men, who had a managerial post and were fathers as well, produced when narrating their experiences of spousal support for their career. In particular, we concentrated on how the traditional gender order was maintained or challenged through their narratives. While previous studies of spousal support and Kanter's theory about the corporate wife (1977) have depicted one side of the story, that is, how the traditional family model works to the advantage of the man manager's career and how the wife bows to the wishes of the organization, here our focus has been on careers and how they overlap with close, family relationships as a part of the life the man is living. One major contribution of this study is our finding that spousal support for careers was constructed as various and flexible by men managers in Finland: *negotiated, enriching* and *declining.* Thus, we have extended previous research, which has represented spousal support simply as 'a wife who takes care of everything else' or as a 'marital bonus' (Kanter, 1977; Pfeffer and Ross, 1982; Schneer and Reitman, 2002; Brett and Stroh, 2003), by showing that this gives far too limited, primitive and unproblematic a picture of men in managerial positions who are fathers and husbands as well in the current career world. We have also shown that the wife and her support are very much present in the career routes of Finnish men managers, but nothing is fixed or uncomplicated.

Secondly, our purpose was to analyze gender relations between the man manager and his spouse using the concept of gender order and a narrative approach. The family model with traditional gender order that stresses the man's dedication to his career and breadwinning and the woman's responsibility for family and the household behind his career has been embedded in the male career in management (Nieva, 1985; Wajcman, 1996). To make visible the changes in the dynamics of gender relations in the form of gender order as they affect the men manager's career, we identified three narrative groups, which followed three different storylines: *romance, happily-ever-after,* and *tragedy*. In the narratives of the first group, the storyline was shifting and gender order pattern were constructed as quite equal. In the narratives of the second group, traditional gender roles were not questioned, and the storyline was evolving positively, upwards. In the narratives of the final group, the storyline went negatively, downwards, with a move away from more equal gender relations to a more traditional gender order. In this paper, the traditional gender order was said to be clearly

challenged only in the romance story line. In the story lines of 'happily-ever-after' and tragedy there was discussion of the traditional gender order but it remained unchallenged.

From the viewpoint of a fulfilling work-family relationship for fathers in management positions and consequently of gender equality, the most problematic storyline is the 'happily-ever-after' one. The narration is generally rather positive in tone. The 'happily-ever-after' story line never challenges the man's traditional breadwinning role, but leaves the wife and the family to adjust to it. More importantly, it does not question or challenge the man's participation, or rather the lack of it, in family life; he is not seen as an involved spouse or father (cf. Eräranta and Moisander, 2011). If the gender order is never brought into question, troubled or challenged, it can never be changed (Connell, 1987; Nentwich, 2008). The change will only become possible when new more diverse discourses and meanings of parenthood are made available for fathers in managerial posts (see Nentwich, 2008).

It is characteristic of Finnish society that women are highly active in working life and pursue a career outside the home, but they also have core responsibility for caring for the family and the moral authority to do so. This can be interpreted as being problematic for men in managerial posts, since it reduces their possibility of playing an active part in family life and being an involved father to their children. The tragedy storyline moves away from a more equal gender order pattern towards a traditional one, in which the wife is constructed as taking care of the children and home. This was, interestingly, experienced as problematic in the men's narrations. The men managers seem to be expecting psychosocial support and a more equal gender order between the spouses in these narratives, and they do not seem to be very adaptable to the shifting situation: the wife is in the traditional role of taking care of the household and children, and thus only provides hands-on support; she looks in return for economic success from the man, who in this respect is still to some extent thinking in terms of equal gender order patterns. In general, this supports the idea that there is no single or straightforward way of being simultaneously a successful manager, father and spouse; instead there are many contradictions and challenges that need to be overcome in order for an equal gender order pattern to be produced (Gatrell, 2007; Nentwich, 2008; Ranson, 2012).

