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"Women in Groups Can Help Each and Learn from Each Other?": The Role of Homosocial Practices within Women's Social Networks in Building Local Gender Contract

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Abstract

Feminist scholars struggle to articulate gender relations in different contexts. Using the concept of local gender contract – a place specific agreement of gender relations, we explore how women's networks challenge or shift gender contracts in their communities. Based on two empirical case studies of women´s groups from Eastern Africa and Thai migrants in Sweden, we show gender contracts are challenged through women's homosocial activities. We highlight tensions between gender contracts and the women's goals revealing a complicated process of assent and resistance. This study expands gender contract theoretically and provides a way to understand vulnerable women's activities.

Keywords: local gender contract, homosociality, women's social networks, East Africa, Thai migrants, Sweden.

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"Las Mujeres en Grupos se Ayudan y Aprenden entre Ellas": El Papel de las Prácticas Homosociales de Construir Contratos Locales de Género en las Redes Sociales de Mujeres

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Resumen

Las académicas feministas tienen dificultades en articular las relaciones de género en diferentes contextos. Utilizando el concepto de contracto local de género – un acuerdo de relaciones de género especifico a un lugar, analizamos como los grupos de mujeres desafían o cambian los contractos en sus comunidades. Basado en dos casos de estudio de grupos de mujeres en África del Este y de mujeres tailandesas en Suecia, demostramos que los contractos de género han sido desafiados a través de las actividades homosociales de las mujeres. Resaltamos las tensiones entre los géneros y los objetivos de las mujeres revelando un proceso complicado de acuerdo y resistencia. El estudio amplía de forma teórica el concepto de contracto de género y presenta una manera de analizar las actividades de las mujeres vulnerables.

Palabras clave: contrato local de género, homosocialidad, redes sociales femeninas, África de Este, inmigrantes tailandesas, Suecia

O n a dark cold windy November night in Stockholm, Thai women gather from across the city to celebrate Loy Kratong, the Thai festival of light. A Thai community organization has rented a hall to celebrate the event and share their community with family and friends. The event is open to all and approximately 100 people mill inside and outside the facility. The hall is organized in long tables to allow large groups to share meals while watching a showcase of Thai cultural events; dancing, boxing, among others performed on a stage. The highlight of the evening is a beauty pageant where ten women compete for the title. The event is interspersed throughout the other performances of the evening. The women are dressed beautifully in traditional Thai clothing, their hair is coiffed and their movements are graceful. They move across the stages elegantly and 'wai' the audience in a feminine and graceful manner. The audience, primarily Swedish men clap and cheer for their favorite women. They buy roses, at 5 kronor (0.6 USD) a piece, to cast their votes towards the winner. The MC, a Thai man, brings humor to the evening by pretending to be a contestant as well – as elegant as any of the woman on stage despite his well-fitted suit. The music is loud and the mood is festive! Friends and families are gathered to eat while gossip is exchanged. Events like these are not uncommon within the Thai communities. Many groups gather to raise money for such causes across the country by having such events.

In a small town, a few hours from Stockholm, a similar group of Thai women gather together to raise money to build a temple. For them, the nearest temple is at least three hours away by car. Their need for the temple is highlighted in particular this evening. A dear friend has passed away of cancer, the first Thai women to die in the community, one woman told author 1. We want a temple to celebrate her life, and we do not want to have to have the funeral party in a shop, she went on to explain. The shop with its bright orange walls is a sharp contrast to the importance of this event. The women are happy to come together to honour their friend. They each bring dishes and set up a large and generous buffet. The women sit bare- footed and listen to the monks, who were driven to the small city by a network of volunteer as they chant sitting under large pictures of the store's products. There is sad and happy conversation all around. Outside the shop, approximately 10 -20 Swedish men chat and smoke in the dark night. The

men stand separate from their wives' community and yet an integral part of the evening.

Meanwhile in East Africa, women gather on a Sunday afternoon for a *harambee,* a weekly meeting where they gather their savings and distribute it rotationally to a member of their group. It is 4 pm and as the typical breeze of the dry season is starting and the light is starting to dim, women, on their way back from the fields with their hoe on their backs and a small pouch with savings, gather in the backyard of Margaret´s house. This week she is the one assigned to receive the group contribution and she has invited everyone for a dinner of millet *ugali, sukuma wiki* (vegetables) and *chai.* As women greet each other, they are given a plate full of *uguali* and they sit on the mats placed on the ground outside Margaret´s mud house, Lydia, who has been elected secretary for this meeting, gathers money contributions and notes everyone´s name and the sum they have given. Their contribution can vary from 20 KSH (0.2 USD) to a maximum of 50 KSH (0.5 USD). During the dinner Margaret´s explains that the money will go to pay the school fees of her son who is in secondary school. Margaret´s husband is not supporting her, so she covers school fees are paid through *harambees,* and through petty trading of vegetables from her plot.

From the outset these stories, set in very different contexts, seem to have very little in common and appear to be worlds away from each other apart from shared patriarchal structures. Yet, they are similar in as both show how groups of women come together to achieve goals that they need as individuals and as communities. One way to understand these groups and their relationship to the social structures is through gender contract theory, a system of rules and regulations guiding gender relations. Local gender contract theory links gendered power relations, place and daily practices yet it remains unclear how individuals, working collectively, can ease the tensions of gendered power relations. We ask the question: How do groups of women challenge gender contracts? And how we can understand women´s groups as a means to explore how women create or sustain gender contacts?

Using two case studies, this paper argues that gender contract is useful to understand tensions within gender studies regarding individual autonomy and social structures. By examining homosocial groups, we distance ourselves from unequal power relations between the genders and instead

examine the ways in which women engage with gendered activities in order to achieve changes for the communities and hence within the gender contracts. We show gender contracts both serve an important purpose in women's resistance and provide a framework for subtle and complicated shifting of gender practices over time and through flexibility. Our examples reveal how a gender contract lens brings to light the context of locality in order to understand tensions between individual and collective women's experience.   Finally, by revisiting gender contracts we contribute to understanding the role of temporalities, localities and maneuverability when analyzing gender power relations.

Background to Our Case Studies

Ethnographic data was gathered through qualitative methods stemming from two empirically different projects. Despite stark differences in our project aims and geographies, we discovered each project empirically informed a shared theoretical backdrop. In this sense, we emphasize the importance of locality in generating different kinds of gender contracts, yet, through the difference of locality – East Africa and Sweden – we can see shared characteristics of producing gender contracts. Despite vast differences in context, both groups of women were vulnerable, oppressed and stigmatized. In response to these conditions, women gathered and worked together to gain leverage to renegotiate the imbalanced local gender contracts that shaped their daily lives. The purpose of these case studies is not to provide an in-depth account of gender contracts in each of these locations; rather they are used as a springboard to concretize our theoretical exploration of how homosocial groups contribute to understanding the concept of gender contracts.

   In Kenya and Tanzania Martina Angela Caretta carried out circa 100 in-depth interviews with both men and women and 25 focus groups with the help of local assistants (for a more in-depth analysis see Caretta, 2015a) during a total of nine months resident fieldwork. Ethnographic material was transcribed and categorized according to the four analytical variables of locality, negotiation and power. This project comes from a larger interdisciplinary project focuses on irrigation practices.

In Sweden, Natasha Webster completed 16 narrative interviews with Thai migrant women. Interviews often coincided with daily activities, cooking together or attending social events. She conducted participant observation in community and cultural events hosted in different locations in Sweden. Interviews took place with other stakeholders in Sweden such as religious leaders. Material is drawn from transcribed interviews, field notes and observations. This research was part of a larger project focused on rural migration.

Women's Harambee in East Africa

Since 2010 M. has been carrying out research on gender and environmental issues in East Africa. Her research explicitly focuses on how women´s microcredit groups actively adapt to climate variability (Caretta and Börjeson, 2015), while carrying out her current research in Kenya and Tanzania, she observed women groups engaging in shared activities: saving, self-help, mutual support in agriculture, traditional dance and beading of decorations. Traditional networks of mutual support have long been present in Sub Saharan Africa. They function as safety nets in times of emergency – burial, hospitalization or school fees payment. During the 1970s and 1980s, they grew in number fuelled by the *Harambee* ideology (Johnson, 2004). Literally "pulling together" in Swahili, *Harambee* refers to a call for communal work which any member of the community can make whenever in need of assistance.

While widely spread throughout East Africa, it could be said that these networks are particularly crucial for women living in the sites that M. studied. Several communities in the dry-lands of East Africa would not be able to survive without the historical irrigation systems that have been dug by local groups in the last 400 years at least (Tagseth, 2008). In several of these communities women are excluded from the praxis and the management surrounding these systems (Caretta, 2015a). They are considered dirty because of their periods and cannot touch water to irrigate or are not allowed to partake in meetings deciding how water should be allocated. Water control is an expression of masculinity which hinders women´s access to resources, especially if they are widows or their husbands is absent. Often they might find themselves in the situation where they have to pay a man to

be able to keep their crops from dry up and dying putting in jeopardy the wellbeing of their children (Caretta and Börjeson, 2015). Through these activities, *Harambees* are truly a life saver for women.

In this remote community in the Kenyan dry-lands the local livelihood is completely dependent on the gravitational irrigational system that has existed at least for the last 400 years. Women have ever since been excluded from the management of this irrigation system and are not allowed to water fields as local taboo has it that they will poison the water.   Women´s situation is not however one of pure subordination. They resist to these ties of dominance. Harambees are one means to achieve this. By saving money women can administer personally the sum of money they get and hence they can gain a certain level of independence from their husbands. Most importantly, those women who are alone can afford to pay a man to water their plots for them. Women and men are greatly interdependent. Men are in control of water, but women are responsible for subsistence farming and for the whole reproductive work require to sustaining a small farming community.

Local languages define Harambee with different terms: *embesi* for the Maasais of Tanzania and *ēēruun* – cooperation among neighbors – or *sukōōm* – between women when one in the family delivers- among the Marakwets of Kenya. When money saving is involved, this practice is called *eng´ibati* among the Maasais of Tanzania and either *chepkormen* (literally "something you put in your pocket to be used later") or *cherutoyo* (literally "visiting one another" – as meeting take place in different people´s home every week) among the Marakwets of Kenya.

Homosociality materializes through savings and collective work carried out in the fields during sowing, weeding and harvesting. By working together in the field women carry out tasks more quickly than alone, thus ensuring each other´s families' food security. *Harambees* that support money collection for an emergency are defined as *Merry Go Round* to signify that happiness and opportunities rotate among members. These rotating saving and credit associations meet monthly or weekly to gather and distribute funds on a rotational basis. During fieldwork in the Rift Valley of Kenya, M. was invited several times to take part in women´s *Harambees*, which appear to be more prevalent than men´s, indicating the influence of a local gender contract. In fact, it is socially acceptable for men to travel to

urban centers; they can more easily access formal financial institutions and so do not need to form informal saving groups. *Harambees* are called once a month on a Sunday afternoon – the only free time of the week –by women spreading the word while in the fields.

Harambees, as a homosocial practice, are the bricks through which local gender contracts are built. They are joint enterprises for collective action which share the vision of improving their individual and their families´ livelihood through a joint routine of saving and farming (see also Singh 2015, Andersson and Gabrielsson, 2012; Anyidoho, 2010). Labor pooling is at the basis of intergenerational learning. While sowing, weeding and harvesting, older women share knowledge with younger women. This happens while men work in groups to repair and maintain the irrigation systems, which is a clear indication of the interdependence among genders and the character of the local gender contract. Self-organized saving groups are a learning opportunity for women who cover different administrative roles within these groups as secretary, treasurer or head whose responsibility is to keep track of attendance, to gather money and to summon meetings.

Migrant Thai Women Networks in Sweden

Approximately 26 000 Thai-born people live in Sweden of which 80% of these are women; most are marriage migrants; thus the group is geographically dispersed across the country (Webster and Haandrikman, 2016). While this trend sets the Thai community apart from other immigrant groups in Sweden; it is not an unusual trend globally. In the United Kingdom, the majority of new British citizens from Thailand arrived due to intermarriage (Mai Sims, 2012). Thus, Thai migration to western countries as a feminized and heterosexualized flow can be understood as a type of global gender contract (for more see Parreñas, 2011; Piper and Roces, 2003).

Buddhism remains a widely practiced religion in Thailand. Several Buddhist Thai temples are peppered throughout Sweden but the distances between them are great. Buddhism and temple life are a central part of daily activities for many of the women who migrate to Sweden and this geographic challenge has led to the formation of social networks in order to fulfill spiritual and social gaps. As Simla explains "We need monk or temple

too, so we make *Tak baat* (merit) or donate for next life, that is what we believe in" (14th October 2011).

Temples provide religious support and disseminate information from the Thai embassy in Stockholm; for example, information on Swedish migration laws, social services and even in some circumstances temples become ad hoc women's shelters for those escaping domestic violence (Interview with religious leader; September 21 2011). Malee, whose Swedish husband died suddenly found herself without money or supports in Sweden; it was an existing temple she turned to, she explains the importance of community resource:

> And I is too tired. I have no power. The thing is, [I] just want to throw everything away. I don't want anything. So I have to stay in temple …I lived in temple to make everything away, cool down a little bit. (13th May 2013).

The demand and need for the support a temple provides cannot be underestimated. However, without formal implementation directives from Thailand, Thai migrants must create and build these resources themselves and by doing so engage in their local gender contracts created through their migration story. Due to the gendered character of Thai migration to Sweden, women's networks inherently address issues specific to women's lives in Sweden.

In one region, an informal organization was formed to initiate a temple and, in the meantime, provide a space (a small rented room) for spiritual needs. This group provides a forum for regular interactions through meetings for meditation as well as problem solving, sharing experiences and providing integration support. In more established Thai migrant communities in Sweden, for example in urban areas, more formalized cultural groups work to raise funds and supports temples. Fundraising activities are generally homosocial activities which are mobilized through gendered practices. Women raise funds aligned with their needs for example a future temple in the future or a forum for their children to practice Thai culture. Through these activities, new migrants learn from more established migrants representing belonging and a new type of intergeneration learning where more experienced migrants teach new arrivals. Women's networks play a central role in helping women adapt to life in Sweden. They are become

forums for challenging and maintaining gender contracts through homosocial practices. This case highlights the complexity tensions within community and marriage norms.

Local Gender Contract

Gender is a social structure created in and by society, which has both controlling and transformative effects on individuals (Risman, 2004). Feminists, across disciplines and locations, have struggled with understanding how gender relations can be understood universally (Charrad, 2010; Maitra, 2013) Yet it is clear that within diverse social structures, women and men are entangled in complicated power relations. These dynamics, according to the Swedish historian Yvonne Hirdman (1991), can be analyzed through a gender system theory, which she calls the 'gender contract'. Gender contracts are a set of rules created and governed through conflict and cooperation at the societal level (Hirdman, 1991). These rules are not arbitrary as outlined here:

[Gender contract is a] pattern of implicit rules on mutual roles and responsibilities, on rights and obligations, and it defines how the social relations between women and men, between the genders and generations, and also between the social production and reproduction are organized in our societies (Raintalaiho and Heiskane, 1997, p.7)

Gender contracts are understood as a tacit agreement between the genders; it is a constructed process rooted in the materially of sexed bodies (Lindeborg, 2012). Gender contracts are performed and regulated by individuals in a society but they are not agreements made by two people – rather gender contract is a term given to the societal process of gender relations. The contract, despite it rigid sounding name, is the result of collective consent and resistance of gendered practices in both the productive and reproductive spheres. Homosocial practices reify the gender contract through practices within a same gender group.

Homosociality and negotiation are key to producing gender contracts between gender groups. Hegemonic masculinities persist through male homosociality which are relational to women and built upon their subordination (Bird, 1996). Hirdman argues men are perpetually shape the contract according to a gendered division of labor which leaves women in

the reproductive sphere, while men occupy the public and productive spheres. Male dominance in economic networks privileges masculine practices (Forsberg et al, 2012). Women are allowed into the productive sphere only when it facilitates men´s tasks and does not threaten their authority (Hirdman, 1991). Homosocial norms are a manifestation of an ordering process within society stemming from gendered norms (Lander, 2013). Thus, a contract regulating activities and gendered norms take shape and permeate throughout daily practices. Generally, gender contract theory has relied on the level of structural analysis of "institutional" (Forsberg, 2001, p.55) and "gender and generations" to explain how gender contracts are formed (Raintalaiho and Heiskane, 1997, p.7). Gender contract literature to date has relied on state to individual structures in order to identify gender contracts and to track how they change.

In more recent developments, gender contracts have been studied at the individual level for instance research regional variations of gender contract in Sweden (Forsberg, 2010) and local gender contracts in Norway (Grimsrud, 2011; Gerrard, 2011); housing conflicts in Southern Africa (Larsson and Schlyter, 1995); women´s self-help housing in Botswana (Kalabamu, 2005); the renegotiation of the LGC in Laos due to the rubber boom (Lindeborg, 2012), gender adaptive capacity to climate change in Kenya (Caretta and Börjeson, 2015) and landscape formation in East Africa (Caretta, 2015b).

By bringing the concept into geography, Forsberg (2010) shows gender contracts are specific to areas and are embedded to localities. A gender contract is dependent on a specific local cultural and resource setting and so Forsberg (2010) redefined the concept as a local gender contract (LGC). This conceptualization responds to earlier sociological questions on the role of gender in shaping and transforming society in relation to the element of space (i.e. Rose, 1993). A local gender contract is sensitive to the specific resources and practices in a given place and so addresses complexity of understanding gender relations across diverse geographies.

Forsberg states: *To study gender contracts is thus to: a) identify the sex/ gender distinctions in specific places, b) analyse the gendered actions of institutions and individuals, c) characterise the structure of power relations in the construction and maintenance of the contract as well as the resistance and tendencies to weaken the contract* (Forsberg, 2001, p. 55).

Thus, gender contracts are not universal; notwithstanding they share an embeddedness to their unique local context. Gender contracts emerge from shifting contexts and so are not static or immutable. Nonetheless, inequalities between the genders remain constant (albeit to different degrees depending on location) and significantly local gender contracts respond to changes and shifts in the local space. Gender contract, as opposed to other gender-related concepts such as `gender regime`(Nordenmark, 2013), `gender structure` (Risman, 2004), and `doing gender` (West and Zimmerman, 1987), assumes the modification of power dynamics stems from negotiation (Forsberg, 2010; Raintalaiho and Heiskane, 1997). All societies and social groups follow a set of spatially and socially tangible and temporally specific gender contracts. Given that the presence of gender contracts are universal (not the type of contract), understanding the processes of gender inter- and intra-relations from contrasting groups, like our case studies, may give unique insights to feminist scholars.

However, questions of how to operationalize gender contracts remains a strong critique of the concept. Identifying negotiation and understanding the process of gender contract formation is a theoretical challenge. The repertoire of strategies for resistance and manipulation of contracts is under discussed (Gemzöe, 2002). An emerging body of work (Forsberg and Lindgren, 2015; Forsberg et al, 2012) shows gender contracts are present in regional homosocial networks. However, there remains a need to understand how homosocial groups create, resist and/or renegotiate gender contracts in small groups. Additionally, the link between spaces and places and adoption, adaption and resistance to gender contract is in need of further explanation. We use our cases to explore how homosocial practices are an important part of the production of gender contracts, something previously not explored in depth.

Discussion

Having presented the backdrops to our research projects, we now turn to exploring the ways in which gender contracts can offer a new lens to understanding gender relations.

Temporality

Normally LCG is analyzed from a structural perspective and is, one could argue, outcome oriented. LGC are grounded on the idea of negotiation between genders as a way to move from one local gender contract to another one. However, when we turn to looking at small community homosocial groups, a shift in perspective reveals that gender contracts are continuously challenged on different temporal scales. Certainly the literature on gender contracts suggests change is occurring but because of its large reliance on structural outcomes, for example labour participation, the process of negotiation is missing from the analysis of changing gender relations within women's groups. The case studies take on a different time-scale to gender contracts which highlight the tensions found in everyday gender relations. Thus, while gender contracts are agreed upon as a social structure, different individuals respond to these challenges in a variety of ways.