In this study the most positive narratives in terms of whole life satisfaction and, ultimately, career success for the men managers, were those in which spousal support was constructed as negotiated and the traditional gender order was challenged by the men managers, who were willing to be flexible and adaptable in their gender relations with their spouse. This result leads us positively to conclude that the orientation of Finnish men managers is shifting towards equal gender relations, as

they give as much importance to the family as they do to their work and are also more likely than before to pay attention to the equal sharing of parental roles. The study supports the view that men (as well as women) are juggling with different objectives and responsibilities in their families, work and career (Holter, 2007; Guillaume and Pochic, 2009; Allard et al., 2011; Eräranta and Moisander, 2011; Ranson, 2012; Murgia and Poggio, 2013; Santos, 2015). We would like to bring out three important implications of this. First of all, the man manager who wants to take care of his family and really share the domestic sphere with his wife deviates from the pattern of the traditional distant father (Eräranta and Moisander, 2011). Such a move supports a more integrated relationship between work and family for men. In general, it can be seen that this makes for closer father-child relations, the sharing of child care duties eases the woman's situation in the labor market, and it has a positive effect on gender equality for both women and men. Moreover, the man's fulfilling roles in both work and family also have positive effects on his career (Lyness and Judiesch, 2008; Eaton, 2003).

Secondly, the men in this study articulated the view that it is beneficial for both parties to mutually adjust in a marital relationship which is connected to the career world, and spousal support was constructed over the years as shifting, attentive and context sensitive. Thus, it can be concluded that the reality of people's lives and careers is complex and situational (Arthur, 2008; Baruch et al., 2015). There needs to be a fit between spousal support and the managers' expectations and needs at any given time. This is consistent with findings concerning women managers (Ezzedeen and Ritchey, 2008; Heikkinen et al., 2014). Heikkinen and her colleagues for example in their study concerning women managers concluded that a male spouse who is willing to mold the traditional gender order and provide various forms of support is often constructed as having a positive influence on the career of his woman manager wife. With the analysis of this study on men managers, the research material shows that if the woman's role is implicitly assumed to be taking care of the home and children and this is not made visible, the man's role as an involved father and a partner in the family sphere is also left invisible (Halrynjo, 2009). This can be a source of problems between the spouses. In general, this study and the study of Heikkinen et al. (2014) indicate that flexible gender roles are a source of a satisfactory work-family relationship for both men and women managers who are parents. Focusing solely on women's experience, which has tended to be the pattern in research, blinds researchers so that they are not able to understand or focus on men, rendering men's work and family integration not only less visible, but also less valuable. In the future, it might be worth looking more at the men manager's perspective and, in particular, investigate how organizations perceive the work and family integration of a manager

who is also a father (Burnett et al., 2013; Gatrell et al., 2014; Allard et al., 2011; Özbilgin et al., 2011).

Even though there is evidence of the emergence of career self-images at work and in the labor market that are gender-neutral, which suggests that there are now fewer differences between men and women in career routes (Wajcman and Martin, 2002), this study shows that in the family sphere there continue to be certain gender specific roles (Gatrell, 2007; Nentwich, 2008; Ranson, 2012), though they are not static. As Wajcman (1996) states, in fact it is at the interface between work and home that gender differences are most stark, and this influences the routes and choices for a career and its integration into family life. In practice, men managers will experience difficulties combining work responsibilities with non-work commitments due to the long hours of work and the need for extensive availability in the organization.

It is recommended that future research should try to increase our understanding of how men managers can maximize positive experiences and minimize negative experiences in their career and family lives. In order to investigate how these aims can be realized, appropriate information is needed. For instance, the comparative context of this kind of information is rarely available. Even though the present study makes several important contributions, it undoubtedly has some limitations. Vinkenburg and Weber (2012) emphasize that we need prospective, longitudinal designs concerning both career patterns and themes in studying managerial careers. Our aim in this study was to capture how spousal support is constructed as evolving from the point of view of men who have experience of different positions and organizations and fatherhood, but our research is not longitudinal. Instead, we addressed managers' life courses temporally. This approach has advantages, but it is also important for researchers to remember that career stories might follow the blueprint of the "ideal career" pattern or normative success stories (ibid.). While acknowledging the diversity of managerial career patterns, it is clear that in many organizations even nowadays the norm of a successful managerial career implies upward mobility without any interruptions. Perhaps future studies should try to understand this ideal from the perspective of men managers' work and family integration.

Acknowledgements:

References

Allard, K., Haas, L. and Hwang, C. P. (2011) Family-Supportive organizational culture and fathers' experiences of work–family conflict in Sweden. Gender, Work and Organization, 18, 2, 141–157.

Alvesson, M. (2004) Organizational Culture and Discourse. In D. Grant, C. Hardy, C. Oswick and L. Putnam (Eds.), The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Discourse (pp. 317–336). London: SAGE.

Arthur, M. B. (2008) Examining contemporary careers: A call for interdisciplinary inquiry. Human Relations, 61, 2, 163–186.