Our case studies reveal that shifts in gender contracts are a slow process with small scale wins (and losses) accumulating over time (Leira, 2002). For example, as a Thai shelter, temples provide supports in a context that is comforting to women yet systematic violence and abuse remains (Fernbrant et al, 2014). Negotiations are not necessarily associated with substantial marked changes in gendered power structures as they are manifested through small changes found in the working arrangements of everyday practices (Webster, 2016). Instigated by small negotiations at the family level, which in turn influence societal working arrangements, overtime these negotiations yield changes in the shared understanding of femininity and masculinity and so new gender contracts emerge (Caretta and Börjeson, 2015; Hirdman, 1990). Group dynamics can create a safe place for practicing negotiations and even testing new forms of engaging in gender power relations before applying to the broader social structures. There is a temporal aspect to these changes as they are marked over time. Shifts in meaning and practice take time. By incorporating a time aspect it is easier to see how tensions in gender contracts are acute in different stages of the life course, for example post-migration or seasonally such as during the harvest.

In Marakwet, Kenya, women´s tasks in farming and their participation in traditional celebrations– weddings, burials and circumcisions- are mediated through local communities of practices, all of which are time-based in an

individual's life course. Women´s identity is tightly related with their membership in these joint enterprises, and specific time life events – e.g. circumcision, childbirth - as they learn from other members and can count on each other for assistance. "W*omen in groups can help each other on how to bring up small children and women learn from each other about health and small business, for instance"* (Lilian, 25th August 2013). These groups embody their role as mothers, food producers and homemakers. Women decide autonomously from men how to manage their farming practices, how to ensure the irrigation of their plot when a man is not around, and the arrangements of saving groups. Women participating in saving groups and labor pooling during harvest time, a seasonal time scale, discuss how to sell their maize and black beans and how to generate profit from reselling sugar and tomatoes. Thus, their identity is materialized by their membership through learning in timed joint enterprises for collective action (see also Andersson and Gabrielsson, 2012). While this is a clear example of learning and of how identity is negotiated and reinforced through the groups, such instances are less common among the Maasais of Tanzania than the Marakwets of Kenya. Group members in Tanzania in fact mention that:*"Whenever our husbands have money they use them to drink. Having or not having a husband is the same thing: they just want to be fed. And we use the money we get from the group also to feed them in order not to be beaten when there is no food"* (Alice, 28th August 2013).

Alice's quote suggests that the group dynamic supports planning for difficult times as well. Creating social security for each other within the group is a temporal response to difficulties with the existing gender contract. Nevertheless, group membership does not necessarily equate to gaining bargaining power more broadly in society, quite the contrary it equates with maintaining the current standing of gender relations. Thus, the positive and empowering connotations implicitly attached to group dynamics and social networks should not be overestimated, as groups can be grounded on conservative practices and hinder change from happening but still are very important in addressing needs at specific life events. Women, in fact, are not only in a subordinated position, but they participate in the group not to challenge their unjust condition, but rather to avoid further conflict while creating shifts to these conditions in a long-term perspective.

Thai migrant groups raise funds by hosting an annual festival which includes a beauty pageant, Thai dancing, Thai boxing and various other traditional skills. This draws on individual bodily resources instead of material goods. Participants in the contests, separated by age groups, are the local women and their children who wear traditional Thai clothing. Preparation for the event is festive with formal hairstyles and makeup provided by friends and family. One woman interviewed, Mai, even subsidizes her yearly income by sewing Thai costumes locally for girls and women participants (13th October 2011). Swedish husbands and extended Swedish families makeup the majority of the audiences attending these events. In Stockholm, women present themselves as feminine, graceful, and respectful:

> The woman did some dancing and "wai" ed [sic] the audience. They stood and walked and posed at the center of the stage. Then the women lined up at the front of the stage and received roses. The woman who received the most roses would win this section of the contest. Roses were available for purchase and cost 5 kr each(<1 USD). (field notes, November 2014)

As shown in earlier literature (e.g. Singh, 2015; Mayoux, 2001), women participate in saving groups or fundraising groups as long as it does not challenge the gender structure of their household but it does imply changes throughout a temporal scale – both for life events and through the life course. Volunteer work is at the heart of the strategies employed by the migrant homosocial groups drive by community need and collective responsibility. Limited resources in Sweden drive negotiations over strategies for achieving goals and outcomes for Thai migrants who wish to build a community temple. This is a long-term goal with a view to building a sustained community in Sweden, where women can access resources needed by the community at different stages in their migration stories. Swedish state funding is not an option for this community group and there are few funds available from Thailand to build or maintain temples. Importantly, Thai women migrants generally do not have significant disposable income and what is available is often sent to Thailand in the form of remittances which are dedicated to a long-term family/household strategy (Angeles and Sunanta, 2009). Consequently, Thai women need to raise the funds

themselves locally to set up and maintain a charity through their volunteer labor. Donations and charitable contributions of clothes, rooms, medicines et cetera are routinely organized through the temple building group. As migrant women their ability to mobilize more formal channels of income generation are limited and so their volunteer labour is indicative of gendered practices which privilege male networks in formal economic sectors (Forsberg and Lindgren, 2015).

Fundraising is aligned with community and identity building where activities provide an arena to negotiate meaning of what it means to be Thai in Sweden. These homosocial practices represent an important process of norm-making whereby gender and ethnicity which are mobilized and performed by the group. Identity can be understood as a flexible gendered relation. Representations of Thai culture are carefully negotiates, selected and presented by the participants. The role of Swedish men evaluating their Thai wives and girl children is further evidence of the defining roles of male homosociality. Thus it is shown that gender is negotiated within homosocial groups but structure of negotiation is shaped by patriarchal norms. The event, itself, is a short moment in the negotiation where particular gendered performances of gender contracts are enhanced and performed. The beauty pageant implies an ideal type of gender contract which differs from day-to-day gendered activities yet it is mobilized in homosocial settings. The beauty pageant indicates a temporal relation to the performed and daily gender contract whereby simultaneous engagement and contradiction of gender, ethnicity and age are utilized.

The group dynamics highlight the importance of different time scales, in lived and age time, in understanding gender contracts. In the case of Kenya, learning happens on an intergenerational basis: older experienced women pass on to young brides their agricultural knowledge. In the case of rural Sweden, established Thai migrants help introduce new migrants to community norms. While Hirdman (1991) claims gender contract has an age dimension, no author so far has explored this aspect in -depth. We find an attentive homosocial analysis can contribute to deepen the understanding of the age (or intergenerational) variable within LGC. While age is an important indicator of status in Thai culture, in this locality, LGC negotiations are aligned with the migration event creating a unique perspective on intergenerational learning. Children performing their dances

are an important part of inter-generational learning and group activity creates a quasi-public space for their children to learn these collective norms despite being far removed from Thailand. Experience comes from time spent in Sweden and not age. Yet the principle of passing on knowledge applies accordingly.

While analysis of LGC have often brought to light how renegotiation in individual gender contracts influenced the overall societal contract, exploring small groups unwinds how women re-negotiate LGC within their own context. In particular, the Thai migrant community reveals how the mobility of identities creates room for new forms of negotiation based on different cues from the dominant social structure. It is clear the aforementioned group dynamics do not lead to substantial social change as both examples show how gender contracts are maintained despite group activities. Nonetheless, learning processes in the group could be seen as trials for larger scale negotiation. Through homosocial practices women find strength in each other and the varying time-scales is utilized to challenge unequal power relations.

Maneuverability

Studying local gender contracts at the community and group level reveals that negotiation is a complicated and flexible process. We show negotiation is flexible both in terms of time but as it relates to power. Women are required to be flexible in relation to the power structure sometimes yielding to the gender norms, as seen through the pageant, and at other times, openly resisting power structures. This implies that the gender contract is constantly negotiated through flexible and elastic interpretations of rules and regulations.

While *Harambees* are loosely regulated, rotating saving and credit associations are common among women and require consistency and commitment. In fact, Kenyan members are fined for their absence and excluded from the group after a certain number of absences without justification. In this sense these groups are characterized by horizontal accountability; women value these networks for the strong bond of reciprocal trust that is created among them (Singh, 2015).

In Marakwet, Kenya, men inform women groups´ leaders of cleared plots that are ready to be sown or of upcoming celebrations where women should perform traditional dances. Informing women is a manifestation of men´s homosociality and thus of power relations. In Engaruka, Tanzania, women state: "*You will not ask ladies to help you in your field because the crops belong to your man and you will not gain anything from it*" (Anita, 26th August 2013). This statement highlights the subordination of Maasai women throughout their life course: first by their fathers who prioritize marriage over education and then, by their husbands' expectations of bearing several children while also carrying out agriculture (see Archambault, 2011). Women´s constricted initiative reflects a male driven *modus operandi* both within the household and in agriculture. Yet, women report that husband's support them being part of a women´s group because *"they know one way or the other that they will get some advantage"* (Ella, 29th August 2013). This statement is a testimony to men´s homosociality: letting women participate to groups´ savings and activities to profit from them (see also Mayoux, 2001). On the other hand, water, the most important productive resource is in the hands of men, practically stopping women from enhancing their group activities.

Women in strongly patriarchal societies, such as Kenya or Tanzania, do not have the same status as men and may lack self-confidence and group management skills. Women's life conditions are dictated by the decisions taken by their fathers. Recently, in some cases, girls have been allowed to attend school instead of marrying between the age of 12 and 16 (see also Archambault, 2011) indicating maneuverability within gender contracts. The objectification of women, finds Bird (1996), to be a key practice in maintaining hegemonic masculinities. This can be seen in the Swedish example as well, where patriarchal practices direct the actions undertaken within a group.

Thai migrants work together to build a temple, a long-view goal, which will serve spiritual needs as well as practical supports for an established migrant community. The temple, in many ways, represents a way to build and coalesce power for the women. Existing temples serve many roles to Thai migrants beyond spiritual guidance; they serve as community centres, language schools, legal and visa support and even as shelters for women fleeing from domestic violence. The women, who are working towards

building temples, are willing to use the skills and resources that are readily at their disposal. Their own bodies, as sexualized and feminized bodies, are one way to achieve these goals. However, at the same time, the practices and resources required to achieve this goal reinforces LGC through dominance and subordination of the material female body to the male audience. Beauty pageants, women presented for appreciation, and masculinity, to gaze upon and evaluate, harkens back to traditional gender contracts. Vertical gender hierarchies create maintain power relations within LGC. Yet within the group, gendered femininities are negotiated horizontally to create a long-term benefit that creates benefits beyond the current community. The beauty pageant is on one hand a serious endeavor while the other, a chance to laugh and mock gender roles. This interplay between humor and earnest gender performances highlight the flexibility of gendered social structures. It is humorous because everyone in the audience recognizes the arrangements of a gender contract and yet the performative character of resistance is vital.

   Group activities highlight the way horizontal and vertical powers relations are flexible concepts with a temporal perspective. Negotiation with a gender contract, then, may be focused on creating change that does not necessarily benefit the individual but rather creates a sphere for future negotiation. By working towards a temple, women engage with their current resources with the hope of a better future for their children and/or other future migrants. By having a resource in place for future migrants could shift the power dynamics for both individuals newly arriving in Sweden as well as for the whole community. Flexibility in articulating or using power is present throughout the event. Certainly, events such as these may expose unresolved hotspots in local Swedish gender relations (Mattsson and Pettersson, 2007). These events define and legitimize specific LGCs where "exotic" beauty, materialized in bodily performance, is displayed for consumption by the dominant male homosocial group. It raises questions about how men negotiate gender contracts as well. Through their support of the event they sustain the current contract but the gaze of male dominance could shift within the new local context of a community with resource. By examining the role of women's collective work and response to their needs it is important to explore the notion of flexible power; one that shifts in time and context. Certainly, it would be easy to assume patriarchy has set the

framework for an event such as these but the homosocial practices reveal a more complicated relationship between gendered power relations.

Accordingly, LGC can contribute to a deeper understanding of power and especially vertical accountability within a group dynamic. Working with different scales of temporality and flexible power, homosocial practices become an important way to understand how gender contracts are constructed. Group dynamics created gendered systems of belongings which appear to be important to maintaining LGC structures. The group and community dimensions were briefly mentioned by Hirdman (1990) and tentatively studied by Caretta and Börjeson (2015), but never operationalized in the analysis of gender contract.

Conclusion

This paper brings forth an empirically-grounded discussion of gender contracts. By interpreting disparate case studies we have sought to advance the understanding of negotiating and constructing local gender contracts as they are formed in homosocial groups in relation to patriarchal systems. Local gender contract, as seen at the homosocial level, highlight the temporal and flexible aspects of power in gendered social structures. This helps to address challenges faced by feminist scholars to articulate gender relations in diverse setting (e.g. Charrad, 2010; Maitra, 2013). The experiences of Thai migrants and East African farmers do not share a common context, but they do share temporalities and flexibilities in their responses against patriarchal structures. By building upon the concept of local gender contracts through homosocial practices, this paper asserts the importance of gender sensitive analysis of local social networks in order to explore a more nuanced and localized understanding of processes of power. Our intention with this paper is to stretch the concept of gender contract in order to better understand the interlock between gender practices and social networks.

Local gender contract allows us to reflect on the nature of women's work. It is volunteer and invisible work but does not necessarily stem from altruism (Stowe, 2013). These women help each other in the fields and cook food for monks -classical examples of economies of care (see Razavi, 2007) - but do so with very specific aims. Again here, analyzing these common

enterprises solely through the lens of social structures would not elucidate their intrinsic gendered nature nor highlight the gains and motivations behind collective work. The gendered nature of this trend attests to the strength of LGC in forming modes of belonging and exclusion where gender is regulated through horizontal accountability. Thus homosocial work practices can be seen as part of the formation of gender contracts and not merely a result of existing gender contracts. This is a significant addition to gender contract theory by opening the sphere of contract negotiation to women-led activities.

Group dynamics and the results of shared learning are fully contingent upon local social structures. Our study stands in contrast to Hirdman, gender contracts are produced and used to create power relations within women's groups in opposition to men. Our results show a more subtle understanding to gender contract as a means of negotiation amongst women as well. Thus, to operationalize gender contract applicable in other contexts, we suggest the further exploration of community level groups to study how gender contracts, rooted in specific spatialities shift and change, according to the need of individuals. . For example, by identifying what can or cannot be challenged within a social groups reveals the intricacies of negotiation between these concepts

In this article we show how the actions of the individual, and in turn, of the group, are shaped by the underlying local gender and power norms. Accordingly, we discuss how power is manifested and challenged through small-scale practices by individuals (within the group context) in terms of temporal and flexible changes. The group routines women engage with do not necessarily counteract male homosociality: women remain in a subordinate position. Men are not the focus of our examples yet they remain important in how women may conceive their gender roles and shift power relations. Men are active participants, through their homosocial hegemonies, which shape the ways in which women maneuver and strategize over time. Instead, this type of analysis allows us to explore how women, working together, create opportunities to meet their needs within patriarchy and in opposition to it. Women in Kenya, for instance, could monetarily contribute to the household budget and hence decide on how it could be employed. Thai women are working to build a temple, a shared community resource,

which may, in time, decrease their dependence on husbands for local information.

The broader implications of this study are relevant to vulnerable populations like migrants and women in the global south where sensitivity to their lives is required. These conceptual understandings emphasize power maneuvers of small changes overtime. Together these concepts may be better equipped to challenge hegemony discourses on the role of women in society by highlighting and demanding attention to the role played by women´s social networks in encouraging women´s agency in daily life.

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"I Find that What I Do Is at Total Odds..."
Holistic Wellness in a Woman Leader Working in a Male-dominated Engineering Profession

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"I Find that What I Do Is at Total Odds..."
Holistic Wellness in a Woman Leader Working in a Male-dominated Engineering Profession

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Abstract

To explore holistic wellness in depth, single, longitudinal case studies are needed. This article explores the holistic wellness of a woman leader in the male-dominated profession of Engineering, based on the holistic wellness model (HWM). It focuses on the question of how holistic wellness is constructed by this extraordinary individual working in the challenging Australian Engineering field.

The study is grounded in Dilthey's modern hermeneutics and applies a single case study design, using an in-depth interview, conversations on a regular basis and observation over a period of 18 months.

Findings show that this woman leader, working in the male-dominated, global Australian Engineering profession, builds her holistic wellness on life tasks (work and leisure, self-direction, spirituality, friendship and love) and life forces (family, religion, community and business and industry) which are part of the holistic wellness model. Life tasks and life forces support her as she tackles challenges in life, and provide her with the coping mechanisms she needs, as a woman leader in Engineering.

Keywords: holistic wellness model, woman leader, male-dominated profession, Engineering, Australia, Dilthey's modern hermeneutics

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"Me Parece que lo que Hago Es por Probabilidad Total..." Holística del Bienestar en una Mujer Líder que Trabaja en una Profesión de Ingeniería Dominada por Los Hombres

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Resumen

Para explorar la holística del bienestar en profundidad, son necesarios estudios de caso longitudinales individuales. Este artículo explora la holística del bienestar de una mujer líder en la profesión dominada por los hombres de Ingeniería, basado en el modelo holístico del bienestar (HWM). Se centra en la cuestión de cómo la salud holística se construye mediante esta extraordinaria persona que trabaja en el campo desafiante de la Ingeniería en Australia.

El estudio se basa en la hermenéutica moderna de Dilthey y se aplica un sólo diseño de estudio de caso, utilizando una entrevista en profundidad, conversaciones regulares y la observación durante un período de 18 meses. Los resultados muestran que esta mujer líder, que trabaja en la profesión de la ingeniería australiana mundial dominada por los hombres, construye su bienestar integral en tareas de la vida (trabajo y ocio, autodirección, espiritualidad, amistad y amor) y fuerzas vitales (familia, religión, comunidad y los negocios y la industria), que son parte del modelo de bienestar integral. Tareas de la vida y las fuerzas vitales la apoyan mientras se fuerza a retos en la vida, y la dotan de los mecanismos de adaptación que necesita como una mujer líder en Ingeniería.

Palabras clave: modelo holístico de bienestar, mujer líder, profesión dominada por hombres, ingeniería, Australia, hermenéutica moderna de Dilthey

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Wellness is defined as a continuous movement to optimal functioning which is connected to self-responsibility and motivation (Roscoe, 2009). Myers (2009) points out that the holistic approach in wellness research includes the integration of physical, psychological and spiritual aspects and thereby focuses on the body, mind and spirit connection. Research on holistic wellness from a positive psychology perspective has generally gained interest since the 1950s (Coetzee & Viviers, 2007; Roscoe, 2009; Strümpfer, 2005) and has become a field of research in organisational psychology, leadership and management research (Mayer 2011; Mayer & Van Zyl, 2013).

Leadership research has recently started to explore the role of women leaders in global leadership contexts (Bangilhoe & White, 2011; Carli & Eagly, 1999; Gouws, 2008). Particular interest is shown in the progress of women leaders in senior management positions in male-dominated professions (Eagly, 2007; Martin & Barnard, 2013). Research shows that Engineering is one of the most male-dominated professions globally. This is particularly true of the Engineering field in Australia (Sharp, Franzway, Mills & Gill, 2012). Women working in male-dominated professions are particularly challenged (Kinnear, 2014, Rudman & Phelan, 2010; Sandberg, 2013, Toh & Leonardelli, 2012) by, for example, discriminatory practices or gender role stereotype behaviour (Du Plessis & Barkhuozen, 2012). It has been emphasised that this situation impacts on women's resilience (Martin & Barnard, 2013; Van Wyk, 2012). However, the question remains open: How do women leaders working in the Engineering profession stay well, whilst dealing with the complex challenges inherent to the profession?

Holistic Wellness

Wellness is a positive psychology construct that has been researched inter-disciplinarily with a holistic and integrative focus (Myers, 2009). Myers, Sweeney and Witmer (2000) define wellness as a:

> way of life orientation toward optimal health and wellbeing in which body, mind, and spirit are integrated by the individual to live more fully within the human and natural community. Ideally, it is the optimum state of health and wellbeing that each individual is capable of achieving.

The holistic wellness model (HWM) refers to the wholeness of individuals who belong to a dynamic socio-cultural context, and highlights life tasks, life forces and global events (Witmer, 2000).

Life tasks, life forces and global events

The HWM is based on five life tasks. These tasks include spirituality; self-direction (which consists of 12 sub-tasks, namely sense of worth; sense of control; realistic beliefs; emotional awareness and coping; problem solving and creativity; sense of humor; exercise; nutrition; self-care; stress management; gender identity; and cultural identity) (Myers & Sweeney, 2007); work and leisure; and friendship and love (Myers, Sweeney & Witmer, 2000). These life tasks interact dynamically with the life forces (defined as external influences), such as family, religion, education, community, government, media, and business/industry. Finally, global events such as disease, war, pollution, economic exploitation and/or poverty, are viewed as impacting on holistic wellness (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992, 1998). All components are seen as being interactive, interdependent and systemically connected. In the following section, brief definitions for an overview are provided.[1]

Witmer and Sweeney (1992) define spirituality as "certain life-enhancing beliefs about human dignity, human rights, and reverence for life." Spirituality is a health resource (Mayer, 2011; Mayer & Krause, 2013; Temane & Wissing, 2006) that creates meaningfulness in life (Mayer & Viviers, 2014) and can relate to the relationship with God.

Self-direction refers to the manner in which a person defines, regulates, manages and controls him/herself to achieve goals (Myers et al., 2000). It also relates to how social boundaries are constructed (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The twelve sub-tasks of self-direction include the following subcategories (Myers & Sweeney, 2008): (a) sense of worth, (b) sense of control, (c) realistic beliefs, (d) emotional awareness and coping, (e) problem-solving and creativity, (f) sense of humour, (g) nutrition, (h) exercise, (i) self-care, (j) stress management, (k) gender identity, and (l) cultural identity.

Both work and leisure include meaningful activities for the individual

and are defined as pleasurable intrinsic experiences (Myers et al., 2000). Leisure impacts on the reduction of stress (Myers et al., 2000) and includes physical activities, creative work, and social engagements. These all have a positive effect on emotional wellbeing and wellness (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992; Myers & Sweeney, 2008).

Friendship includes both, social interaction and social connectedness on individual, communal or collective levels, but excludes "marital, sexual or familial commitment". Friendship is expressed through support systems, positive human interaction and constructive communication.

Finally, love refers to relationships which are built on intimate and cooperative relationships, long-term commitment, and self-disclosure. Love includes sexual relations and is viewed as a committed, lasting, intimate relationship with another person (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

Life Forces

Witmer and Sweeney (1992) define life forces as "major societal institutions that impinge on the health and wellbeing of each individual" and include the family, religion, education, community, media, government, and business or industry.

The life force family relates to family relationships, belonging and social support. Family wellbeing is increased through family support and constructive parent-child relationships (Fernandez, 2004).
Religion refers to aspects of social harmony, construction of meaning in life, hope and inner peace, and refers to the acknowledgement of a higher power (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

Witmer and Sweeney (1992) emphasise the impact of education on wellness. Cohen (2006) refers to academic learning, and the development of emotional, social, and ethical competences as contributive to overall wellbeing.

Community is a major life force, impacting on health and wellbeing through social institutions (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). It involves a balance between connectedness and independence. When individuals feel a sense of belonging, both individual and community needs are fulfilled.

Media influences individuals' perceptions of needs, beliefs, priorities, norms and values, attitudes and desires (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). It can

impact positively and constructively, as well as negatively on health and wellbeing (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991).

Policies and government practices contribute positively and/or negatively to the wellness of an individual (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Governments carry a responsibility for societal and collective health and wellbeing (WHO, 2002).

Finally, businesses or industry, as a major work environment, impacts on health and wellbeing to empower and foster individuals (Mayer, 2011). Health is promoted in organisations on physical, mental, social, psychological and spiritual levels (Mayer, & Boness, 2011).

Global events impact on the health and wellbeing of individuals. Such global events could include economic exploitation, wars, violation of human rights, unemployment, competition for limited resources, as well as poverty or environmental issues, such as pollution, diseases and overpopulation (Sweeney, 1998). These events are communicated via the mass media and instant communication methods, and impact on the life quality, mental health and wellbeing of individuals (Sweeney, 1991, 1998).

Aim and purpose

This research aims to satisfy the need for a longitudinal, in-depth single case study on holistic wellness in a selected woman leader in the Engineering profession in an Australian Engineering organization that is a global player in the field. The purpose is to present insights into the concept of holistic wellness according to the holistic wellness model (HWM) (Myers, Sweeney & Witmer, 2000) from a gender-specific perspective.

The research responds to the questions of how wellness is defined and what contributes positively to the participant's holistic wellness in terms of HWM from an emic perspective to face and manage the challenges of the profession. This study thereby contributes to new in-depth knowledge on the construction of the HWM in a male-dominated profession.

Research Methodology

The study is based on single case study design (Yin, 2009) which is anchored in the hermeneutical tradition of Dilthey's (2002) modern

hermeneutics which connects to the descriptive and analytic psychology and focuses on the uniqueness and extraordinary aspects of a person in his/her wholeness (Lock & Strong, 2010). Additionally, human subjectivity is viewed as being part of the research process and its findings. Understanding is reached when the researcher applies a self-reflective attitude to achieve intra-subjectively validated findings (Dilthey, 2002).

The sample and setting: participant and the organisation

Purposive sampling was applied to choose M as the subject of research. M is Australian citizen who was born in a capital city in Australia. She attended a private school and completed her schooling at the age of 17. After matriculating, M spent one year on a Rotary exchange programme in Europe, living with 3 different families for four month at a time. She then studied Engineering at University and completed a Bachelor's and Honours degree with specialisation in Civil Engineering. After obtaining her qualifications in 1990, M started working for a company at which she still works in the year 2015. However, M took a long-service leave in 2003 (mainly to travel abroad) and she resigned in 2004, moving to East Africa where she got married to her husband. She returned to Australia with her husband in 2006. She was then offered a job in a government institution, but was headhunted by the Engineering company from which she resigned and instead chose to return to them. From 2006, M worked part-time (15-28 hours per week) and took maternity leave twice. In 2012, M accepted the offer of the organization to work as an Australian expatriate in South Afirca. She stayed with her family in South Africa from 2013 to 2015 when this study took place. At the time of the interview, M was 47 years old, married to her husband who was born and raised in Kenya and who is now Australian citizen. They have two children who are in primary school. M and her husband have lived together in Kenya, Australia and South Africa and have gained strong intercultural competences through their common international work and travel experiences.

   The organization M works for is a global engineering, management and technical service organisation headquartered in Australia. The organisation runs subsidiaries around the world and is a global player that provides services for public and private sector clients. Core values of the organization

are excellence, innovation and collaboration, as well as diversity, integrity, honesty and sustainability.[2]

M was chosen for this single case research study because of (a) her leadership position as a women leader in a global, male-dominated engineering organization with headquarters in Australia; (b) her specific interest in socio-economic, health- and faith-related topics; (c) her openness towards the research, and (d) her accessibility during the time of the research.

The entrée into the research field and the researcher-researched relationship

The researcher met M for the first time in a private context in 2013, while both were working on work-related projects in South Africa. From that time onwards, the researcher and the researched met with their children during leisure time, out of which interesting discussions around work, women leadership, Engineering, social, religious, political and economic discourses evolved.

M was invited to join the women leader research project an accepted the invitation instantly. Ethical considerations were applied and the researched was informed about the study's purpose, about her rights, confidentiality and the anonymity in the research. The researcher and the researched developed a stable relationship and met for discussions and conversations over weekends. During this time, the researcher observed the development of M throughout a period of 18 months.

The researcher-researched relationship created an in-depth understanding of the context, the actors, the environment and the interactions in current perspectives and provides insight into both, the construction of socio-cultural realities and the research findings (Bryman, Stephens & Á Campo, 1996). This interaction contributed to the construction of a common reality during the time of research.

Data collection

Data was collected through conversations, observation, collateral talks and an in-depth interview on the focused research questions on women

leadership in the Engineering field, mental health, holistic wellness (concepts and emic perspectives), the HWM and faith (the development of faith throughout the life span). Follow-up conversations were held face-to-face. Interview questions included, for example, "Which aspects make your life meaningful?", "What creates meaningfulness at work for you?", "What contributes to your wellness at work?", "What is the role of spirituality in your life and at work?"

Based on prior conversations in which many of the aspects of the HWM were addressed, the in-depth interview was conducted to focus on life tasks, life forces and global events (Myers et al., 2000) so as to create a further and deepening understanding of holistic wellness in the selected participant.

Data analysis and reflexivity

Data were analysed through a 5-step process of content analysis (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006, 322-326). Firstly, the researcher familiarised herself with the data and immersed herself into the data sets (Step 1). In the following step, themes were induced (Step 2), categories and codes were constructed (Step 3), data were elaborated (Step 4) and finally, the newly arranged data were interpreted and checked (Step 5).

The interpretation of the data and the checking was supported by a self-reflexive research approach (McLoed, 2003), a critical reflection of the research bias, the subjectivity of the researcher, and the self-positioning of the researcher and the researched (Mruck & Breuer, 2003) and their relationship (Wang, 2012). The strong focus on the researcher's self-reflexivity led to intra-subjective validation processes on the researcher (Yin, 2009) regarding the data, the analysis, the findings, the development of the researcher and the researched, and their interactions and relationship development. Intra-subjective validation (Van Kaam, 1966) was carried out through reflexivity and through the exploration of various subjective perspectives the researcher has of the topic. The reflexivity supported the construction of the "hermeneutical circle" (Dielthey, 2002) which includes entering into the field, working through the data and understanding the other, reworking the purpose and aims of the study, rendering of parts of the study into a whole, and the reimagining of study elements (Shotter, 1981).

Quality criteria for content analysis in case study research

Kohlbacher (2006) points out important qualitative quality criteria, such as openness and the ability to deal with complexity in research, which uses a holistic perspective. Such criteria use theory-guided analysis, the integration of the context and the integration of different material and evidence such as interviews and observations. Mayring (2000) mentions that qualitative content analysis should be theory-guided in terms of the analysis and interpretation. Mayring's approach (2000) was practiced in this research. These quality criteria were addressed throughout the research.

Considerations and limitations

This study is a single case study and explores the in-depth subjective experiences, thoughts and feelings of a single person. The findings reflect the process of research between the researcher and the researched and the process of interpretation is viewed as reflecting the researcher-researched relationship and the interactive process of interpretation and intra-subjective validation processes based on pre-understandings of concepts (Dilthey, 2002; Ricoeur, 1981) and the "hermeneutical cirlcle" (Dilthey, 2002). The study is limited in terms of the time frame of this research which was only 18 months long. The participant's selection process was purposive, but included only four criteria and is therefore limited. Finally, the study does not claim any intent to offer a generalized result, but rather delineates an indication of the subjective experience of mental health and its interlinkages with the HWM based on the study and reflections of the researcher and the researched.

Research findings, interpretation and discussion

In the following section, the findings on the participant's emic perspective on holistic wellness and its impact on her life, work and leadership, as well as on the management of challenges faced in her profession, are presented by integrating description, analysis and interpretation of findings. The findings are also reflected in the context of the theoretical HWM.

Defining wellness

For M, health and wellness are topics that are in her focus and scope of daily life. She emphasises that wellness is:

> An absence of stress, having my mood swings under control, a sense of   peacefulness, less weight that I am carrying at the moment, being able to sleep, the ability to switch off, not having a disease.

M states during the interview that she is "not well at the moment", because she does not feel peaceful, struggles to switch off and would like to lose weight. Her wellness concept refers to physical, emotional and psychological aspects and uses a holistic concept, as in Myers (2009). Wellness is generally an important topic for M and has gained interest for her personally, as well as in the leadership and organisational psychology literature (Mayer & Van Zyl, 2013).

In Myers (2009) and Myers, Sweeney and Witmer (2000), wellness is defined positively, referring to life-orientation, and body, mind and spirit integration. M also defines wellness with regard to positive constructs, such as peacefulness, abilities to switch off and sleep. M does not, however, only employ a positive psychology definition with regard to optimal functioning, self-responsibility and motivation (Roscoe, 2009), but also includes demarcations with regard to the absence of disease, mood swings and stress.

M refers to a holistic wellness approach, mentioning physical, spiritual and psychological aspects which contribute to her wellness. Referring to holistic wellness, M highlights various aspects that contribute to her wellness which are described, analysed and interpreted in the following. They are then integrated with regard to the HWM and refer to family and career, facets of self-direction, spirituality, love, friendships and her personal worldview.

Professional drivers in work and leisure: family and career

M identifies two professional drivers that persuaded her to work in her first chosen profession – Engineering – namely family and career.

> My two primary orientations would be family and career and I just took a while to find out which order I would put them in and, I think that is the right order. I actually gave up my job in order to have a family. That was very important to me and then having achieved that, I am now back in the career and I am interested in contributing to that career in a substantial way... people could say that I just sort of work in this job because of… for my kids and unfortunately it's the thing, but sometimes I struggle with it. I really do find that a problem… but why am I spending my energy on something that I don't in my real core believe in… that's what I believe in is transformation of the organisation so that people have more abilities in the community and what I am doing in working for a mining company and consulting the mining companies... could I be consulting the mining company and they would... now being forced to do a lot more in the community.

M works in the organisation to provide her children with a high level of education and a high living standard and to have leisure time to spend with her family, an activity which she enjoys most:

> So being able to just be with my family, go for walks, sit on the grass, being connected with family... being able to waste time with them, so that's the true meaningfulness... so that is number one. And two so that in terms of the career aspect... in the business trying to change culture, trying to create understandings of different ways of approaching things and finding people who are ready to go on a journey mentoring that. That's what actually excites me the most.

M uses her profession to maintain her family's high living standard, although her personal values do not completely match the work and ethical values of the organization. She visualizes transforming the organization towards a more social and community orientated organization which is founded in concepts of social responsibility and social justice. As such, she emphasises the need to change the organization's business culture so as to create understanding and define new ways of approaching business.

The findings show that M strongly values the life force of family, to the extent that she even works in Engineering, a field to which she is not totally loyal. The life force "family" has the highest priority for her, creating meaningfulness in the context of the life tasks work and leisure.

Work is important for M. She uses work to self-actualize, to express her values, to contribute to social responsibility and justice, to keep her living standard and to provide a financial base for her family. Work, however, only partly provides a "sense of accomplishment and pleasure" (Myers at al., 2000, pp. 256) and is partially meaningful for her and for others (Mayer, Surtee & May, 2015). This is due to the fact that M does not comply completely with the values of the organization.

For M, work provides particular economic benefits, as well as a few psychological (generally being able to work) and social benefits (work with colleagues and mentoring) which contribute to her holistic wellness (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). However, the fact that her personal values are hardly reflected in her work context, leads to a value discrepancy that affects M's holistic wellness negatively by impacting on her stress levels. This might be connected to her self-perceived feeling of "not being well at the moment". The life force "community" (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) stays mainly unfulfilled due to the fact that M perceives an imbalance between the fulfilment of her personal and the community needs which are affected by her Engineering work. While M feels psychologically rather connected to and responsible for the communities which have to compromise due to Engineering organizations and their operations, M depends on her job as she is the breadwinner in the family and enjoys her career path at the same time. However, she struggles with the fact that she works for an organization that does not prioritise global justice and social responsibility towards the communities in which they work.

This discrepancy in values between M's association with a community of global Engineers on the one hand, and her emotional connection with the communities being treated irresponsible and unjustly by that community of Engineers on the other, impacts negatively on M 's holistic wellness, since individual and social needs and values are not fully adjusted in terms of community belonging.

Professional driver: facets of self-direction

M's vision is to transform the Engineering mining organization into a more community-orientated organisation which benefits individuals and communities. It is this vision that keeps her in her position and the organisation. Besides being concerned about the gap between the company's values and her life orientations, her personal values and visions, M is also critical about her remuneration and other aspects of her job:

> I find that what I do is at total odds and the amount of money that I get for what I do is totally disproportionate. There are a lot of things that I do in my work, if I think too much about it I get sad for my personal values. I just have to say: Well, I am back in the business, because I now have kids and want the comfort of that... ideal what you call it [laughing]... the other aspect that I am just totally at odds with in my position as an engineering consultant is the whole sense of lack of global justice. It is a very strong drive for me, but I don't at the moment actually focus on that.

M is very self-reflected and clear about her self-direction: she knows her values, her direction and long-term orientation towards her family and global justice. She is realistic in her beliefs - having to compromise on her personal values in her profession for the sake of her family and her living standard and at the same time seeing the potential for transformation in her work. However, she is also aware of her ability to control parts of what is happening in the organizational and professional field. R knows she could start transforming the organization towards a more socially and globally just environment and she knows she could impact and make a difference in her organisation. Furthermore, M is emotionally and cognitively aware of her value dilemma and copes with it by prioritising the fulfilment of her individual (and family) needs. She is also aware of her worth as a person and her possible influences on transformation within her organization. However, she does not recognise and acknowledge the worth of her work in the context of her remuneration which she judges as "disproportionate". In a sense, M does not care about herself at the time of the interview, because she does not follow her personal values, but rather sacrifices them for the sake of

her family and partly for the sake of her career in the Engineering environment.

Since, at this moment in M's life, her family is her priority, M is not able to implement her values of transformation in the organisation. However, she implements other values which are important to her. For M, drivers at work are, for example, inspiring people within the company, motivating them and networking:

> The thing that is most easily recognised and has value within my company, is having great connections and networks and getting people in the company to really work with clients and I am not a client-orientated person. I can do it, but it is not what drives me. What I really enjoy is actually inspiring people inside the company, the function in networking and getting people motivated - sometimes it's a full-time job [laughing].

These aspects of networking and inspiring others are strongly interwoven with self-direction in terms of problem-solving and creativity (Myers et al., 2000) and contribute to M's job satisfaction, her personal motivation, her drivers at work and therefore her holistic wellness. However, she feels that her personal drivers clash or are at least in conflict with the highly regarded company values, such as networking and building connections with clients. This discrepancy between her personal drivers and interests (developing and mentoring employees) and the company's values (networking with clients) might impact on M 's holistic wellness in the work context as well. This experienced gap between personal motivations and interests - and the organisational mindset referring to the life force of business and industry (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992; Myers et al., 2000) - leads to other aspects which M is critical about.

Finally, two other aspects which are sub-tasks of self-direction are gender and cultural identity-related and they impact on M's holistic wellness with regard to the Engineering work context:

> I think it's gender and personality profiles that influence engineering typically. The stereotypic engineer is an introvert, analytical person whereas my personality is extrovert analytical and strategic analytical not entire analytical. I suppose being on

> the gender side both the stereotypical and born a communicator
> as a woman that all happened to interest me in quite a different
> person in the majority of people in my work.

M feels that she is not a stereotypical engineer and therefore defines herself not as being part of the typical engineering community, but rather as someone outstanding in terms of her gender (as a woman in a male-dominated profession), and also as a person with an extrovert analytical and strategical analytical profile. In other words, she describes herself as belonging to a minority group within the majority of typical engineers, on two levels. She uses the majority of the Engineering community as an alternative model to her gender and cultural identity description. She does see her gender as a challenge in the male-dominated profession but, at the same time, uses this outstanding characteristic as a positive force to define herself in terms of identity. This behaviour is consistent with descriptions in the literature (Kinnear, 2014; Rudman & Phelan, 2010; Sandberg, 2013; Toh & Leonardelli, 2012).

Focusing further on her gender identity in terms of self-description and expectations, M emphasises:

> I don't tend to take that mothering role. I suppose that is
> consistent with me not wanting to be stereotypical, so there
> will be people within my profession that will say that you
> should be career-orientated and focused, because they might
> measure me in terms of what they expect a woman to do. Not
> in terms of what I am... I think I have ended up come to terms
> with the fact that I am a person who continues to put myself in
> positions where I am... against [laughing].

In terms of self-direction, M is aware of the expectations of her environment and describes them as differentiated. M points out that her colleagues might measure her in terms of their stereotypes and expectations of women - as highlighted by Du Plessis and Barkhuizen (2012). However, these expectations do not seem to impact negatively on M 's resilience (see Martin and Barnard, 2013 and Van Wyk, 2012), as she seems to turn these expectations down instead by acting "against". M even seems to draw positive energy from "swimming against the mainstream current" and

leaving stereotypical expectations unfulfilled. This does not seem to contribute negatively to her resilience, but rather provides her with energy to do her work differently and to make a difference.

M acknowledges (self-direction subtask: emotional awareness and coping) her extraordinary identity and of "who she is" (self-direction subtask: gender and cultural identity). M sees herself as a person who does not define herself as a core of the communities in which she is integrated. She instead sees herself as a person with an identity who is critical and who chooses alternative behaviours, thoughts and actions. This self-definition in terms of gender and cultural identity contributes to her holistic wellness in that it enables her to make a difference by evoking and increasing self-reflection and discussion.