Bandura, A. (1971) Social Learning Theory. New York: General Learning Press.

Bardoel, A.E. (2003) The provision of formal and informal work-family practices: The relative importance of institutional and resource dependent explanations versus managerial explanations. Women in Management Review, 18, 1/2, 7–19.

Bartley, S.J., Judge, W. and Judge, S. (2007) Antecedents of marital happiness and career satisfaction: An empirical study of dual-career managers. Journal of Business and Public Affairs, 1, 1, 1–14.

Baruch, Y. (2006) Career development in organizations and beyond: Balancing traditional and contemporary viewpoints. Human resource management review, 16, 2, 125–138.

Baruch, Y., Szűcs, N. and Gunz, H. (2015). Career studies in search of theory: The rise and rise of concepts. Career Development International, 20, 1, 3–20.

Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T. (1966) The Social Construction of Reality. New York: Doubleday.

Bosley, S.L.C., Arnold, J. and Cohen, L. (2009) How other people shape our careers: A typology drawn from career narratives. Human Relations, 62, 10, 1487–1520.

Brett, J.M. and Stroh, L.K. (2003) Working 61 plus hours a week: Why do managers do it? Journal of Applied Psychology, 88, 1, 67–78.

Bruni, A., Gherardi, S. and Poggio, B. (2004) Doing gender, doing entrepreneurship: An ethnographic account of intertwined practices. Gender, Work and Organization, 11, 4, 406–429.

Bujold, C. (2004) Constructing career through narrative. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 64, 3, 470–484.

Burke, R. (2010) Do managerial men benefit from organizational values supporting work-personal life balance? Gender in Management: An International Journal, 25, 2, 91–99.

Burnett, S.B., Gatrell, C.J., Cooper, C.L. and Sparrow, P. (2013) Fathers at work: A ghost in the organizational machine. Gender, Work and Organization, 20, 6, 632–646.

Cahusac, E. and Kanji, S. (2014) Giving up: How gendered organizational cultures push mothers out. Gender, Work and Organization, 21, 1, 57–70.

Cochran, L.R. (1990) Narrative as a paradigm for career research. In Young, R.A and Borgen, W.A. (Ed.) Methodological Approaches to the Study of Career (pp. 71–86). New York: Praeger Publishers.

Cohen, L. (2006) Remembrance of things past: Cultural processes and practice in the analysis of career stories. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 69, 2, 189–201.

Cohen, L., Duberley, J. and Mallon, M. (2004) Social constructionism in the study of career: Accessing the parts that other approaches can not reach. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 64, 3, 407–422.

Collinson, D. and Hearn, J. (1996) Men as managers, Managers as men. Critical Perspectives on Men, Masculinities and Managements. London: Sage.

Connell, R.W. (1987) Gender and Power. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Connell, R.W. (1995) Masculinities. 2nd edn. Berkeley, LA: University of California Press.

Crompton, R. and Lyonette, C. (2006) Work-Life 'Balance' in Europe. Acta Sociologica, 49, 4, 379–393.

Daly, K., Ashbourne, L. and Hawkins, L. (2008) Work-life issues for fathers. In Korabik, K., Lero, D.S. and Whitehead, D.L. (Eds.), Handbook of Work-family Integration (pp. 249–264).   London: Academic Press.

Duberley, J., Carmichael, F. and Szmigin, I. (2014) Exploring women's retirement: Continuity, context and career transition. Gender, Work and Organization, 21, 1, 71–90.

Duxbury, L., Higgins, C. and Lee, C. (1994) Work-family conflict: A comparison by gender, family type, and perceived control. Journal of Family Issues, 15, 3, 449–466.

Eagle, B., Miles, E.W. and Icenogle, M.L. (1997) Interrole conflicts and the permeability of work and family domains: Are there gender differences? Journal of Vocational Behavior, 50, 2, 168–184.

Eby, L.T., Casper, W.J., Lockwood, A., Bordeaux, C., and Brinley, A. 2005. Work and family research in IO/OB: Content analysis and review of the literature (1980–2002). Journal of Vocational Behavior 66, 1, 124–197.

Eaton, S.C. (2003) If you can use them: Flexibility policies, organizational commitment, and perceived performance. Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society, 42, 2, 145–167.

Ely, R.J. and Meyerson, D.E. (2000) Advancing gender equity in organizations: The challenge and importance of maintaining a gender narrative. Organization, 7, 4, 589–608.