Spirituality in the workplace and love at home

M is a highly spiritual and faith-based person. She grew up in a religious family that adhered to the Christian faith and started her personal spiritual journey while in her twenties. Generally, M comments that the life task spirituality has more space within the life force business and industry in the South African than in the Australian work context. This makes her feel more relaxed in her expatriate work field and provides her with an increased sense of wholeness than does her Australian work context:

> Spirituality has a lot more space in the South African context than it does in the Australian context... even in the Australian context that whole idea of social responsibility is coming in... more sort of a spiritual base at work... but I find this very conflicting, because what I do is providing people possibilities to develop which contribute to those... leaving the country because there is more opportunities for them.

M perceives the professional workplace during the time of her expatriation as more spiritual than her Australian workplace. In her Australian work context, and due to her family of origin, particularly her mother, she perceives spirituality as being related to the application of concepts of social responsibility. From M's point of view and in the way that spirituality is related to social responsibility, M is in a conflict with herself,

because she feels that by doing her job and developing individuals, she contributes to their opportunities on the one hand and to them leaving the country on the other. For her, this impact of her work does not necessarily comply with her spiritual values as these relate to social responsibility. M has high regard for spirituality. This impacts strongly on her, particularly with regard to her private life. M comments that her husband's influence on her spiritual wellbeing is strong and that her spirituality is strongly influenced by her love relationship with him (life task: love). Spirituality, as a core of the life-tasks of holistic wellness, impacts on M and her personal drivers. However, the findings do not show that spirituality is the strongest core of her holistic wellness.

The life tasks spirituality and love are interconnected for M and impact positively on M 's holistic wellness:

> Certainly now my husband is very grounding... so the whole issue of staying emotionally well and spiritually centred in many respects... because he doesn't provide support when I am in a bad mood and that actually encourage me to get out of that my silly space.

For M, spirituality is based in her home and private environment and relationships rather than at work. At work, the concept of spirituality is related to social responsibility and justice (life force: business and industry) whilst at home it is based in the context of the life task of love and the life forces of family and community. This shows that holistic wellness is very much interconnected in terms of various life tasks and life forces. This finding also shows the varying foci and drivers of M at work and at home.

Relationships as health-related stabilising factors

Another highly important life task that plays a positive role in terms of holistic wellness is friendship. M explains:

> Friends are really important to me and not as important to my husband and so that's actually a source of conflict... difference in spending energy in that I need to be social and he doesn't have that need... I have a friend in Brisbane and we haven't

> contacted each other in two years and then I go back to
> Brisbane I am going to have coffee with her... I think you can
> get to the friends you need where you are at the time and those
> people play that role... I don't have a large group of friends,...
> not more than two or three.

M sees friendships as important with regard to living in the present moment. She prefers having a few trusted friends instead of a large group of friends and living her friendships in the present moment in which she lives. M trusts in finding the right friends at the right time and believes this contribute to a person's development. Friendships do not necessarily need to be close or kept over long distances.

World view

Finally, M comments on her world view, on her general orientation in life and on her connection to global events.

> I don't watch daily news very often. It can be once a month I
> don't read news on the Internet, so I don't get impacted by
> event by event, because I don't think that it a very healthy way
> of looking at the world. My worldview, it sort of comes
> through osmosis, sharing ideas with friends that you meet and
> [laughing] sharing how much do I worry about with global
> future. From time to time it impacts on me and particular in
> sort of trying to work out with what type of people you are and
> you want your children to be with... that impacts... I do not
> stress too much about the global future.

M feels that not being informed of each and every current global event is healthier than being too involved in and worrying about such things. M finds it more important to focus on the present moment, her life and her children than on global events, the news and the global future as these do not impact on her directly in the present moment. M is anchored in the present moment and her local life environment. This contributes towards her holistic wellness. Although M discusses global events with friends from time to time, her focus is on her immediate environment and local concerns, because she feels that she can impact her local environment, but not global concerns.

Physical wellness

During the time of the interviews and conversations, M does not feel entirely well. However, she has started to "fix her wellness" with regard to "nutrients and herbal remedies and what not to try". Besides the change in nutrition, she has signed up at a gym, but does not make time to go there. M feels self-responsible for her wellness, while being strongly supported by her husband. Together, they focus on healthy nutrition and exercise, with her husband supporting her emotionally as well through his encouragement "to get out of that silly space" she is in. M 's husband builds an important emotional and spiritual base within the family and thereby provides M with the possibility to combine family and career.

Conclusion

This research aimed to satisfy the need for a longitudinal, in-depth single case study on holistic wellness in a selected women leader in the Engineering profession. The purpose was to present insights into the concept of the HWM (Myers, Sweeney & Witmer, 2000) with regard to a woman leader in the male-dominated Engineering context.

The research responded to questions of how wellness is defined and what contributes positively to the participant's HWM from an emic perspective which enables her to face and manage the challenges of the profession. This study thereby contributes to new in-depth knowledge on the construction of holistic wellness in a male-dominated profession.

Findings show that M uses a holistic wellness concept that integrates aspects of positive psychology as well as references to negative wellness (ill-health), as the absence of disease and stress.

Referring to holistic wellness as a woman leader in the Australian and global male-dominated Engineering profession, M refers to certain aspects that contribute to and impact on her holistic wellness (see Figure 1), such as her family, her career, various aspects of self-direction, (including sense of control, realistic beliefs, sense of worth, emotional awareness and coping, self-care, gender and cultural identity), spirituality, love, friendship, and her personal world view. M does not highlight all of the life forces addressed in

the HWM: she does not comment on education, media and government policies as impacting on her long-term and sustainable holistic wellness.

Figure 1
The HWM in a woman leader in Engineering
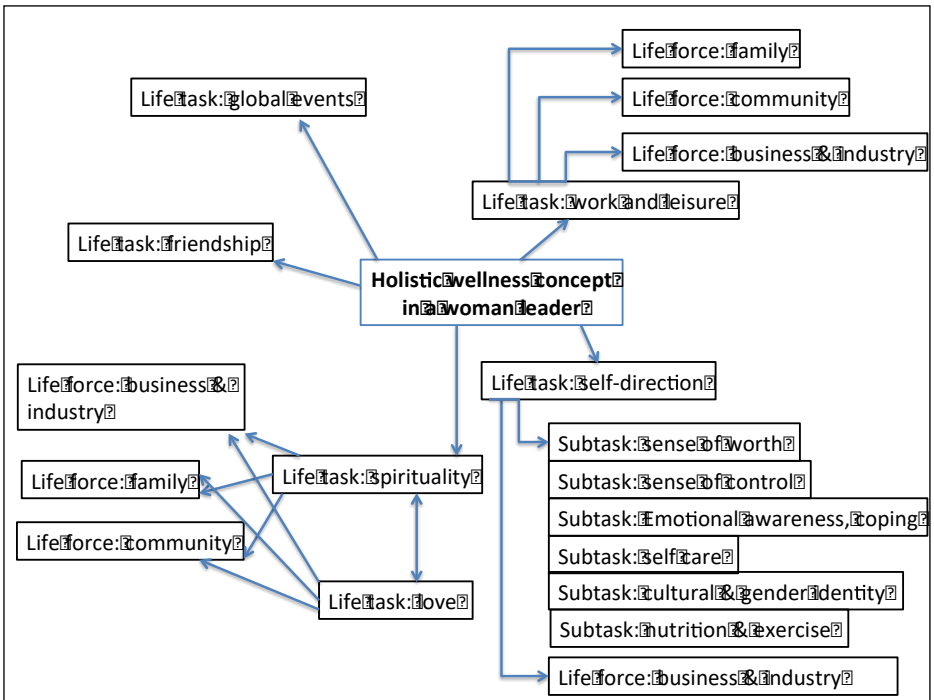
In terms of life tasks, work and leisure, self-direction, spirituality and friendship are exceptionally important to address challenges and manage holistic wellness in M's Engineering profession.
In the context of work and leisure, the life forces family and business and industry are prioritised and ranked. The life force community is important in terms of values, but is not addressed actively at the moment which might impact negatively on the holistic wellness.
    The life task self-direction is strongly important for keeping and promoting M's holistic wellness through the subtasks of worth of self (M is

aware of her worth), sense of control (she is conscious about her possible impact on transformation and values), emotional awareness and coping (M is aware of her feelings, her priorities and the choices she makes in life), cultural and gender identity (M is aware of her gender, its impact on her work and life as a woman leader in Engineering) and her cultural and personal identity. She is also conscious of her nutrition and level of exercise in terms of her self-direction and her self-care. She knows that she could increase a bit of her self-care aspect by exercising more and that she could increasing her sense of control by implementing her visions of transforming the organization.

M further acknowledges the importance of spirituality (in terms of social responsibility and global justice) and love (with regard to her husband and his impact in her life), as two major life tasks which impact positively on her holistic wellness. She also recognises the connection of spirituality and love in her life and the interrelationship with the life forces of family, community and business and industry.

Finally, M keeps well thanks to her friendships and thanks to her worldview that does not include too much information that would increase her concern for global events. Her wellness derives instead from her focus on the present moment in the local environment she lives in.

In conclusion, M's HWM impacts on her ability to be a strong women leader in the global Engineering field, an expatriate and a shareholder of a company, while being a mother of two and a wife. The study shows that several holistic wellness aspects impact positively on M's strength at mentoring colleagues in the global Engineering profession while running international projects successfully.

Further on, M could increase her holistic wellness by increasing her self-direction in terms of an increased self-care and sense of worth, not only with regard to herself, but also with regard to the work she does. Through implementing her vision and an increased creative, problem-solving approach, M could surely increase her holistic wellness by matching her personal values with that of the company. This could happen through implementing her values more strongly into her work field and by transforming her company into a more socially responsible, globally just and community-orientated organization. The implementation of this vision into

her daily work life and routine would probably increase her holistic wellness as a woman leader in Engineering even more.

Recommendations for theory and practice

This study shows the importance of holistic wellness to the woman leader researched in this long-term study. Holistic wellness connects various work, career and family related issues with regard to leaders and employees within organizations.

Future research should focus on exploring holistic wellness in leaders in male dominated occupations and compare those holistic wellness concepts of men and women in leadership position in the Engineering work environment. Multi-method studies should integrate qualitative and quantitative research findings and thereby provide a holistic view of wellness from qualitative and quantitative perspectives through various methodological research lenses to, in the end, come to holistic conclusions on holistic wellness and its construction in women leaders working in male-dominated professions.

This and future research should lead to practical implications for organizations in the Engineering field. This study provides in-depth knowledge on the need for woman leaders to integrate personal, work-related and organizational values. To become an attractive employer on the macro level for highly qualified women leaders, the Engineering organizations should focus on organizational values, such as social and global justice, responsibility, as well as sustainability. On the meso (organisational) level, Engineering organisations should focus on gender equality, women leadership, career development and the promotion of individual, career and family management for women leaders, as well as on the integration of personal leadership preferences and values in congruence with the global and the organizational culture. Furthermore, to be attractive to highly qualified women leaders, the organization's approach to Engineering should be socially responsible, eco-friendly and community-based. Engineering organizations need to develop an organisational culture that becomes family friendly, sustainable and that provides areas of development for careers of women leaders, as well as new and alternative

approaches of global Engineering with local, communal and ecologically sustainable responsibility.

Notes

[1] For an in-depth overview on definitions of life tasks, life forces and global events see Witmer and Sweeney (1992) or Myers et al. (2000).
[2] According to the organizational website which is not mentioned due to confidentiality.

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Gender, Identity, and Language Use in Web Discussion Forum and Mobile Phone Txt Messages

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Abstract

This study explored and compared both online and *txt* (text) messaging gender and identity construction and language use among adult males and females. The online gender and identity construction and language use concerned adult males and females who participated in a web discussion forum (WDF) while the *txt* messaging gender and identity construction and language use related to adult male and female users of mobile technologies from South Africa. Online and MP *txt* messaging gender and identity construction and language use were examined in terms of the disclosure of personal information, sexual identity, emotive features and semantic themes (Huffaker & Calvert, 2005). Some of the findings of this study are as follows: both females and males investigated tended to construct their identities both similarly and differently depending on the form of technology employed; in both the WDF and MP messages, more females tended to employ emoticons than did males and the same was true of the emotive traits related to expressive language; the two genders engaged in intimate topics in varying degrees; and both genders seemed to employ passive and cooperative language very nearly similarly.

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Género, Identidad y Uso del Lenguaje en Fórums Web y Mensajes de Texto Móviles

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Resumen

Este estudio explora y compara tanto la construcción de la identidad y del género como el uso del lenguaje en mensajes en línea y de texto (*txt*) por parte de hombres y mujeres adultos. El análisis de la construcción de la identidad y del género así como el uso del lenguaje realizado online implicó a hombres y mujeres adultos participantes en un Foro de Discusión Web (WDF); mientras que el análisis de la construcción de la identidad y del género y el uso del lenguaje en los mensajes de texto implicó a usuarios y usuarias de tecnología móvil en Sudáfrica. La construcción de la identidad y el género y el uso del lenguaje en mensajes online y de texto fueron analizados a partir de las categorías de divulgación de información personal, identidad sexual, características emocionales y temas semánticos (Huffaker & Calvert, 2005). Algunos de los hallazgos de este estudio son: tanto los hombres como las mujeres investigados tienden a construir sus identidades de manera similar y diferente en función de la tecnología empleada; tanto en la WDF como en los mensajes *txt*, las mujeres tendieron a utilizar más emoticonos que los hombres y lo mismo sucedió con la expresión de emociones; ambos sexos abordaron temas íntimos en diversos grados; y ambos sexos parecieron emplear de manera casi similar el lenguaje pasivo y cooperativo.

Palabras clave: género, identidad, uso del lenguaje, fórum web, mensajes de texto

Gender, identity and language are mainly conceptualised as interconnected. In much gender and identity studies literature (Cameron, 1998; Lewis & Mills, 2003; Mills, 2003a, b, c; Wodak, 1997), both gender and identity are theorised as implicated in and constructed through language. Three perspectives offer, in varying degrees, the insight into this theorisation of gender and identity. For example, the *difference* perspective maintains that men and women assume unitary identities specific to their respective gender positioning and, as such, tend to use language differently because of the differential socialisation patterns to which they are exposed and subjected.

Concomitantly, this standpoint embodies two crucial but controversial assertions. First, it asserts that the different linguistic styles of interacting and of creating meaning are grounded in the different cultural practices into which both men and women are inducted. Second, it posits that women are often disadvantaged by these linguistic styles as the systems of communication within which they learn to interact, make them acquiesce in the existing patriarchal status quo. That is, they make them want to *be nice* and to choose the *prestige of goodness* over the *prestige of power* (Crawford, 1995; Huffaker & Calvert, 2005; Lakoff, 1975; Sadiqi, 2003; Simpson, 1997; Tannen, 1990).

A second view of the linguistic constitution of gender and identity is a feminist poststructuralist perspective. Besides positing gendered subjectivities and subject positions that are constituted through discourse, this approach proposes multiple femininities/masculinities and strongly disagrees with the *difference* framework. It regards the latter as being unable to theorise the complex dynamics of power, gender and identity sufficiently and as unnecessarily valorising the classical dualisms built into a patriarchal society (Bhabha, 1994; Simpson, 1997; Poynton, 1993; Weedon, 1987). Related to this second view is the third one, the social construction paradigm. According to this paradigm, gendered identities and other aspects of social identity are (re-)constructed and (re-)created through both social and language practices (Bucholtz, 1999; Burgess, 2002; Butler, 1997; Cameron, 1998; Piller, 2001).

The current study aligns itself with the third view of theorising gender and identity. Thus, its purpose is to investigate how web discussion forum

and mobile phone users employ language and emotional codes to express their genders and identities (Calcutt, 2001; Herring, Kouper, Scheidt & Wright, 2004; Huffaker, 2004; Leung & Wei, 2000; Ling & Yttri, 2002; Thurlow & Brown, 2003; Thurlow, Lengel & Tomic, 2004).

Framing Issues

In the light of the above, in this study, both gender and identity are conceptualised within a feminist-postmodernist framework. This represents a synergy between feminist and postmodernist theory. While it is not the major thrust of this article to engage in a definitional debate on feminism and postmodernism - as they are both typified by disparate strands, ontologies and epistemologies (Burgess, 2002; Cameron, 1992, 1998; Erasmus, 1998; Griffiths, 1995; Lather, 1992; Luke, 1992) - it is essential to briefly provide a perspective in which these two concepts are used and the rationale behind combining them in this context. Feminism challenges, opposes and critiques the different forms of oppression and discrimination (social, cultural, linguistic, institutional, etc.), and the differential treatment to which women are subjected. It rejects all patriarchal practices underpinning all forms of *malestream* tendencies and calls for their total eradication. It fights for women's place in society and problematises the notions of sex, gender, sexism and sexuality. For its part, postmodernism challenges and critiques foundational knowledge and meta-narratives (e.g. objectivity, neutrality, universality of knowledge, etc.), and the static self or subjectivity. In addition, it espouses *fragmentation*, *difference* and *multiplicity* - partial knowledges, multiple (and fluid) subjectivities and identities - (Cameron, 1992, 1997; Griffiths, 1995; Piller, 2001; Mills, 2003a, b, c; Swann, 2002).

Thus, the interface between feminism and postmodernism is brought about by the fact that feminism provides postmodernism with conceptual tools to critique *malestream* practices while postmodernism offers feminism conceptual tools to critique foundational knowledge practices. The interface is also brought about by the fact that both feminism and postmodernism are concerned with the politics of identity and subjectivity and that both reject dualisms - e.g. man/woman, mind/body, subject/object, etc. - which are at the core of much of modernist thought and much of the modern study of

language (Bhabha, 1994; Cameron, 1997, 1998; Turkle, 1996; Wodak, 1997). It is this combination of conceptual tools as offered by these two theoretical epistemologies through which I investigate gender, identity and language use in web discussion and *txt* messages.

Digital Online Gender and Identity

Both digital online gender and identity are more complex and hybrid than is generally thought. That is, besides being complex and hybrid in character, they also tend to assume fluid, contingent, shifting, and multiple digital configurations. In addition, they tend to be packaged and presented as images and information permeating spatio-temporal boundaries with ever-imposing ubiquity. This is hardly surprising as digital online gender and identity tend to be, to some extent, dependent on the digital and mobile communications technologies – e.g. the Internet, e-mail and handheld mobile technologies - through which they are mediated (Castells, 2000; Donath, 1996; Jones, 1997; Marney, 2005; Stalder, 2000; Tapscott, 1998; Turkle, 1995, 1996).

The scenario outlined above is much more applicable to online chat, newsgroups, bulletin boards, web discussion forums, txt messages (short messaging services – SMSs) and instant messaging texts mediated through web-based e-mail and mobile phone technologies. Here users' genders and identities not only become complex, hybrid, fluid and shifting, but do also become truly digitally diasporic (Diamandaki, 2003; Rassool, 1999) and cosmopolitan entities inhabiting the same and different spatio-temporal homes simultaneously. This whole configuration entails a shifting digital *ethoscope* in which online users, (signed-up and non-signed-up) guests, tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, etc. (Microsoft Corporation, 2005; Rassool, 1999), rebels and other groups constitute a cyberspatial diaspora. It is in this cyberspatial environment that the linguistic, discursive and social construction of gender and identity and the digital construction of gender and identity meet each other. In this environment, the types of genders and identities displayed, and the nature of the language used have to be treated with circumspection.

Research Methods

Purpose

As is the case with Huffaker and Calvert's (2005) study in particular, the purpose of my study was to explore gender and identity similarities and differences among adult users of both web discussion forums and mobile phone txt messages. In addition, the study examined how these users employ language and emoticons to present their identities and to express their personal feelings and experiences through these two forms of technologies. Following Huffaker and Calvert's (2005) study again, the focal areas here were: 1) the degree to which personal data – e.g. names, locations and contact information – was disclosed; 2) how emotive features were relayed; 3) how language was used to communicate experiences, feelings and ideas; 4) and how issues of sexual identity were intimated.

Hypotheses

In view of the above, the study set out to test the following four hypotheses:

H_1: Both males and females are likely to present themselves similarly in their messages often disclosing personal information such as either their real names, identity (ID) user names, or digital fake identities (pseudonyms), locations, and personal background details such as their current jobs, professions and careers.

H_2: Males tend to use less emoticons – and thus less expressive language - and tend to employ more active and resolute style of language than do females.

H_3: Females tend to discuss intimate topics more openly than males.

H_4: Females are more likely to use language that is passive, cooperative and accommodating than do males.

Sampling and Data Collection Method

Data (*txt* messages) for this study were selected randomly at different times from three groups of participants: *Becomingwebhead* participants; the South African Broadcasting Corporation's SABC 1's *One* music programme's viewers; and private mobile phone users. These data, then, comprised two types of corpora. The first corpus consisted of a sample of 1.200 messages posted to the web discussion forum (WDF), *Becomingwebhead*, of which I (the researcher) was a member. This WDF was an asynchronous web-based forum where participants posted their messages either to an electronic bulletin board or to members' e-mail addresses. Upon logging in, subscribed users were notified of the new postings or emails they had not yet accessed. As messages were saved in a log list, participants were able to enter into the discussions at intervals convenient to them (Murphy, 2001). The messages making part of this first corpus were collected over a period of three months, from December 2010 to February 2011 and were randomly selected from a database of 4.000 messages. Of the 1.200 messages, 600 were posted by female users and the other 600 were posted by male users.

The second corpus of the data was made up of two sets of 500 *txt* messages (SMSs) which were collected over four months (from February 2006 to July 2006). Of these two sets of messages, 250 were sent by female and male users apiece for both sets. The first set of *txt* messages was obtained from the personal mobile phones of 10 private users in Mthatha (South Africa) who were asked to save, retrieve and transcribe (as accurately as possible) SMSs they received from adult senders over this period of time (see Farina & Lyddy, 2011; Geertsema, Hyman & Van Deventer, 2011; Katz & Aakhus, 2002; Ling & Yttri, 2002; Njemanze, 2012; Oyinloye, 2009; Thurlow & Brown, 2003). The second set of *txt* messages was sourced from the SMSs the viewers sent to a South African television programme – *One* – hosted by the *South African Broadcasting Corporation* (SABC) TV channel *SABC 1* once per week. On this programme, which was a music programme meant for both youth and adult viewers across different age groups, viewers were invited to send dedication SMS messages devoted to their various family members including their loved ones. Once received, the messages were displayed several times on the TV screen.

Data Analysis Model and Procedure

Content, conversational and discourse analyses served as a model of analysis for the data used in this study. Content analysis involves identifying units of analysis and counting the number of frequencies certain words, items, or variables are used within a given context. It is an analytic approach based on coding and quantifying various elements in any kind of text (including online and *txt* messages) in any medium. Word, category and conceptual frequency analyses are some of its primary areas of focus. At the most basic level, the main purpose of this method is to locate the nature of the relative patterns within and between sets of data (Heckman & Annabi, 2005; Huffaker & Calvert, 2005; Lowe, 2003; Pachler & Daly, 2009; Petrina, 1998).

For its part conversational analysis studies conversation and deals with such aspects as talk, conversation structure, adjacency pairs, preference, repairs, floor, turn-taking, and participants (Levinson, 1983; Norrick, 1991; Sacks, 1994). Similarly, discourse analysis in this case deals with features of discourse or language such as discourse markers, markers of similarities and differences between men's and women's language, and aspects of discourse or language reflecting the gender and identity of language users (Coates &Cameron, 1988; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1999; Heckman & Annabi, 2005; Herring, 2000; Huffaker & Calvert, 2005; Lee, 2003; Lewis & Mills, 2003; Mills, 2003a, c).

Regarding the procedure used in this study, all the three types of messages (web discussion forum –WDF - messages, personal mobile phone *txt* messages and viewers' mobile phone *txt* messages) were coded, scored and analysed for personally identifiable information, emotive features, sexual identity, and gendered language (see Calcutt, 2001; Heckman & Annabi, 2005; Huffaker & Calvert, 2005; Katz & Aakhus, 2002; Ling & Yttri, 2002). *Tropes V6.2* and *DICTION 5.0*, two content analysis software packages designed to analyse documents in terms of word counts as well as content types and language tone, were used to determine the tone and semantic features of words (Heckman & Annabi, 2005; Huffaker & Calvert, 2005). In addition, both conversational and discourse analyses were conducted to examine how gender and identity markers were expressed by adult users of web discussion forum and mobile phone technologies.

Research Findings

Personal Self-Disclosure Data: WDF and MPs

In keeping with the study format of Huffaker and Calvert (2005), each WDF message was analysed for the specific personal information disclosed by the user. This included full names (first and last names or either of the two), location (geographical place) and contact information (email address, ID user name, digital fake identity (pseudonym) or a URL to a home page or a hyperlink). The other aspect examined in each message was the disclosure of personal background information such as the user's current job, profession, career, etc. The inter-rater reliability (conducted by three scorers) for these aspects of the personal information variable for female users was as follows: first names = 98%; full names = 96%; locations = 90%; contact information = 90% (emails = 100%; ID user names = 94%; a URL to a home page or a hyperlink = 76%); and personal background details (e.g. job, profession or career) = 84%. For male users the inter-rater reliability for personal information and personal background variables was as follows: first names = 96%; full names = 95%; locations = 92%; contact information = 89% (emails = 100%; ID user names = 92%; a URL to a home page or a hyperlink = 74%); and personal background details = 88%.

The content analysis of the aspects of the personal information variable highlighted above revealed the following pointers. WDF users disclose a considerable amount of information about themselves. The most revealed aspects of the personal information variable by both female and male users were, in their ordinal occurrence frequency: emails = 94%; first names = 87%; full names = 82%; ID user names = 80%; locations = 78%; personal background details (job, profession or career) = 60%; and a URL to a home page or a hyperlink = 35%. Frequencies for female users were as follows: emails = 94%; first names = 88%; full names = 84%; ID user names = 84%; locations = 78%; personal background details = 60%; and a URL to a home page or a hyperlink = 32%. On the other hand, frequencies for male users displayed the following percentages: emails = 93%; first names = 86%; full names = 80%; ID user names = 80%; locations = 76%; personal background details = 58%; and a URL to a home page or a hyperlink = 35%.

The same content analysis was carried out for MP messages. Here the inter-rater reliability for female users in both sets of the data was scored as follows for personal information: first names = 86%; nicknames = 72%; full names = 100%; mobile phone numbers = 88%; and locations = 94%. The other elements of the personal data variable were not relevant as they did not apply to the MP usage environment. For male users in both sets of the data the inter-rater reliability was calculated thus: first names = 96%; nicknames = 60%; full names = 100%; mobile phone numbers = 96%; and locations = 96%. The occurrence frequencies for both sets of female users were as follows – with the data from the SMSs sent to the 10 users' personal MPs reflected first and the data from the SMSs sent to the *SABC*'s music programme *One* recorded second in each sub-variable, respectively: first names = 34%/88%; nicknames = 54%/50%; full names = 0%/0%; mobile phone numbers = 94%/0%; and locations = 0%/90%. Likewise, the usage frequencies for both sets of male users were as follows: first names = 40%/90%; nicknames = 60%/74%; full names = 0%/0%; mobile phone numbers = 94%/0%; and locations = 0%/92%.

Emotive Features: Emoticons and Typographic Symbols

All the messages were analysed for the use and occurrence of emotive features such as emoticons (smileys) and typographic symbols. The occurrence frequency of both text-based and graphic emoticons as used in the various messages was tabulated. *Table 1* below reflects the types of text-based and graphic emoticons used in the respective messages together with their occurrence frequencies. The contrast between the occurrence frequencies by both female and male users in respect of the WDF and MP messages was drawn (see Huffaker & Calvert, 2005; Thurlow & Brown, 2003).

Table 1

Types and examples of text-based and graphic emoticons used in the WDF and MP messages

Types of Emoticons	Text-based	Graphical	WDF Messages (OFs)*	MP Messages (OFs)*
Happy	:) or :-)	😊	F = 80%; M = 10%	F = 10%; M = 1%
Winking	;) or :P	😉	F = 60%; M = 15%	F = 2%; M = 1%
Crying	:~(or :~(~	🐸 or ARGHHH!	F = 10%; M = 0%	F = 0%; M = 0%
Sad	:(or :-(	☹ or ☹	F = 45%; M = 2%	F = 0%; M = 0%

* = Occurrence frequencies

The types of typographic symbols used in the WDF messages - together with their corresponding frequencies of occurrence - by both females and males are displayed in *Table 2*:

Table 2*:*

The types of typographic symbols used in the WDF messages by both females and males

Typographical Symbols	Description	WDF Messages (OFs)*
???LOL or! lol!	Laughing out loud	F = 44%; M = 6%
?!	Uncertainty	F = 28%; M = 0%
-- or ...	Pause	F = 16%; M = 0%
.... Hmmmm or ummm	Surprise/Excitement	F = 32%; M = 1%
☼	Reminder	F = 1%; M = 0%

** = Occurrence frequencies*

Emotive Language

Emotive language is an expressive language characterised by a high emotive content. It is intended to express human emotions and generate greater affective responses from readers in much the same way as emoticons or smileys do in the context of email and MP messages (Crystal, 2001; D'Addario, n.d.; Liwei, 2001; Herring, 2000; McArthur, 2000;

Persson, 2003). This type of language can be used, among other things, to express feelings, moods and attitudes; it can also be employed to express happiness, excitement, humour, sarcasm, anxiety, anger, appreciation, and gratitude. Above all, it can be used for apologising, flirting, joking and insulting, etc. All these emotive variables are regarded as dependent measures by D'Addario (n.d.) and Huffaker and Calvert (2005). In the same vein, these variables were regarded as dependent measures in this study.

In the present study, the dependent emotive measures identified in the messages of both WDF and MP users were: gratitude, appreciation, happiness, excitement, apologising, humour, and joking. However, it is worth pointing out that these were much more predominant in the WDF messages than in the MP messages where they were hardly ever used. Consequently, *Figure 1* shows the occurrence frequencies of these variables as used primarily in the WDF messages.

Figure 1

The percentage occurrence frequencies of the emotive variables as used mainly by females and males in the WDF messages
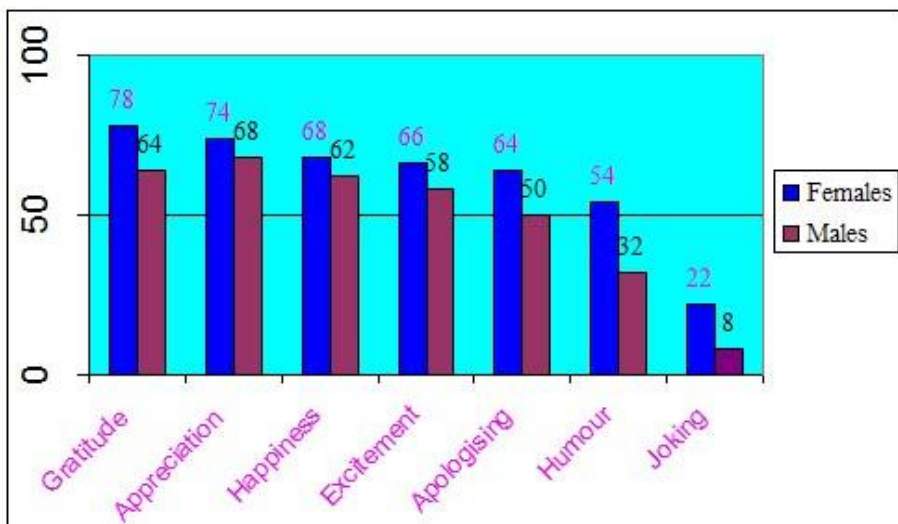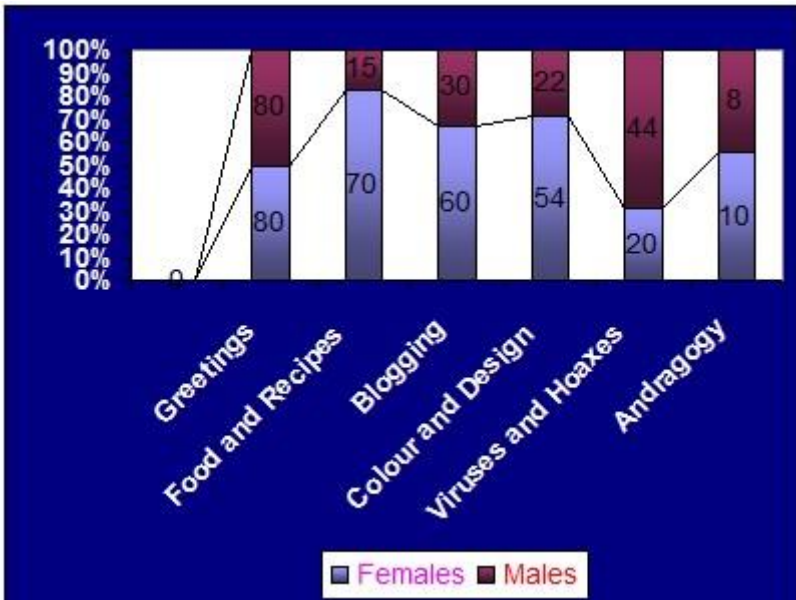
Intimate Topics

Some of the significant intimate topics discussed by the WDF users included greetings, food and recipes, blogging, colour and design, viruses and hoaxes, and andragogy. The MP users mainly engaged in greetings, well-wishing, love and personal relationship topics. *Figure 2* below indicates the percentage discussion frequencies of the intimate topics by both female and male users in the WDF.

Figure 2
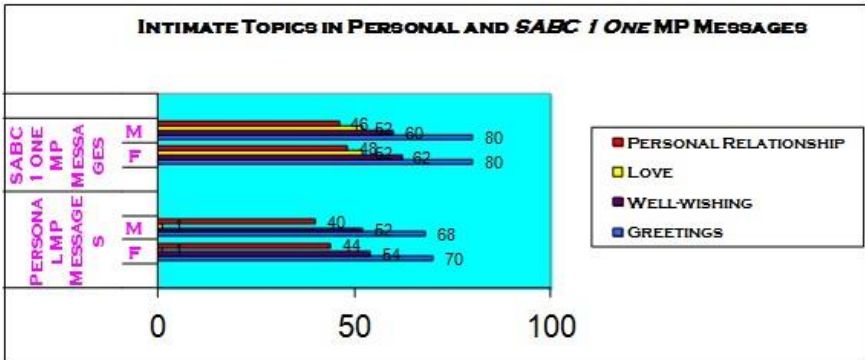*The percentage discussion frequencies of the intimate topics by both female and male users in the WDF*

On the other hand, *Figure 3* displays the percentage usage frequencies of the intimate topics discussed by all the MP users.

Figure 3

*The percentage usage frequencies of intimate topics in personal and SABC 1 One MP messages*

Language Use: Passivity, Cooperativity and Accommodation

Messages from all the data types were analysed for instances of passivity, cooperation and accommodation, and the frequencies of these instances were scored accordingly. The objective here was to establish which of the message senders – females or males – were likely to use more passive, cooperative and accommodating language. *Figure 4* reflects the respective percentage usage frequencies of the three instances of language use by the various message senders from both the WDF and MP.

Figure 4:
The percentage usage frequencies of the instances of passivity, cooperativity and accommodation by the message senders from both the WDF and MP
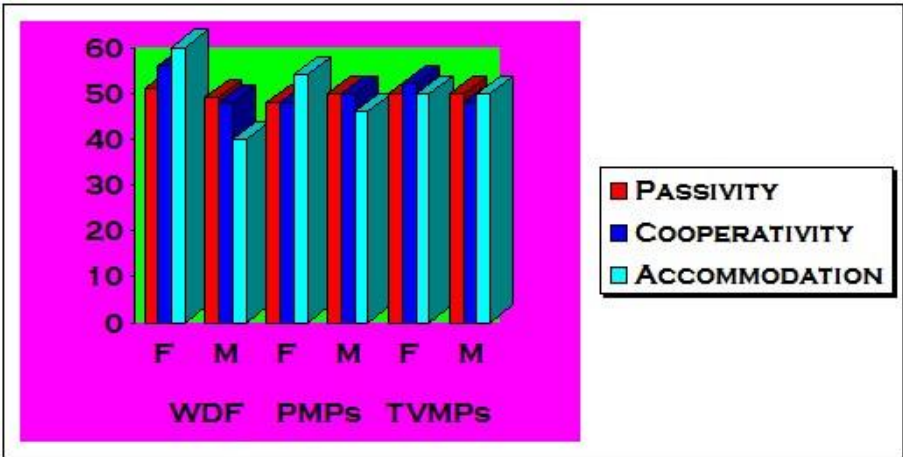
F = females; M = males; WDF = web discussion forum; PMPs = personal mobile phones; TVMPs = TV mobile phones (for SABC 1 One)

Discussion

Firstly, the main purpose of this study was to examine gender similarities and differences among adult males and females who used txt messages in a given online web discussion forum, and among adult males and females from South Africa who used mobile phone txt messages on their mobile phones on the one hand, and on a TV programme on the other hand. Secondly, the study explored how these three sets of users employed language and emoticons to present their identities and to express their personal feelings and experiences through these two forms of technologies. As such, it set out to test four hypotheses: 1) both males and females are likely to present themselves similarly in their messages often disclosing personal information such as either their real names, ID user names, or digital fake identities (pseudonyms), locations and personal background details such as their current jobs, professions, careers, etc.; 2) males tend to use less emoticons – and thus less expressive language - and tend to employ more active and resolute style of language than do females; 3) females tend

to discuss intimate topics more openly than males; and 4) females are more likely to use language that is passive, cooperative and accommodating than do males. In this sense, it was a comparative study looking, on the one hand, at both online and MP *txt* messaging identity construction between males and females. On the other hand, it investigated instances of gendered language use between males and females who posted WDF and MP *txt* messages.

Personal Self-Disclosures

In relation to personal self-disclosures as a variable, both female and male users of the WDF revealed their personal information more or less in the same way, even though there were fractionally varying degrees of disclosures by the two genders. For instance, in terms of percentage frequencies, female disclosures were relatively higher than males' in some of the personal information items investigated. This factor partly confirmed the first hypothesis as there was no significant percentage difference in the qualitative amount of personal information disclosed by both genders. Overall, both genders revealed a lot of personal information regarding emails, first and full names, ID user names, locations and personal background details (see Huffaker & Calvert, 2005).

In the case of MP users, there were similar and differential degrees of disclosures of the personal information for both females and males in the two sets of data. For example, the most revealed items for personal data for both genders in the case of personal MPs were MP numbers (94%/94%) and nicknames (54%/60%), while the same items polled 0%/0% and 50%/74%, respectively, for both genders in the case of SABC 1 *One* MP messages. Concerning the latter case in particular, the most disclosed items for personal information by both genders were first names (88%/90%), locations (90%/92), and nicknames (50%/74%). However, location fared badly for both genders in personal MP *txt* messages.

In addition, full names as an item scored 0% for both genders in all MP data sets. It is worth noting that despite all this, the qualitative disclosures of the personal information by both genders in all the different types of MP data seemed to negate the first hypothesis as the percentage disclosures for males were higher than those for females. Moreover, there were significant

differences in some of the personal information that the users of both WDF and MP technologies disclosed. For example, full names scored highly for both genders in the WDF, while they scored 0% in the MPs. First names ranked highly for the two genders both in the WDF messages and in the *txt* messages sent to SABC 1 *One* whereas they featured less in the personal MP *txt* messages. For both genders location featured predominantly in the WDF and SABC 1 *One* MP *txt* messages, while it polled 0% in the personal MP *txt* messages.

In terms of gender and identity construction, the personal self-disclosures made by the users of the two forms of technologies in this study imply that the two genders examined here constructed their identities both similarly and differently depending on the technology they used. For instance, on the one hand, if the different aspects of the personal information were regarded as constituting the different realms of one's identity, then there were instances when some of these realms assumed similar dimensions as exhibited by the two genders in these two technologies. On the other hand, there were instances when other realms of users' identities assumed different modalities as evinced again by these two genders. At the same time, the different forms of personal information the users displayed in the two technologies (e.g. real names, ID user names (pseudonyms), nicknames, passwords, pin numbers, etc) exemplified – analogously – the different forms of identity (multiple cosmopolitan or diasporic digital identities) one could assume both online and through appropriating MP *txt* messaging.