Eräranta, K. and Moisander, J. (2011) Psychological regimes of truth and father identity: Challenges for work/life integration. Organization studies, 32, 4, 509-526.

Ezzedeen, S.R. and Ritchey, K.G. (2008) The man behind the woman: A qualitative study of the spousal support received and valued by executive women. Journal of Family Issues, 29, 9, 1107–1135.

Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. (1997) Critical discourse analysis. In T.A. Dijk (Eds.), Discourse as Social Interaction, Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Vol. 2. (pp. 258–284). London: SAGE.

Fondas, N. (1996) Feminization at work: Career Implications. In M.B. Arthur and D.M. Rousseau (Eds.), The Boundaryless Career: A New Employment Principle for a New Organizational Era (pp. 282–294). New York: Oxford University Press.

Ford, J. and Collinson, D. (2011) In search of the perfect manager? Work-life balance and managerial work. Work, employment and society, 25, 2, 257–273.

Gatrell, C. (2007). Whose child is it anyway? The negotiation of paternal entitlements within marriage. The sociological review, 55, 2, 352–372.

Gatrell, C.J., Burnett, S.B., Cooper, C.L. and Sparrow, P. (2013) Work–life balance and parenthood: A comparative review of definitions, equity and enrichment. International Journal of Management Reviews, 15, 300–316.

Gatrell, C. J., Burnett, S. B., Cooper, C. L. and Sparrow, P. (2014) Parents, perceptions and belonging: exploring flexible working among UK fathers and mothers. British Journal of Management, 25, 3, 473–487.

Gender equality in Finland (2006) Reports of Social and Health ministry 2006:8. Available at: http://www.mpsv.cz/files/clanky/16168/Gender_equality_policies__FIN.pdf. Accessed 28.05.2014.

Gergen, K.J. and Gergen, M.M. (1988) Narrative and the self as relationship. In L. Berkowitz (Eds.), Advances in experimental social psychology (pp. 17–56). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Gherardi, S. and Poggio, B. (2001) Creating and recreating gender order in organizations. Journal of World Business, 36, 3, 245–259.

Global gender gap report (2013) Geneva: World Economic Forum. Available at: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2013.pdf. Accessed 1.6.2014.

Gregory, A. and Milner, S. (2011) Fathers and work-life balance in France and the UK: policy and practice. International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy. 31, ½, 34–52.

Grossbard-Shechtman, S.A. and Izraeli, D.N. (1994) When do spouses support a career? A human capital analysis of Israeli managers and their spouses. Journal of Socio-Economics, 23, 1/2, 149–167.

Guillaume, C., and Pochic, S. (2009). What would you sacrifice? Access to top management and the work–life balance. Gender, Work and Organization, 16, 1, 14–36.

Haataja, A. (2009) Fathers' use of paternity and parental leave in the Nordic countries. Online Working papers by KELA 2/2009. Available at: https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10250/8370/FathersLeaves_Nordic.pdf?sequence=1. Accessed 28.05.2014.

Hall, D.T. and Las Heras, M. (2010) Reintegrating job design and career theory: Creating not just good jobs but smart jobs. Journal of Organizational Behavior, 31, 2-3, 448–462.

Halrynjo, S. (2009) Men's work–life conflict: Career, care and self-realization: Patterns of privileges and dilemmas. Gender, Work and Organization, 16, 1, 98–125.

Hearn, J. and Pringle, K. (2006) European Perspectives on Men and Masculinities. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hearn, J. (2014) On men, organizations and intersectionality: Personal, working, political and theoretical reflections (or how organization studies met profeminism). Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal, 33, 5, 414–428.

Heikkinen, S., Lämsä, A-M. and Hiillos, M. (2014) Narratives by women managers about spousal support for their careers. Scandinavian Journal of Management, 30, 1, 27–39.

Holter, O.G. (2007) Men's work and family reconciliation in Europe. Men and Masculinities, 9, 4, 425–456.

Jallinoja, R. (2000) Family time. Otava: Helsinki.

Kanter, R.M. (1977) Men and Women Of The Corporation. New York: Basic Books.

Kasper, H., Meyer, M. and Schmidt, A. (2005) Managers dealing with work-family-conflict: An explorative analysis. Journal of Managerial Psychology, 20, 5, 440–461.

Katila, S. and Eriksson, P. (2013) He is a firm, strong-minded and empowering leader, but is she? Gendered positioning of female and male CEOs. Gender, Work and Organization, 20, 1, 71–84.