Emoticons, Typographic Symbols and Expressive Language

The analysis of the use of emoticons by both females and males from both WDF and MP messages indicated that more females employed emoticons than their male counterparts. In the case of the WDF messages, the qualitative difference in terms of the usage frequencies between the two genders was significantly larger except for the emoticon signalling *crying*. However, regarding the MP messages, the difference between the two genders' use of the emoticons signifying *happy* and *winking* was marginally smaller, while both genders polled equally for *crying* and *sad* (see *Table 1*). The occurrence frequency of the emoticons for both genders in relation to the WDF seemed to confirm the first part of the second hypothesis that

males use less emoticons than females (Huffaker & Calvert, 2005). The same was also true of the use of the typographic symbols by both genders (see *Table 2*). On the contrary, the use of the emoticons by both sexes in the MP messages only partly confirmed this prediction (see Huffaker & Calvert, 2005; D'Addario, n.d.; Thurlow & Brown, 2003).

As is evident from *Figure 1* above, the expressive language explored related only to the WDF users as there was not any instance of such language use that could be detected from the MP users. Here the occurrence frequencies indicated that, overall, female users polled higher than their male counterparts in all of the emotive traits associated with the expressive language. While this particular finding tended to confirm the first part of the second hypothesis, it nonetheless does not suggest that women were inherently more prone to be grateful, appreciative, apologetic and humorous than men in their use of the expressive language (D'Addario, n.d.; Herring, 2000; Huffaker & Calvert, 2005).

Gender and Intimate Topics

The analysis of the intimate topics indicated both similar and varying degrees of engagement with such topics by both sexes in the WDF. For example, in respect of the discussion of items such as *food and recipes*, *blogging*, and *colour and design*, females scored higher than males, while the latter scored higher than the former with regard to *computer viruses and hoaxes*. However, with reference to *andragogy*, both genders scored more or less equally (with females scoring marginally higher), whereas concerning *greetings*, the two genders polled equal percentages. This in a way contradicts the third hypothesis that females tend to discuss intimate topics more openly than males (see *Fig. 2*). The percentage usage frequencies polled by both genders in the personal MP and *SABC 1* television programme *One* messages more than negate the third hypothesis in that here both genders ranked almost equally regarding the types of intimate topics in which they engaged (see *Fig. 3*).

Passive, Cooperative and Accommodating Language Use across Genders

The analysis of the passive, cooperative and accommodating style of language was accordingly mounted using the *Tropes V6.2* and *DICTION 5.0* software packages. The use of accommodating language between the two genders differed fairly markedly in both the WDF and MP messages. Here the usage frequency for females was 60%, while for males was 40%. However, in the case of both the personal mobile phone and the *SABC 1 One* mobile phone messages, both genders used accommodating language almost equally (see *Fig. 4*). Moreover, the two genders used both passive and cooperative language equally across the three designated domains. That is, both genders tended to employ passive and cooperative language very nearly equally – barring the percentage difference in the case of accommodating language vis-à-vis the WDF and MPs (again see *Fig. 4*). This runs counter to the prediction embodied in the fourth hypothesis that females are more likely to use language that is passive, cooperative and accommodating than is the case with males.

Conclusion

This study set out to investigate both online gender and identity construction and language use and *txt* messaging gender and identity construction and language use among adult male and female users of a web discussion forum (*Becomingwebhead*), viewers of the SABC 1 programme, *One*, and private users of personal mobile phones. As such, as pointed out briefly above, it was a correlational study comparing, on the one hand, both online and MP *txt* messaging gender and identity construction between males and females. On the other hand, it explored instances of gendered language use between male and female users of these two forms of technologies. In one instance, it showed that both females and males investigated here tended to construct their identities – based on the personal information they disclosed – both similarly and differently depending on the form of technology they employed. In another instance, it indicated that the identities these two genders tended to display were multiple cosmopolitan or diasporic digital identities.

In addition, the study showed that in both the WDF and MP messages, more females tended to employ emoticons than did males. This was much more pronounced in the case of the WDF messages than in the case of the MP messages. The same was true of the emotive traits related to expressive language. With reference to gender and intimate topics, the study discovered that the two genders engaged in intimate topics in varying degrees. That is, it was not females alone that openly discussed such topics; rather, males also tended to do so. The study also discovered that both genders tended to employ passive and cooperative language (and accommodating language to some degree) very nearly similarly.

Limitations and Recommendations

The data used in this study were very limited and too varied to constitute a coherent whole. As such, the findings emerging from them are highly contextual and tentative. Besides, researching issues related to gender and identity is a highly subjective task involving personal biases and preconceptions that can colour one's treatment of these issues. Moreover, identity in particular, is a problematic and controversial variable to pin to any one specific and clear definition. Added to this is the fact that equating gender and identity construction to a disclosure or non-disclosure of one's personal information is tantamount to a simplistic and superficial representation of these two concepts (see Huffaker & Calvert, 2005). Furthermore, at best, studying gender, identity and language use in domains such as WDFs (online technologies) and MPs (mobile *txt* messaging technologies) entails inherent shortcomings as users can post messages and send *txt* messages which at times have little to do with the type of gender they belong to or with their gender orientation. At worst, users in domains such as these can fake who they are (their identities), what genders they are, and what their sexual orientations are. So, as a result, more research is needed to unearth the intricacies of and to come to grips with the gender and language use – with the attendant multiple cosmopolitan or diasporic digital identities - of the users of the technologies such as the ones studied in this article. In particular, more correlational longitudinal and cross-sectional studies are needed to further investigate gender and identity

construction and instances of gendered language use on different current and emerging technologies.

Declaration of Interest

The author declares that he has no financial or personal relationship(s) that may have inappropriately influenced him in writing this article.

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Validación del Contenido de un Instrumento de Evaluación para los Ámbitos Gestión de Personas y Ambiente de Trabajo de la Norma Chilena NCh3262/2012

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Validation of the Contents of an Assessment Tool for People Management Areas and Working Environment of the Chilean Standard NCh3262/2012

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Abstract

This study aimed to validate the contents of an assessment tool for people management areas and working environment included in the Chilean Standard NCh3262/2012 on Management System for Gender Equality, Reconciliation of Working Life, Family and Personal based on the application of expert judgment under variant of the delphi method. For this, a standard questionnaire was designed with open questions in the form of multiple choice, which were subject to validation by a panel of experts / as consists of 6 professionals working in the area of human resources to implement the standard. This validation was performed through 2 successive circulations attributes considering clarity, relevance and coherence for each question, taking into account for the first attribute Relative interquartile range (RIR), in while the significance was assessed using the Content Validity Index (CVI) and consistency through nonparametric statistical test of Cocharn Q.

Keywords: Chilean standard, delphi method, interquartile range relative, content validity index

Validación del Contenido de un Instrumento de Evaluación para los Ámbitos Gestión de Personas y Ambiente de Trabajo de la Norma Chilena NCh3262/2012

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Resumen

El presente estudio tuvo por objetivo validar el contenido de un instrumento de evaluación para los ámbitos gestión de personas y ambiente de trabajo incluidos en la Norma Chilena NCh3262/2012 sobre Sistema de Gestión de Igualdad de Género, Conciliación de la Vida Laboral, Familiar y Personal basado en la aplicación de un juicio de expertos bajo la variante del método delphi. Para ello, se diseñó un cuestionario con preguntas abiertas bajo la modalidad de selección múltiple, las cuales fueron sometidas a validación por un panel de expertos/as conformado por 6 profesionales que trabajan en el área de recursos humanos implementando la norma. Dicha validación se realizó a través de 2 circulaciones sucesivas considerando los atributos claridad, relevancia y coherencia para cada pregunta, tomando en cuenta para el primer atributo el Rango Intercuartílico Relativo (RIR), en tanto que la relevancia se evaluó a través del Índice de Validez de Contenido (IVC) y la coherencia por medio de la prueba estadística no paramétrica Q de Cocharn.

Palabras clave: norma chilena, método delphi, rango intercuartílico relativo, índice de validez de contenido

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L as dinámicas laborales actuales han obligado una inserción activa de la mujer en distintas áreas productivas, determinado por la evolución de nuevos escenarios sociales y económicos en el mundo moderno, exigiendo a su vez una participación equitativa del género masculino y femenino en el contexto laboral. Respecto a Chile, dicha inclusión se ha canalizado a través de políticas relacionadas con la transversalización, mecanismo que promueve la integración del enfoque de género en forma sistemática de los procesos y procedimientos establecidos, donde la labor llevada a cabo por el Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (SERNAM) ha sido clave para ello. En dicha línea, el SERNAM junto al Instituto Nacional de Normalización (INN) elaboraron la Norma Chilena NCh 3262/2012 sobre Sistema de Gestión orientado a la Igualdad de Género y Conciliación de la Vida Laboral, Familiar y Personal, la cual establece requisitos para la implementación voluntaria en organizaciones respecto a diferentes ámbitos importantes que se basan en la igualdad de derechos y la no discriminación entre hombres y mujeres en el trabajo.

Según los antecedentes aportados por el ranking global de igualdad de género incluidos en el informe del Foro Económico Mundial del 2013, Chile ocupa el lugar 91 de la clasificación, lo cual demuestra la existencia de una brecha amplia de género, denotado en factores claves tales como baja presencia femenina en cargos gerenciales – políticos y la brecha salarial entre ambos sexos (SERNAM, 2013a). Es así como Chile ha optado a diferencia de otros países latinoamericanos implementar el mecanismo de transversalización de género (gender mainstreaming), el cual es innovador en el concierto regional e internacional apuntando a una integración sistemática del enfoque de género en los sistemas, estructuras, procesos y procedimientos de las políticas públicas (Rodríguez Gustá & Caminotti, 2010).

De acuerdo a los antecedentes recopilados por el SERNAM (2013a), existe un conjunto de expresiones dentro del mercado laboral chileno que determinan desigualdades y condiciones adversas de oportunidades entre hombres y mujeres, destacando entre ellas las siguientes:

- Participación diferenciada en el mercado laboral. Faúndez, Guerrero & Quiroz (2010) definen ciertos estereotipos sobre el desempeño de laboral de las mujeres, destacando la consideración que existe sobre

ellas como fuerza de trabajo secundaria a la actividad principal del jefe de familia, la incapacidad de supervisar trabajos ajenos, la no necesidad de obtener nuevos ingresos y la disposición a aceptar salarios bajos, entre otros.

- Segregación horizontal y vertical del mercado laboral. Respecto a la segregación horizontal, existe una presencia de la ocupación laboral femenina en los sectores productivos comercio y servicios, en tanto que la segregación vertical se ratifica en la participación de las mujeres dentro de los niveles jerárquicos más bajos en las organizaciones. Es importante mencionar que dicha integración al ámbito laboral se transforma en un aspecto secundario en la vida de las mujeres, ya que esa inserción se ratifica bajo condiciones puntuales producto de que el hombre no puede cumplir ese rol por causa de una crisis económica, desempleo, baja en sus remuneraciones, enfermedad o incapacidad permanente y por la ausencia de la figura paterna en la cual la mujer asume una función de proveedora (Abramo, 2004).
- Falta de educación y calificación. Independiente del aumento respecto a la posibilidad de acceso a ocupaciones formales, existen brechas entre ambos sexos debido a que las mujeres necesitan una mayor cantidad de años para ingresar al sector formal. En este ámbito, el Servicio Nacional de Capacitación de Chile (SENCE) ha sido un pilar importante en la implementación de su plan de trabajo como parte de su Programa de Mejoramiento de la Gestión (PMG) para facilitar la inserción laboral femenina (Faúndez, Guerrero, & Quiroz, 2010).
- Economía del cuidado a cargo de las mujeres. Con repercusiones de tipo económico en los sectores proveedores, estableciendo la necesidad de considerar el funcionamiento del sistema económico como un todo, poniendo en cuestión los modos en que se distribuyen los trabajos, tiempos e ingresos orientados a la producción del bienestar (Esquivel, 2011).
- Brechas de las remuneraciones. Dadas en cargos similares ocupados para ambos sexos en una misma actividad y nivel de calificación, situación regulada en Chile a través de la ley 20.348 que resguarda el derecho a la igualdad de remuneraciones entre hombres y mujeres. Dicha ley establece además la necesidad de diferenciar salarios entre

ambos sexos sin discriminación para el trabajador/a si presenta cualidades tales como: capacidad, idoneidad para el cargo, nivel de calificación superior, responsabilidades mayores para el puesto de trabajo y capacidad productiva (Henríquez & Riquelme, 2010).

- Falta de conciliación entre la vida familiar, laboral y personal con corresponsabilidad. El modelo del mercado laboral no permite compatibilizar labores domésticas familiares con las productivas, determinando una división sexual rígida al respecto. En este contexto, la carga laboral remunerada atribuida a las mujeres hace que exista una distribución desigual respecto a las tareas no remuneradas desempeñadas, donde la prestación a cuidados de familiares repercute en un menor tiempo dedicado a la formación, la educación, la sindicalización, el ocio y el cuidado de la salud (OIT, 2011).

- Prejuicios culturales. Basados en estereotipos sociales que determinan procesos discriminatorios obstaculizando el desarrollo laboral, definiendo conductas típicas identificables denominadas roles de género. Esto se pone de manifiesto en los cargos de dirección correspondientes a los altos niveles jerárquicos de una organización, donde ambos sexos no son evaluados distintamente en relación a los atributos personales (grado de amabilidad, solicitud de apoyo ante problemas y relaciones de amistad) y laborales (liderazgo, medidas de orientación interpersonal y habilidades cognitivas) (Godoy & Mladinic, 2009).

- Acoso sexual y laboral. Ambas prácticas discriminatorias involucran el ejercicio del poder de una persona sobre otra, siendo tipificados en Chile dentro de marcos jurídicos regulatorios. Es así como el acoso sexual es sancionado por la ley 20.005, la cual incluye modificaciones al código del trabajo donde se señala efectuar procedimientos investigativos por parte de un empleador una vez que recibe un reclamo formal. Respecto al acoso laboral, existen antecedentes sobre aspectos y comportamientos variados que van desde los atentados a las condiciones del trabajo a la dignidad personal, al asilamiento y a los actos de violencia verbal o psicológica (Romanik, 2011). La modificación realizada al código del trabajo a través de la ley 20.607 especifica sanciones a estas prácticas existentes en una organización,

determinando la desvinculación del acosador con el término del contrato de trabajo sin derecho a indemnización.

Tomando en consideración los aspectos antes descritos, la elaboración de la NCh 3262/2012 se enmarca en ámbitos de acción cuyo objetivo está orientado a cambiar paradigmas establecidos y estructuras funcionales desiguales que se dan en los lugares de trabajos. Dicha norma corresponde a un estándar técnico que define aspectos no solo sobre la igualdad de género y conciliación de la vida laboral, familiar y personal, sino que también incluye aspectos sobre la corresponsabilidad, abarcando a su vez instancias que vinculan el desarrollo organizacional con un enfoque estratégico orientado a la responsabilidad social empresarial (INN, 2012). Su aplicación y alcance es amplio para empresas de cualquier tamaño y actividad productiva, enfocándose en 3 ámbitos organizacionales claves: gestión de personas, infraestructura y ambiente de trabajo (SERNAM, 2013b).

Método

El estudio se basó en la aplicación de un juicio de expertos bajo el método Delphi para validar el contenido de un cuestionario, cuyo panel estuvo conformado por 5 mujeres y 1 hombre quienes están a cargo de las unidades de recursos humanos en empresas de servicios y mineras donde se está implementando la norma.

A partir de las variables incluidas en los ámbitos gestión de personas y ambiente de trabajo, se definieron constructos y dimensiones, donde éstas últimas entregan una noción respecto al contenido a incluir en cada pregunta. Se elaboró un cuestionario tipo no estructurado conformado por 39 preguntas cerradas bajo la modalidad de selección múltiple (18 consultas para el ámbito gestión de personas y 21 para el ámbito ambiente de trabajo), cuyas variables, constructos y dimensiones consideradas en su diseño fueron las siguientes:

Ámbito gestión de personas

- Variable: reclutamiento y selección del personal – constructo: reclutamiento.
- Dimensiones:

Definición del perfil de cargo sin discriminación por razón de sexo (pregunta 1).

Medios usados para reclutar (pregunta 2).

Tasa proporcional de mujeres reclutadas según su participación del proceso (pregunta 3).

- Variable: reclutamiento y selección del personal – constructo: selección.
- Dimensiones:

Mecanismos de selección con garantías de imparcialidad y objetividad (pregunta 4).

Personal encargado de la selección interno y externo con competencias en temáticas con enfoque de género (pregunta 5).

Tasa proporcional de mujeres seleccionadas en relación a los cargos (pregunta 6).

- Variable: representación equilibrada de hombres y mujeres en cargos de responsabilidad – constructo: equilibrio de género.
- Dimensiones:

Procedimientos y mecanismos para garantizar el acceso igualitario a cargos directivos o de toma de decisiones (pregunta 7).

Proporción de hombres / mujeres en los cargos directivos (pregunta 8).

Gestión del talento sin discriminación por razón de sexo y/o género (pregunta 9).

- Variable: acceso a la capacitación – constructo: capacitación.
- Dimensiones:

Plan de formación para mejorar el desempeño en posiciones actuales y futuras en mujeres/hombres (pregunta 10).

Tasa de capacitación recibida por mujeres y hombres (pregunta 11).

Modelo de desarrollo de capacitación no discriminatorio por razón de sexo, documentado y difundido a toda la organización (pregunta 12).

- Variable: desarrollo de carrera – constructo: desarrollo.
- Dimensiones:

Promoción de hombres y mujeres con garantías de igualdad de oportunidades con enfoque de género (pregunta 13).

Tasa de movilidad vertical-horizontal en la organización (pregunta 14).

Acceso con igualdad de oportunidades para mujeres y hombres dentro de la organización (pregunta 15).

- Variable: prácticas de remuneración y compensación con criterios de igualdad – constructo: remuneración.
- Dimensiones:

Procedimiento para detallar cargos con escalas de remuneraciones (pregunta 16).

Declaración de políticas remuneracionales sin discriminación por razón de sexo y/o género (pregunta 17).

- Variable: prácticas de remuneración y compensación con criterios de igualdad – constructo: compensación.
- Dimensión:

Procedimiento de compensación de beneficios iguales para hombres/ mujeres (pregunta 18).

Ámbito ambiente de trabajo

- Variable: Implementar medidas que permitan la eliminación de todo trato abusivo, irrespetuoso o discriminatorio entre jefaturas y subordinados, como así también entre pares – constructo: discriminación.
- Dimensiones:

Acciones de respeto y no discriminación en el trato (pregunta 19).

Definición de un procedimiento de detección de prácticas discriminatorias (pregunta 20).

Definición de un procedimiento de eliminación de prácticas discriminatorias (pregunta 21).

- Variable: Difundir la importancia para mujeres y hombres de desempeñarse en un ambiente con garantías de igualdad de oportunidades - constructo: comunicación.
- Dimensiones:

Política de comunicación y sensibilización al interior de la organización en temáticas de equidad de género (pregunta 22).

Estrategia comunicacional clara definida (pregunta 23).

Utilización de un lenguaje inclusivo según la estrategia comunicacional definida (pregunta 24).

- Variable: Revisar e incluir en el reglamento materias de prevención y sanción del acoso sexual – constructo: acoso sexual.
- Dimensiones:

Política de prevención, sanción y eliminación del acoso sexual (pregunta 25).

Protocolo de difusión respecto a la política de prevención, sanción y eliminación del acoso sexual (pregunta 26).

Procedimiento de atención ante situaciones de acoso sexual que garantice un trato igualitario (pregunta 27).

- Variable: Revisar e incluir en el reglamento materias de prevención y sanción del acoso laboral - constructo: acoso laboral.
- Dimensiones:

Política de prevención, sanción y eliminación del acoso laboral (pregunta 28).

Protocolo de difusión respecto a la política de prevención, sanción y eliminación del acoso laboral (pregunta 29).

Procedimiento de atención ante situaciones de acoso laboral (pregunta 30).

- Variable: Asegurar que se implementen programas de salud integral (física y mental) para las personas de la organización, tomando en cuenta los riesgos de salud asociados a su sexo - constructo: salud integral.
- Dimensiones:

Presencia de un programa en salud física y mental para los/as trabajadores/as (pregunta 31).

Promoción de instancias de diagnóstico preventivo para enfermedades de mayor incidencia en ambos sexos (pregunta 32).
Programa o acciones que promuevan la vida saludable con enfoque de género (pregunta 33).