Khapova, S. N. and Arthur, M. B. (2011) Interdisciplinary approaches to contemporary career studies. Human Relations, 64, 1, 31–37.

Kinnunen, U. and Mauno, S. (1998) Antecedents and outcomes of work-family conflict among employed women and men in Finland. Human Relations, 51, 2, 157–177.

Kirchmeyer, K. (1998) Determinants of managerial career success: Evidence and explanation of male/female differences. Journal of Management, 24, 6, 673–692.

Kirchmeyer, K. (2002) Gender differences in managerial careers: Yesterday, today, and tomorrow. Journal of Business Ethics, 37, 1, 5–24.

Korabik, K., McElwain, A. and Chappell, D.B. (2008) Integrating gender-related issues into research on work and family. In Korabik, K., Lero, D.S. and Whitehead, D.L. (Eds.), Handbook of Work-family Integration (pp. 215–232). London: Academic Press.

Kortteinen, M. (1992) Kunnian kenttä: Suomalainen palkkatyö kulttuurisena muotona. Field of Honour. The Finnish Wage Work as a Cultural Form. Hämeenlinna: Karisto Oy.

Krippendorff, K. (2013) Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology. 3nd edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Kugelberg, C. (2006) Constructing the deviant other: Mothering and fathering at the workplace. Gender, Work and Organization, 13, 2, 152–173.

LaPointe, K. (2010) Narrating career, positioning identity: Career identity as a narrative practice. Journal of vocational behavior, 77, 1, 1–9.

LaPointe, K. (2013) Heroic career changers? Gendered identity work in career transitions. Gender, Work and Organization, 20, 2, 133–146.

Lee, D. (1997) Interviewing men: Vulnerabilities and dilemmas. Women's Studies International Forum, 20, 4, 553–564.

Lee, M.D., Kossek, E.E., Hall, D.T. and Litrico, J-B. (2011) Entangled strands: a process perspective on the evolution of careers in the context of personal, family, work, and community life. Human Relations, 64, 12, 1531–1553.

Lyness, K.S. and Judiesch, M.K. (2008) Can a manager have a life and a career? International and multisource perspectives on work-life balance and career advancement potential. Journal of Applied Psychology, 93, 4, 789–805.

Lyness, K.S. and Thompson, D.E. (2000) Climbing the corporate ladder: Do female and male executives follow the same route? Journal of Applied Psychology, 85, 1, 86–101.

Mäkelä, L. (2012) A narrative approach to pregnancy□related discrimination and leader–follower relationships. Gender, Work and Organization, 19, 6, 677-698.

McElwain, A., Korabik, K. and Rosin, H.M. (2005) An examination of gender differences in work-family conflict. Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science, 37, 4, 269–284.

Milkie, M.A. and Peltola, P. (1999) Playing all the roles: Gender and the work-family balancing act. Journal of Marriage and Family, 61, 2, 476–490.

Murgia, A. and Poggio, B. (2013) Fathers' stories of resistance and hegemony in organizational cultures. Gender, Work and Organization, 20, 4, 413–424.

Nentwich, J. C. (2008) New fathers and mothers as gender troublemakers? Exploring discursive constructions of heterosexual parenthood and their subversive potential. Feminism and Psychology, *18*, 2, 207–230.

Nentwich, J.C. and Kelan, E.K. (2014) Towards a topology of 'doing gender': An analysis of empirical research and its challenges. Gender, Work and Organization, 21, 2, 121–134.

Nieva, V.F. (1985) Work and family linkages. In L. Larwood, A.H. Stromberg and B.A. Gutek (Eds.), Women and work, vol.1. (pp. 162–190). Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE.

Oakley, A. (1972) Sex, Gender and Society. London: Temple Smith.

Okhuysen, G.A., Lepak, D., Ashcraft, K.L., Labianca, G., Smith, V. and Steensma, H.K. (2015) Introduction to special topic forum: Theories of work and working today. Academy of Management Review, 4015, 1, 6–17.

Ollila, A. (1998) Perspectives to Finnish identity. Scandinavian Journal of History, 23, 3-4, 127–137.

Pfeffer, J. and Ross, J. (1982) The effects of marriage and a working wife on occupational and wage Attainment. Administrative Science Quarterly, 27, 1, 66–80.