- Variable: Estimular acciones para la conciliación de la vida laboral, familiar y personal en la lógica de la corresponsabilidad para las personas de la organización - constructo: conciliación.
- Dimensiones:

Política en relación al uso licencias y permisos adicionales a las establecidas en la legislación (pregunta 34).
Presencia de servicios de cuidados para personas dependientes (pregunta 35).
Organización del trabajo (pregunta 36).

- Variable: Asegurar que se tomen medidas de prevención, detección y derivación de la violencia intrafamiliar - constructo: violencia intrafamiliar.
- Dimensiones:

Política de prevención, orientación y asistencia a personas afectadas por la violencia intrafamiliar (pregunta 37).
Protocolo de actuación frente a casos de violencia intrafamiliar (pregunta 38).
Capacitación en acciones sobre la problemática de la violencia intrafamiliar a toda la organización (pregunta 39).

Respecto a la aplicación del instrumento, se procedió a distribuirlo en su primera circulación bajo la modalidad online, para lo cual se cursó una invitación que describía el objetivo del estudio junto con un instructivo que incluyó el procedimiento de validación del contenido (tabla 1). En relación a la segunda circulación, se realizó dicho panel presencialmente en las dependencias del SERNAM, permitiendo reforzar conceptos incluidos en los consolidados individuales correspondientes a los resultados de la primera circulación y profundizar en la importancia de evaluar los aspectos para la validación del instrumento.

Tabla 1.
Atributos para la validación del contenido según su calificación.

Atributo	Definición	Codificación
Claridad	Facilidad con que el juez (a) comprende su significado y la forma en que se combinan las palabras	1: No cumple 2: Cumple a un bajo nivel 3: Cumple a un nivel moderado 4: Cumple en un alto nivel
Relevancia	La pregunta es importante considerarla para explicar la dimensión, entendida como una característica determinada de un constructo que tiene un sostén teórico dentro de una variable de la norma	1: Esencial. Pregunta es importante e indispensable incluirla 2: Útil. Pregunta es importante pero no indispensable incluirla 3: No necesario. Pregunta no es importante ni indispensable incluirla
Coherencia	La pregunta tiene relación lógica con la dimensión considerada (ajuste adecuado dimensión – pregunta)	0: No cumple 1: Cumple
Pregunta abierta	Inclusión de observaciones que enriquezcan el contenido de la pregunta	Sin escala

Respecto a la validación del contenido de las preguntas, se procedió a analizar los atributos mencionados en la tabla 1 tomando en cuenta lo siguiente:

Claridad

Analizada a través del Rango Intercuartílico Relativo (RIR), el cual evalúa el consenso general entre los jueces. Se asumió como criterio de consenso aquellos porcentajes de respuestas que posean un RIR menor o igual a un 10%, siendo definido a partir de la siguiente fórmula:

$$RIR = (Q3 - Q1)/Me$$

Donde:

RIR= Rango Intercuartílico Relativo.

Q3 = Cuartil 3 equivalente al percentil 75, representando al valor que deja el 75% de las respuestas por debajo de ella y el 25% por encima.

Q1 = Cuartil 1 equivalente al percentil 25, representando al valor que deja el 25% de las respuestas por debajo de ella y el 75% por encima.

Me = Mediana individual obtenida para cada pregunta.

Relevancia

Se utilizó el índice de validez de contenido propuesto por Lawshe (1975), el cual se sustenta en la valoración otorgada por los jueces a cada pregunta según 3 categorías, donde para definir consenso en la categoría esencial se utilizó la siguiente expresión:

$$IVC = \frac{ne - N/2}{N/2}$$

Donde:

IVC = Índice de validez de contenido.

ne = Número de expertos que ha calificado la pregunta como esencial.

N = Número total de expertos que ha calificado a la pregunta.

Dicho índice varía entre +1 y -1, donde los valores que son más cercanos al primero indican una mejor validez del contenido, considerando que más de la mitad de los jueces acuerdan la pregunta como esencial (Tristán-López, 2008).

Coherencia

Se evaluó tomando en cuenta la relación lógica entre la pregunta elaborada con la dimensión (grado de ajuste adecuado dimensión – pregunta). Para ello, se aplicó la prueba estadística no paramétrica Q de Cocharn, la cual considera para su ejecución supuestos respecto a la categorización de variables nominales dicotómicas con un mínimo de 3 o más muestras relacionadas entre sí (Badii, Guillen, Araiza, Cerna, Valenzuela, &

Landeros, 2012). El análisis se realizará considerando las preguntas en grupos de 3 equivalentes a las 3 dimensiones, aplicando dicho test para cada situación con el objetivo de docimar la siguiente hipótesis:

H0 = El juicio de los expertos no difiere significativamente (sin diferencias en el grado de ajuste de cada dimensión con su respectiva pregunta).

H1 =Al menos un par de expertos emite juicios distintos (con diferencias en el grado de ajuste de cada dimensión con su respectiva pregunta).

Asumiendo un ajuste de los datos según la distribución chi cuadrada, se rechaza la H0 si el nivel de significancia es menor a un $\alpha = 0,05$ (regla de decisión p $\leq 0,05$).
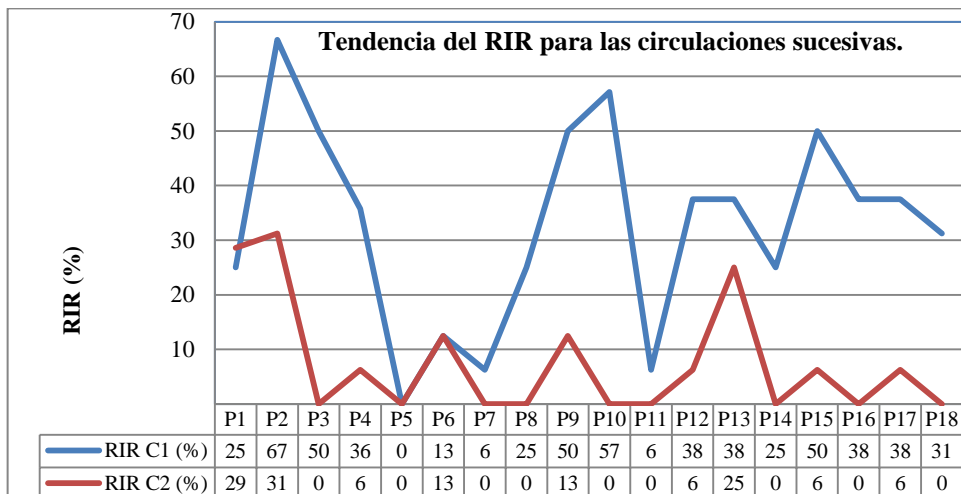
Resultados

Respecto a las cambios realizados al instrumento, se modificaron en la primera circulación 31 preguntas con 73 observaciones, cuyo mayor porcentaje de cambios estuvo representado por la modificación hecha a la alternativa (20 preguntas), seguido por la modificación de la consulta – dimensión (4 preguntas). El cierre del proceso que involucró la aplicación del cuestionario corregido en su segunda circulación, determinó la inclusión de 11 observaciones para la versión definitiva, de las cuales 4 indicaban la profundización en cambios estructurales del instrumento. Se excluyeron 7 observaciones que incluían apreciaciones personales de los jueces.

De los resultados obtenidos para el ámbito gestión de personas en el atributo calidad se concluye que existió una fuerte atenuación de los valores del RIR en la segunda iteración (figura 1 pregunta 1 a la 18), donde el 72,2% de las preguntas cumplirían con el criterio de consenso (bajo un 10%), 11,1% estarían cercanas a cumplir (preguntas con un 13%) y 16,7% no llegarían al consenso grupal (lejos a un 10%). Producto de esto, se ratifican diferencias en la definición de conceptos claves para los panelistas respecto a ciertas preguntas (pregunta 1, 2 y 13), donde la internalización de conceptos de género en al ámbito de recursos humanos posee enfoques estratégicos diferentes de abordaje organizacional.
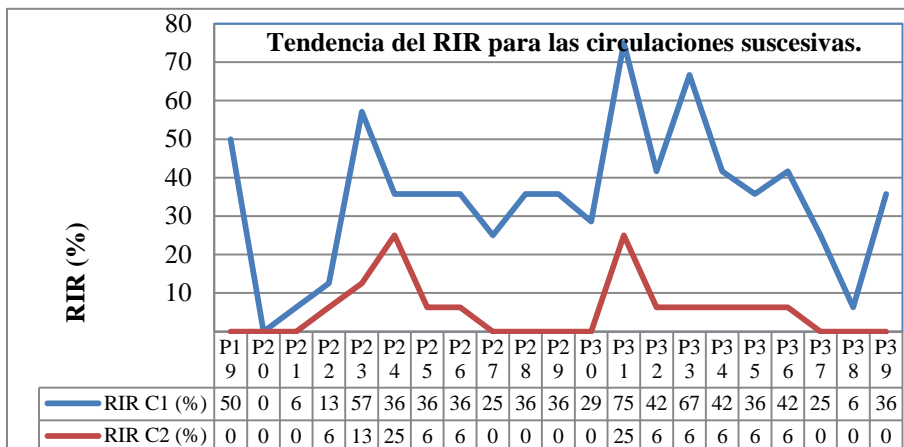
Figura 1.
RIR obtenido en las iteraciones sucesivas para cada pregunta del ámbito gestión de personas / atributo claridad.

	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11	P12	P13	P14	P15	P16	P17	P18
RIR C1 (%)	25	67	50	36	0	13	6	25	50	57	6	38	38	25	50	38	38	31
RIR C2 (%)	29	31	0	6	0	13	0	0	13	0	0	6	25	0	6	0	6	0

El RIR correspondiente al ámbito ambiente de trabajo demuestra una fuerte atenuación de los valores esperados en la segunda circulación (figura 2 pregunta 19 a la 39), donde el 85,7% de las preguntas cumplirían con el criterio de consenso (bajo un 10%), 4,7% estarían cercanas a cumplir (consultas con un 13%) y un 9,5% que no llegarían al consenso grupal (lejos a un 10%). Esto ratifica que las observaciones cogidas en la primera circulación permitieron lograr un fuerte consenso entre los panelistas, reduciendo las brechas a niveles aceptables en casi todas las preguntas.
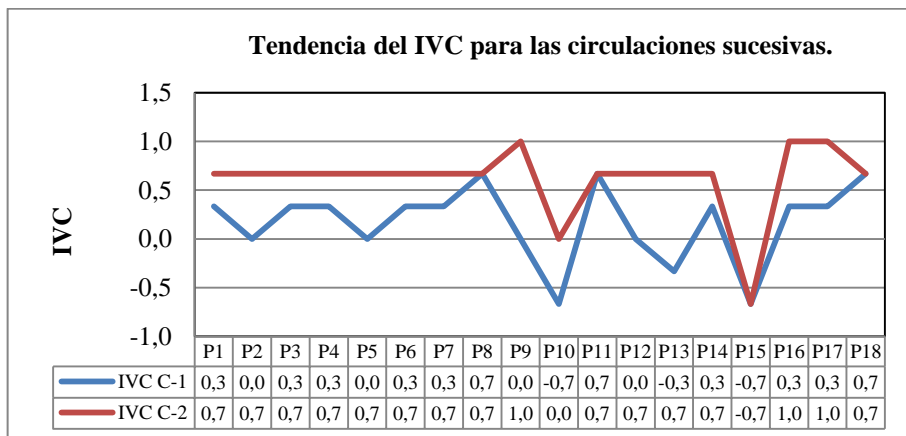
Figura 2.
RIR obtenido en las iteraciones sucesivas para cada pregunta del ámbito ambiente de trabajo / atributo claridad.

	P1 9	P2 0	P2 1	P2 2	P2 3	P2 4	P2 5	P2 6	P2 7	P2 8	P2 9	P3 0	P3 1	P3 2	P3 3	P3 4	P3 5	P3 6	P3 7	P3 8	P3 9
RIR C1 (%)	50	0	6	13	57	36	36	36	25	36	36	29	75	42	67	42	36	42	25	6	36
RIR C2 (%)	0	0	0	6	13	25	6	6	0	0	0	0	25	6	6	6	6	6	0	0	0

En relación al atributo relevancia, el IVC obtenido para el ámbito gestión de personas en la segunda circulación demuestra un ajuste adecuado para casi la totas las preguntas, no llegando sí al óptimo sugerido (figura 3). Independiente de ello, el 72,2% de las consultas alcanzan un IVC de +0,7 en la segunda circulación, denotando la eficiencia en el grado de ajuste y un consenso casi absoluto de los panelistas debido a que solo uno de ellos difiere respecto a la calificación esencial. En el opuesto, la pregunta 10 y 15 presentan grados de ajuste muy bajos, motivo por el cual sus validaciones de los contenidos no serían adecuadas.

Figura 3.
Resultados del IVC en cada circulación para el ámbito gestión de personas.

	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11	P12	P13	P14	P15	P16	P17	P18
IVC C-1	0,3	0,0	0,3	0,3	0,0	0,3	0,3	0,7	0,0	-0,7	0,7	0,0	-0,3	0,3	-0,7	0,3	0,3	0,7
IVC C-2	0,7	0,7	0,7	0,7	0,7	0,7	0,7	0,7	1,0	0,0	0,7	0,7	0,7	0,7	-0,7	1,0	1,0	0,7

La figura 4 representa el IVC obtenido para el ámbito ambiente de trabajo en la segunda circulación, donde el 38% de sus preguntas alcanzan un nivel óptimo. A su vez, igual porcentaje de consultas representan casi un consenso absoluto de los panelistas debido a que solo uno de ellos difiere respecto a la calificación esencial. Con una validez débil del contenido se presentan 4 preguntas equivalentes a un 19%, cuyo IVC de +0,33 no permite lograr consenso producto de la existencia de 2 panelistas que difieren su calificación respecto a la codificación del atributo como esencial (preguntas 23, 29, 32 y 35). Por último, la pregunta 31 presenta un nulo consenso en la validez del contenido con un IVC igual a 0, donde se hacen notorias las diferencias entre los jueces sobre si la consulta es esencial o útil en su inclusión.

Figura 4.
Resultados del IVC en cada circulación para el ámbito ambiente de trabajo.
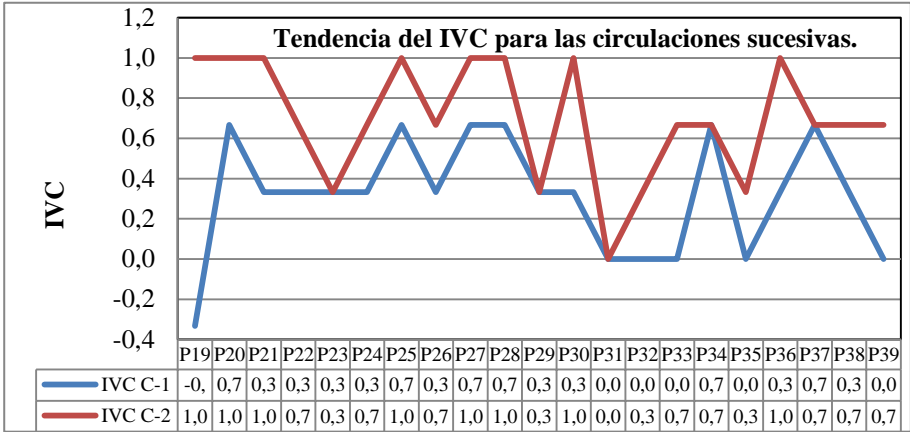
El atributo coherencia evaluado por medio del test estadístico Q de Cochran se detalla en las tablas 2 y 3, donde se puede apreciar para todos los casos que el juicio de los expertos/as no demuestran diferencias significativas en relación al ajuste dimensión – pregunta (valor p o significación asintótica ≥ a 0,05). Respecto a la primera circulación del ámbito gestión de personas, se denota para todos los casos que no se alcanza el nivel de rechazo en relación a las diferencias de las valoraciones otorgadas por los jueces en sus calificaciones a pesar de que se manifestaron resultados estadísticos bajos del valor p (0,368). Ello refleja que existen calificaciones distintas de los panelistas donde al modificar las consultas producto de las observaciones sugeridas para la segunda circulación, se llega a un consenso absoluto respecto al cumplimiento en casi todos los casos sin realizar dicha prueba (salvo el pool de preguntas 4,5 y 6 que se mantiene en equilibrio con sus calificaciones de cada iteración). Para el caso del ámbito ambiente de trabajo, se manifiesta en ambas circulaciones un consenso casi perfecto para el conjunto de preguntas agrupadas a excepción del pool 19,20 y 21, 31,32 y 33, donde éste último atenúa su significación estadística representando un mayor consenso entre panelistas.

Tabla 2.
Estadísticos obtenidos al aplicar el test Q de Cochran para las preguntas del ámbito gestión de personas.

Nº de pregunta	Estadísticos circulación 1 (C1)			Estadísticos circulación 2 (C2)			Observaciones
	Q Cochran	Grados libertad	Sig. Asintótica	Q Cochran	Grados libertad	Sig. Asintótica	
P1							Sin prueba en
P2	2,000	2	0,368	-	-	-	la C2.
P3							
P4							
P5	2,000	2	0,368	2,000	2	0,368	
P6							
P7							Sin prueba en
P8	1,000	2	0,607	-	-	-	la C2.
P9							
P10							Sin prueba en
P11	1,000	2	0,607	-	-	-	la C2.
P12							
P13							Sin prueba en
P14	2,000	2	0,368	-	-	-	la C2.
P15							
P16							Sin prueba en
P17	0,000	2	1,000	-	-	-	la C2.
P18							

Tabla 3.
Estadísticos obtenidos al aplicar el test Q de Cochran para las preguntas del ámbito ambiente de trabajo.

Nº de pregunta	Estadísticos circulación 1 (C1)			Estadísticos circulación 2 (C2)			Observaciones
	Q Cochran	Grados libertad	Sig. Asintótica	Q Cochran	Grados libertad	Sig. Asintótica	
P19 P20 P21	2,000	2	0,368	-	-	-	Sin prueba en la C2.
P22 P23 P24	-	-	-	-	-	-	Sin prueba en la C1 y C2.
P25 P26 P27	-	-	-	-	-	-	Sin prueba en la C1 y C2.
P28 P29 P30	-	-	-	-	-	-	Sin prueba en la C1 y C2.
P31 P32 P33	3,000	2	0,223	2,000	2	0,368	
P34 P35 P36	-	-	-	-	-	-	Sin prueba en la C1 y C2.
P37 P38 P39	-	-	-	-	-	-	Sin prueba en la C1 y C2.

Tomando en consideración los resultados generales obtenidos del proceso, la propuesta final de validación del cuestionario considera la utilización de 24 preguntas, donde se procedió a realizar el cruce de la información obtenida para cada atributo, dejando aquellos que se

encontraban muy próximos a los óptimos definidos (RIR de 10% - IVC igual a 1). Esto se asumió producto de la variación sensible obtenida en los resultados como consecuencia de solo una calificación distinta a la ideal esperada por los jueces.

De acuerdo a lo antes mencionado, el instrumento final validado corresponde a un cuestionario de selección múltiple con 24 preguntas, las cuales se presentan a continuación siguiendo la misma secuencia numérica original asignada a las dimensiones para el diseño de las consultas:

Cuestionario de evaluación para los ámbitos gestión de personas y ambiente de trabajo de la Norma Chilena NCh 3262/2012.

Pregunta N°3. En relación al reclutamiento y la tasa proporcional de mujeres, entendida esta última como la totalidad de ellas que participan de este proceso, se puede concluir que:
a) La organización no posee un registro de este tipo. No hay evidencias de su medición.
b) La organización posee un registro de este tipo, el cual es calculado sobre la base de la totalidad de hombres y mujeres que participan del proceso.
c) La organización posee un registro de este tipo, el cual es calculado sobre la base de la totalidad de hombres o de mujeres que participan del proceso.
d) La organización no posee un registro de este tipo, pero está en la etapa de su implementación (existen bases de datos al respecto).