Piekkola, H. and Ruuskanen O-P. (2006) Work and time use across life cycle – mothers and ageing workers. Reports of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health Finland 2006: 73.

Pizzorno, M. C., Benozzo, A., and Carey, N. (2015) Narrating career, positioning identity and constructing gender in an Italian adolescent's personal narratives. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 88, 195–204.

Pleck, J.H., Staines, G.L. and Lang, L. (1980) Conflicts between work and family life. Monthly Labor Review, March, 29–32.

Ranson, G. (2012) Men, paid employment and family responsibilities: Conceptualizing the 'working father'. Gender, Work and Organization, 19, 6, 741–761.

Renza, L.A. (1977) The veto of the imagination: A theory of autobiography. New Literary History, 9, 1, 1–26.

Ricoeur, P. (1983) Time and narrative. Volume 1. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Ridgeway, C.L. and Correll, S.J. (2004) Unpacking the gender system: A theoretical perspective on gender beliefs and social relations. Gender and Society, 18, 4, 510–531.

Riessman, C. K. (1987) When gender is not enough: Women interviewing women. Gender and Society, 1, 2, 172–207.

Riessman, C. K. (1991) Beyond reductionism: Narrative genres in divorce accounts. Journal of Narrative and Life History, 1, 1, 41–68.

Runté, M. and Mills, A. J. (2004) Paying the toll: a feminist post-structural critique of the discourse bridging work and family. Culture and Organization, 10, 3, 237–249.

Ryba, T. V., Ronkainen, N. J. and Selänne, H. (2015) Elite athletic career as a context for life design. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 88, 47–55.

Santos, G. G. (2015) Narratives about work and family life among portuguese academics. Gender, Work and Organization, 22, 1–, 15.

Savickas, M.L., Nota, L., Rossier, J., Dauwalder, J-P., Duarte, M.E., Guichard, J., Oresi, S., Van Esbroeck, R. and Van Vianen, A.E.M. (2009) Life designing: A paradigm for career construction in the 21st century. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 75, 3, 239–250.

Schneer, J. and Reitman, F. (1993) Effects of alternate family structures on managerial career paths. Academy of Management Journal, 36, 4, 830–843.

Schneer, J. and Reitman, F. (2002) Managerial life without a wife: family structure and managerial career success. Journal of Business Ethics, 37, 1, 25–38.

Simon, R.W. (1995) Gender, multiple roles, role meaning, and mental health. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 36, 2, 182–194.

Statistics Finland (2011) Labour force survey. Statistics Finland: Helsinki.

Søderberg, A. (2003) Sensegiving and sensemaking in an integration process: A narrative approach to the study of an international acquisition. In B. Czarniawska and P. Gagliardi (Eds.), Narratives we organize by (pp. 3–35). Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Thompson, C.A., Beauvais, L.L. and Lyness, K.S. (1999) When work-family benefits are not enough: the influence of work-family culture on benefit utilization, organizational attachment, and work-family conflict. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 54, 3, 392–415.

Tracy, S. J. and K. D. Rivera (2010) Endorsing equity and applauding stay-at-home moms: how male voices on work- −life reveal aversive sexism and flickers of transformation- Management Communication Quarterly, 24, pp. 3–43.

Vinkenburg, C.J. and Weber, T. (2012) Managerial career patterns: A review of the empirical evidence. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 80, 3, 592–607.

Wajcman, J. (1996) The domestic basis for the managerial career. The Sociological Review, 44, 4, 609–629.

Wajcman, J., and Martin, B. (2001) My company or my career: managerial achievement and loyalty. The British journal of sociology, 52, 4, 559-578.

Wajcman, J. and Martin, B. (2002) Narratives of identity in modern management: The corrosion of gender difference. Sociology, 36, 4, 985–1002.

West, C. and Zimmerman, D.H. (1987) Doing gender. Gender and Society, 1, 2, 125–151.

Whitehead, S. (1999) Contingent masculinities: Disruptions to 'managerialist identity'. In Roseneil, S. and Seymour, J. (Eds.), Practising Identities (pp.107–133). Basingstoke: MacMillan Press.

Whyte, W.H. (1956) The Organization Man. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Wilson, T. and Davies, G. (1999) The changing career strategies of managers. Career Development International, 4, 2, 101–107.

Wodak, R. (Ed.) (1997) Gender and discourse. London: SAGE.

Özbilgin, M. F., Beauregard, T. A., Tatli, A., & Bell, M. P. (2011) Work–life, diversity and intersectionality: a critical review and research agenda. International Journal of Management Reviews, 13, 2, 177–198.

Acknowledgments

Table 1. Information about the research participants

Manager	Age (y)	Managerial post	Work experience (y)	Educational background	Family and children
1	49	CEO	25	Master's degree	Married, two school-age children
2	61	Stepping away from being a CEO	51	Licenciate	Married, grown-up child
3	51	Head of department	28	Master's degree	Married, three grown-up children
4	40	Purchasing manager	14	Master's degree	Married, two school-age children
5	48	Regional manager	less 20	PhD	Married, two teenage children
6	53	Has own company; Senior consultant	31	PhD	Married, six grown-up children
7	49	CEO	25	Master's degree	Co-habiting, two grown-up children
8	39	Head of department	11	Master's degree	Married, two school-age children
9	37	Manager	11	PhD	Married, three school-age children
10	60	Manager	41	Master's degree	Married, grown-up children
11	49	Has own company; on the board of various other companies	27	Master's degree	Re-married, three adult children
12	53	Head of HR development	29	Master's degree	Divorced and remarried, grown-up children
13	60	Public sector office manager	over 30	Master's degree	Married, grown up children
14	52	Chairman of the board	34	MBA	Married, grown-up children
15	42	CEO of own company	23	Master's degree	Married, a new-born baby
16	51	Human resources manager	26	Master's degree	Married, two teenage chldren
17	39	Hotel manager	17	MBA	Married, two children in elementary school
18	57	Country manager	32	Master's degree	Married, one grown-up child
19	42	Owner and manager of own company	21	Master's degree	Married, one toddler
20	44	Owner and manager, has had various companies of his own	25	MBA	Married, three grown-up children
21	52	Development manager	29	Master's degree	Married, two teenage children
22	53	CEO	27	Master's degree	Married, three children (mostly grown-up)
23	51	Head of Product Solutions	25	Master's degree	Married, two grown-up children
24	59	CEO	36	Master's degree	Married, four grown-up children
25	59	Quality and development manager	43	No information	Married, three grown -up children
26	41	CEO, about to step down	22	Master's degree	Married, two children in elementary school
27	43	Divisional manager	18	PhD	Married, two children in elementary school
28	55	Managing director and entrepreneur	29	Vocational training, executive training	Married, two grown-up children
29	54	CEO	29	Master's degree	Re-married, two grown-up children

Table 2. The forms of (non-)spousal support

Form of spousal support	Target of support	Spouse's support behaviors
Psychosocial support	Men managers as individuals: support contributes to career indirectly.	Wife's support behavior is presented as being both explicit and tacit, meaning that the spouse discusses with and listens to the man and helps him to relax and not overwork.
Running the household	Men managers' family and household: support contributes to career indirectly.	Wife's support behavior is presented as practical and manual: the spouse takes care of the children and the household.
Career assistance	Men managers' career: support contributes to career directly.	Wife's support behavior is constructed as practical career support, such as being present at work-related social events and reading and commenting on speeches and texts or helping with some area of managerial expertise.
Negative expectations	Men managers feel negative pressures to meet their wife's expectations concerning career or family life.	Negative expectations behavior is constructed as the wife having certain expectations in terms of the husband's economic success, or criticizing him for not sharing in housework and childcare.

Table 3. Narratives of evolving spousal support in course of men managers' careers

Name of narratives	Spousal support and gender relations	Content of the narrative	Story line
Negotiated spousal support	Spousal support is experienced as a result of negotiation and mutual adjustments. The gender relation between the manager and his wife is constructed as rather equal, following an equal gender order pattern which enables involvement in work and family life for both genders.	All forms of support from the wife are narrated as being available, but the manager and his wife are both flexible and willing to adjust.	Romance
Enriching spousal support	Spousal support is experienced as enriching and deepening. The gender relation between the spouses is constructed as following the traditional family model. Not until the children have grown up is the wife's support constructed as turning into psychosocial support behavior, which maintains/reinforces the traditional gender order pattern.	Spousal support means first, running the household, then psychosocial support behavior. An important trigger for this change is the children growing up.	'Happily-ever-after'
Declining spousal support	Spousal support is experienced as declining and the gender relation between the spouses is constructed as moving from equal to more traditional gender order patterns.	Spousal support is narrated as evolving from psychosocial support to running the household. Some negative expectations are narrated in recent experience.	Tragedy