Pregunta N°4. De acuerdo a los mecanismos de selección curricular implementados en la organización, se puede asegurar que:
a) La organización selecciona usando mecanismos totalmente imparciales y objetivos sin discriminar por sexo (tales como entrevistas sin preguntas personales y evaluaciones).
b) La organización selecciona solo bajo algunos mecanismos imparciales, imposibilitando así la erradicación discriminatoria por sexo (solo considera algunas veces el uso de entrevistas sin preguntas personales o evaluaciones).
c) La organización no posee un mecanismo imparcial en el proceso de selección curricular del personal, no permitiendo la inclusión de hombres y mujeres en igualdad de condiciones.

d) La organización no posee un mecanismo claro para seleccionar curricularmente el personal (no contempla entrevistas técnicas, psicológicas o pruebas de selección, entre otras).

Pregunta N°5. Según el nivel de preparación del personal encargado de la selección (capacitación y formación con enfoque de género), se puede decir que éste es:

a) Muy bueno. Altamente preparado a través de cursos, talleres y diplomados que superan las expectativas exigidas por la norma.

b) Bueno. Preparado con cursos y talleres, cumpliendo con los aspectos requeridos según la norma.

c) Regular. Posee solo algunos talleres importantes relacionados con la formación en el enfoque de género.

d) Básico. Existen competencias adquiridas solo en el trabajo, sin una certificación formal que acredite la formación en el enfoque de género. No cumple.

e) No existe preparación alguna de competencias técnicas en dicha temática.

Pregunta N°6. En relación a la tasa proporcional de mujeres seleccionadas de acuerdo a los cargos, se puede mencionar que:

a) La organización no posee un registro de este tipo. No hay evidencias de su implementación.

b) La organización posee un registro de este tipo, el cual es calculado y obtenido sobre la base de la totalidad de mujeres que son seleccionadas versus la totalidad de vacantes en los cargos involucrados.

c) La organización posee un registro de este tipo, el cual es calculado y obtenido sobre la base de la totalidad de las personas seleccionadas versus la totalidad de vacantes en los cargos involucrados (tanto hombres como mujeres).

d) La organización no posee un registro de este tipo, pero está en la etapa de su implementación (existen bases de datos al respecto).

Pregunta N°7. En el marco de la implementación de procedimientos, protocolos y mecanismos que aseguren accesos igualitarios en materias de género a cargos de toma de decisiones, se puede mencionar que:

a) La organización los tiene implementados, sin sesgos en cuanto a los requisitos en materia de género.

b) La organización los tiene implementados, pero se detectan sesgos respecto a los requisitos exigidos en materia de género.

c) La organización no los tiene implementados. No es posible detectar sesgos en materia de género.

d) La organización está en proceso de implementación. Se requiere precisar algunos requisitos de acceso igualitario en materia de género para dichos cargos.

Pregunta N°8. Evaluando la proporcionalidad establecida entre hombres / mujeres en los cargos directivos de la organización, se puede concluir que:

a) Existe un registro claro contable respecto a la cantidad de mujeres que ocupan estos cargos permitiendo determinar el nivel de segregación vertical existente.

b) No existe un registro contable respecto a la cantidad de mujeres que ocupan estos cargos. No es posible determinar el nivel de segregación vertical existente.

c) Existe un registro contable parcial respecto a la cantidad de mujeres que ocupan estos cargos, lo cual dificulta establecer la proporción establecida.

d) Se realiza registro contable para establecer dicha proporción, pero éste es errado no considerando por ejemplo todos los cargos directivos existentes.

Pregunta N°11. En relación a la tasa de capacitación de mujeres y hombres en la organización, se puede mencionar que:

a) La organización no posee un registro de este tipo. No hay evidencias de la implementación de ese indicador.

b) La organización posee un registro completo, el cual es calculado sobre la base de la totalidad de hombres y mujeres que son capacitados en un período determinado de tiempo según tipo de capacitación realizada.

c) La organización posee un registro, pero falta especificidad respecto a los tipos de capacitación recibidas.

d) La organización no tiene contemplado dentro de su política de desarrollo la capacitación de los trabajadores/as.

Pregunta N°12. Al considerar el modelo formativo de capacitación en la organización, se puede afirmar que:
a) Se tiene un modelo formativo de capacitación discriminatorio por razón de sexo.
b) Se posee un modelo formativo de capacitación no discriminatorio por razón de sexo, el cual está documentado y difundido en la organización.
c) No se tiene un modelo formativo de capacitación definido.
d) Se posee un modelo formativo de capacitación no discriminatorio por razón de sexo, pero éste no está documentado ni difundido.

Pregunta N°14. En relación a la tasa de movilidad vertical-horizontal dada en la organización, se puede concluir que:
a) La organización no posee un registro de este tipo. No hay evidencias de la implementación de ese indicador.
b) La organización posee un registro completo, el cual es calculado sobre la base de la totalidad de hombres y mujeres que son reubicados en distintos puestos laborales.
c) La organización posee un registro, pero falta especificidad en la información respecto a la movilidad vertical u horizontal que se lleva a cabo.
d) La organización realiza un solo registro correcto y completo de la movilidad laboral al interior de ésta (ya sea vertical u horizontal).

Pregunta N°16. Según los procedimientos definidos en la organización respecto a las escalas de remuneraciones que se deben tener para diferentes cargos, se puede afirmar que:
a) Están en conocimiento por parte de la gerencia de recursos humanos, los cuales son absolutamente transparentes y detallados para todas sus unidades.
b) Están en conocimiento por parte de la gerencia de recursos humanos, los cuales son medianamente transparentes y detallados solo para algunas de sus unidades o departamentos.
c) Están en conocimiento por parte de la gerencia de recursos humanos y son transparentes pero no detallados para todas sus unidades.
d) No están definidos tales procedimientos.

Pregunta N°17. Considerando la declaración de políticas remuneracionales, es correcto mencionar que:

a) Se encuentra correctamente confeccionada dejando en claro la ausencia de la discriminación por causa de sexo y/o género.

b) Se encuentra confeccionada, pero hay aspectos algo confusos o poco claros respecto a la ausencia de la discriminación por causa de sexo y/o género.

c) Se encuentra confeccionada con varias falencias respecto a la política remuneracional, aunque deja en claro la ausencia de la discriminación por causa de sexo y/o género.

d) No se encuentra diseñada.

Pregunta N°18. En relación a los procedimientos de compensación con beneficios iguales para hombres / mujeres definidos en la organización, es correcto mencionar que:

a) Son transparentes, detallados para todas sus unidades, actualizados y sin sesgos de género.

b) Son transparentes, detallados solo para algunas de sus unidades o departamentos y sin actualizaciones.

c) Son transparentes pero no detallados para todas sus unidades. Además presenta solo algunas actualizaciones al respecto.

d) Son transparentes, detallados para todas sus unidades, actualizados pero con sesgos de género.

e) No están definidos tales procedimientos.

Pregunta N°19. En el marco de las acciones de respeto y no discriminación en el trato (tales como cursos, talleres o campañas de difusión) promovidas en la organización, es posible concluir que:

a) Existe una declaración formal por medio de una política, procurando realizar dichas acciones periódicamente con la participación de todas las personas.

b) Existe una declaración formal por medio de una política. Las acciones de respeto y no discriminación se realizan esporádicamente entre las personas.

c) Existe una declaración formal por medio de una política. Las acciones de respeto sin discriminación entre las personas no se realizan.

d) No existe una declaración formal a través de una política que promueva acciones de respeto y no discriminación en el trato.

Pregunta N°20. En el marco de los procedimientos definidos en la organización respecto a la detección de prácticas discriminatorias, se concluye que:
a) Existen y son transparentes, detallados para todas sus unidades y están actualizados.
b) Existen y son transparentes, detallados solo para algunas de sus unidades sin poseer actualizaciones.
c) Existen y son transparentes, pero no se detallan para todas sus unidades. Además presenta solo algunas actualizaciones al respecto.
d) No se encuentran diseñados.

Pregunta N°21. En relación a los procedimientos definidos en la organización respecto a la eliminación de prácticas discriminatorias, se ratifica que:
a) Existen y son transparentes, detallados para todas sus unidades y están actualizados.
b) Existen y son transparentes, detallados solo para algunas de sus unidades y no poseen actualizaciones.
c) Existen y son transparentes, pero no están detallados para todas sus unidades. Además presenta solo algunas actualizaciones al respecto.
d) No están definidos tales procedimientos.

Pregunta N°22. Considerando la política de comunicación y sensibilización al interior de la organización en temáticas de equidad de género, se concluye que:
a) Existe y se difunde a todo el personal en forma esporádica por los medios oficiales predispuestos, procurando su acceso total. Recoge la opinión de las personas.
b) Existe, pero se difunde esporádicamente solo a parte del personal por los medios oficiales predispuestos. No se cautela su completo acceso, sin recoger la opinión de las personas.

c) Existe y se difunde a todo el personal por los medios oficiales predispuestos, pero no se procura su acceso total. Su difusión es esporádica y recoge la opinión de un grupo de personas.
d) No se encuentra diseñada.

Pregunta N°25. Considerando la política de prevención, sanción y eliminación del acoso sexual al interior de la organización en temáticas de equidad de género, se concluye que:
a) Se difunde entre todas las personas con garantía de confidencialidad en su tratamiento, siendo revisada y actualizada periódicamente.
b) Se difunde entre todas las personas con garantía de confidencialidad en su tratamiento, siendo revisada y actualizada esporádicamente.
c) Se difunde solo en algunas personas con garantía de confidencialidad en su tratamiento, siendo revisada y actualizada periódicamente.
d) Se difunde solo en algunas personas con garantía de confidencialidad en su tratamiento sin una revisión y actualización periódica.
e) Se difunde entre todas las personas pero sin garantía de confidencialidad en su tratamiento, siendo revisada y actualizada periódicamente.

Pregunta N°26. Considerando el protocolo de difusión respecto a la política de prevención, sanción y eliminación del acoso sexual, es posible concluir que:
a) Utiliza los medios dispuestos y enfatiza en todos sus contenidos. Además es asequible a todas las personas y se difunde permanentemente.
b) Utiliza los medios dispuestos y enfatiza en todos sus contenidos. Es asequible a todas las personas pero se difunde esporádicamente.
c) Utiliza los medios, pero enfatiza solo algunos contenidos. Es asequible a algunas personas y se difunde permanentemente.
d) Utiliza algunos medios para su difusión, enfatizando todos sus contenidos. Es asequible a algunas personas y su difusión es esporádica.

Pregunta N°27. En relación al procedimiento de atención ante situaciones de acoso sexual con garantías de trato igualitario, se ratifica que:
a) Está presente y se maneja confidencialmente. Garantiza siempre un trato igualitario y se revisa permanentemente.

b) Está presente y se maneja confidencialmente. No garantiza un trato igualitario y no es revisado permanentemente.

c) Está presente pero no se maneja confidencialmente, aunque garantiza siempre un trato igualitario. No se revisa permanentemente.

d) Está presente pero no se maneja confidencialmente y no garantiza un trato igualitario. No presenta revisiones permanentes.

Pregunta N°28. Considerando la política de prevención, sanción y eliminación del acoso laboral al interior de la organización en temáticas de equidad de género, se concluye que:

a) Se difunde entre todas las personas con garantía de confidencialidad en su tratamiento, siendo revisado y actualizado periódicamente.

b) Se difunde entre todas las personas con garantía de confidencialidad en su tratamiento, siendo revisado y actualizado esporádicamente.

c) Se difunde solo en algunas personas con garantía de confidencialidad en su tratamiento, siendo revisado y actualizado periódicamente.

d) Se difunde solo en algunas personas con garantía de confidencialidad en su tratamiento sin una revisión y actualización periódica.

Pregunta N°30. En relación al procedimiento de atención ante situaciones de acoso laboral con garantías de trato igualitario, se ratifica que:

a) Está presente y se maneja confidencialmente. Garantiza siempre un trato igualitario y se revisa permanentemente.

b) Está presente y se maneja confidencialmente. No garantiza un trato igualitario y no es revisado permanentemente.

c) Está presente pero no se maneja confidencialmente, aunque garantiza siempre un trato igualitario. No se revisa permanentemente.

d) Está presente pero no se maneja confidencialmente y no garantiza un trato igualitario. No presenta revisiones permanentes.

Pregunta N°37. Considerando la política de prevención, orientación y asistencia a personas afectadas por la violencia intrafamiliar, se concluye que:

a) Se difunde entre todas las personas con garantía de confidencialidad en su tratamiento. Además existe conocimiento del procedimiento de acción, con una revisión y actualización periódica.

b) Se difunde entre todas las personas con garantía de confidencialidad en su tratamiento. Existe un conocimiento acotado del procedimiento de acción, con una revisión y actualización periódica.

c) Se difunde entre todas las personas con garantía de confidencialidad en su tratamiento. Además existe conocimiento del procedimiento de acción, pero sin una revisión y actualización periódica.

d) No se difunde entre todas las personas y no cuenta con una garantía de confidencialidad en su tratamiento. No hay conocimiento del procedimiento de acción y revisión, sin una actualización periódica.

Pregunta N°38. Considerando el protocolo de actuación frente a casos de violencia intrafamiliar en la organización, es posible concluir que:

a) Utiliza los medios adecuados dispuestos y se difunde frecuentemente. Enfatiza en todos sus contenidos siendo éstos claros y entendibles por todos los niveles de la organización.

b) Utiliza los medios adecuados dispuestos y se difunde esporádicamente. Enfatiza en todos sus contenidos, siendo éstos claros y entendibles por todos los niveles de la organización.

c) Utiliza los medios adecuados y se difunde frecuentemente. Enfatiza solo en algunos contenidos, siendo éstos poco claros y poco entendibles por todos los niveles de la organización.

d) Utiliza solo algunos medios adecuados y su difusión es frecuente. Enfatiza en todos sus contenidos, siendo éstos poco claros y poco entendibles por todos los niveles de la organización.

Pregunta N°39. Según el programa de capacitación en acciones sobre la problemática de la violencia intrafamiliar aplicada a toda la organización, se corrobora que:

a) Se realiza considerando siempre tanto a hombres como a mujeres, abordando todos los contenidos que involucran dicha temática. Se realizan acciones que promueven la participación activa de los hombres y mujeres en forma igualitaria.

b) Se realiza considerando siempre tanto a hombres como a mujeres, abordando solo algunos contenidos que involucran dicha temática. Se

realizan acciones que promueven la participación activa de los hombres y mujeres en forma igualitaria.

c) Se realiza considerando siempre solo a un sexo (hombres o mujeres), abordando solo algunos contenidos que involucran dicha temática. Se realizan a su vez algunas acciones que promueven la participación activa de los hombres y mujeres en forma igualitaria.

d) Se realiza considerando siempre tanto a hombres como a mujeres, abordando todos los contenidos que involucran dicha temática. No se detecta la realización de ninguna acción que promueva la participación activa de los hombres y mujeres en forma igualitaria.

Conclusiones

Los resultados de la validación del instrumento para los atributos en cuestión excluyeron las consultas que presentaban sesgo respecto a los óptimos confiables, hecho que ante un nuevo escenario con un estado de avance en la certificación de la norma, permitiría tener nociones profundas en los ejes temáticos del sistema de gestión facilitando una revalidación de esta herramienta. Esto se fundamentaría debido a que los panelistas que participaron de este proceso están en etapas iniciales respecto a la implementación de la norma, sin la profundización de muchos aspectos con visiones divergentes que hicieron calificar preguntas en forma desigual.

La decisión de no efectuar una tercera circulación se sustentó en la fuerte estabilización de varios resultados obtenidos entre las 2 circulaciones realizadas, situación que motivo dejar el cuestionario con 24 preguntas (12 consultas para cada ámbito) excluyendo un total de 15 consultas (6 para gestión de personas y 9 para ambiente de trabajo). Bajo una supuesta nueva iteración, los cambios tendientes a un consenso general difícilmente se hubiesen consolidado en aquellas preguntas críticas, ya que las objeciones a los estándares del sistema de gestión y la visión distinta con enfoques estratégicos respecto a la internalización de conceptos de género en el ámbito de recursos humanos permanecerían constantes.

La validación de este instrumento para los ámbitos incluidos en la NCh3262/2012 sobre Sistema de Gestión de Igualdad de Género, Conciliación de la Vida Laboral, Familiar y Personal es pionero en esta línea de trabajo, situación que en el futuro permitiría enriquecer ámbitos no

incorporados en este estudio (infraestructura), estableciendo un modelo de acción que se puede seguir para incluir todos los ejes/variables de la norma.

Asimismo, la realización de futuros estudios facilitará la investigación enfocada a examinar las propiedades sicométricas del instrumento, tales como la validez del constructo y su confiabilidad, los cuales son fundamentales para determinar si la herramienta es capaz de generar inferencias válidas y demostrar niveles aceptables de estabilidad.

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De Criada a Empleada. Poder, Sexo y División del Trabajo (1789-1950)

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Review

S iglo XXI ha publicado este año "De criada a empleada. Poder, sexo y división del trabajo (1789-1950)", de Ulla Wikander. La autora sueca propone un recorrido histórico sobre la división del trabajo según el género a lo largo de los últimos siglos.

Las desigualdades en el mundo laboral son un elemento fundamental en los estudios de género, ya que determinan un acceso diferenciado a los recursos materiales entre hombres y mujeres. Este libro propone ir más allá de la división tradicional de las esferas económicas que vincula a las mujeres con las funciones reproductivas del ámbito doméstico, centrándose en que éstas han estado presentes también en el ámbito productivo remunerado desde sus inicios, aunque se las haya construido como ajenas.

El libro está estructurado en tres capítulos que corresponden a tres períodos históricos, además de una introducción y un epílogo. En la introducción la autora defiende la importancia del estudio de la participación de la mujer en el mercado laboral remunerado y resume algunos de los principales elementos que luego saldrán mucho más detallados.

En el primer capítulo se recoge el periodo de 1789 a 1869. En él se inicia la revolución industrial y se empieza a dar una emigración del campo a la ciudad que hace crecer la estructura social urbana. Es la prehistoria de la división industrial de las tareas laborales por género tal y como lo conocemos ahora, y es cuando se empieza a dar un papel secundario a las mujeres. En esta parte se repasa la influencia del romanticismo y el socialismo en la construcción de la mujer trabajadora.

El segundo capítulo incluye los años de 1870 a 1914. Durante esta época, se generalizan las ideas darwinistas y socio-darwinistas, que comportan la patologización del cuerpo de la mujer y la construcción de la feminidad a partir de la maternidad y de la diferenciación respecto el hombre. Esta concepción de la mujer calará hondo y se mantendrá en los principales movimientos feministas. También son los años del auge del movimiento sufragista y, ya en esos momentos, encontramos activistas que comparan la importancia de esa lucha con la de la defensa de los derechos laborales, como los dos frentes fundamentales en la igualdad de género.

El tercer capítulo habla del periodo de 1914 a 1950, periodo de entreguerras y de la estabilización de la estructura de género en el mercado laboral. En él se recoge el papel de las mujeres durante las dos guerras mundiales, como combatientes o como "ejército de reserva", realizando, de forma provisional, los trabajos que los hombres habían dejado para ir a la guerra. La autora establece una importante relación entre la feminización del trabajo industrial durante la guerra y el impulso hacia la racionalización de esa misma industria que se dio en esos años, especialmente motivada en hacerla adecuada para las mujeres. Además repasa la construcción de la imagen de la mujer durante el fascismo alemán, fuertemente enmarcada en la idea de familia y maternidad, y la posterior construcción del ideal de "mujer moderna" independiente, que trasciende a la familia y busca el placer.

En el epílogo, determina los cambios fundamentales desde los años 50 y repasa algunos de los elementos que se convertirán en claves en la actualidad. Por otro lado, señala la creciente importancia del grupo étnico como elemento estructurador del ámbito laboral que, en algunos casos, está substituyendo a las mujeres como fuerza laboral desvalorizada.

En el libro de Wikander encontramos mucho más que una mera descripción de las situaciones socio-laborales de las mujeres a través de una perspectiva histórica. Encontramos una compilación de numerosos elementos simbólicos, normativos y materiales imprescindibles para comprender las diferentes formas de estar en el mundo laboral que éstas han experimentado.

Wikander explica la construcción de la mujer como trabajadora, pero siempre vinculándola a su construcción como madre y esposa, así como a las necesidades materiales del mercado laboral en cada momento. Por último, incorpora la perspectiva de clase social, a partir de la cual es capaz de

relativizar las diferentes situaciones históricas y mostrarnos en cada momento las desigualdades que se han producido a lo largo de la historia también entre las mujeres.

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